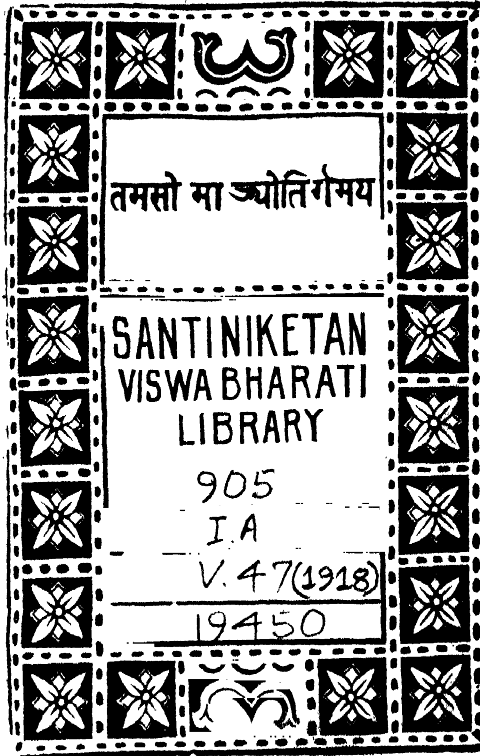


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AUSTRIA'S COMMERCIAL VENTURE IN INDIA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE, BART.

(Continued from Vol. XLVI, p. 286.)

Letter from Lieutenant Colonel William Bolts to the President and Council of Bombay, dated Goa, 31 October 1777.[26]

Hon'ble. Sir and Sirs

You have some time ago been informed of the accident which happened to the Imperial Austrian ship *Giuseppe and Teresa*, under my command, in the bay of Delagoa. A subsequent transaction there obliges me now to lay my complaints on behalf of their Imperial Majesties, before you, against John Cahill, Captain of a ketch from your Presidency; the whole relation of which is briefly as follows.

On the 3d day of May 1777 I took formal possession of a certain district of land in the country called Timbe on the western side of the river Mafoome in the beforementioned bay from the Rajah Mohaar Capell, who by a deed of sale and a treaty solemnly executed the same day, gave up the property and sovereignty thereof, together with the sovereignty of the said river, to their Imperial Majesties for ever. There are at this time in the river Mafoome two ketches from Bombay under English Colours, one commanded by Captain John McKennie and the other by Captain John Cahill, the latter of whom having partly erected an Indian hutt of bajan[27] sticks, did on the 4th May wantonly erect a flagstaff and hoist thereon an English ensign within ten yards of the imperial flagstaff, and even within the line of the guns we had planted upon taking possession. Wishing to avoid every act that would bear the smallest appearance of incivility, I therefore wrote the following letter to Captain Cahill.[28]

To this letter Captain Cahill did not think proper to give any answer. Nevertheless, I sent several other polite messages to him by my officer, requesting he would take down his ensign, but the Captain still refused to comply, at one time pretending he was going to give a dinner on shore, and at last alledging he had bought the ground, or some part of it, himself. Upon this I assured Captain Cahill that if he really had purchased any

26 *Letters Received at Bombay* (1777), XLIII, 372—376.

27 The shrubby plant, *Cajanus Indicus* (Malay *kachang*), producing the food stuff known as *dál*, a substitute for pulse.

28 See *ante*, Vol. XLVI, p. 286.

1. Whether the Imperial Austrian ships of Europe and the Imperial country ships of Asia will or not be admitted to the rights of hospitality and of trade in the British settlements of Asia on the same footing as are admitted ships of the same denomination of the French, Portuguese and other European Nations.

2d. Should the Nabob or Governor of the Moguls City of Surat, on any future occasion, act repugnantly to the laws of nations with respect to any vessel under my direction, whether am I to consider him as an independent prince, acting solely from his own authority or under that of the Mogul; so that any consequent act of resentment on behalf of their Imperial Majesties would not in any wise affect the British Government of Bombay, or any other part of Asia, or in your opinions, Gentlemen, tend to interrupt the harmony subsisting between the Courts of Vienna and London.

I have the honor to assure you that in the execution of the commissions with which I am entrusted, I shall most studiouly avoid giving the slightest foundation for offence to any branch of the English Company's government, and I flatter myself I shall meet with the same exemption from those prejudices arising from a jealousy of commerce, which in less enlightened times have been the bane so frequently of human society.

I am with the most profound respect

Goga 31st *October*, 1777. Honble. Sir and Sirs,

Received 16th November 1777 per *Leopold*. Your most obedient humble Servant

WILLIAM BOLTS,

Lieut. Colonel in the service of their Imperial Majesties.

Letter from the Council at Bombay to the Court of Directors, dated 30 *November* 1777.[29]

Mr Bolts in the Austrian Ship *Joseph and Theresa* to our great surprize arrived at Surat Bar the 5th September. An Extract of your Commands dated the 21st of February had been previously sent thither, and the Chief and Council in consequence thereof, and of the further Orders We sent upon receiving Advice of the Ships Arrival, exerted themselves so much and with the Assistance of the Nabobs Influence threw so many obstacles in his way that Mr Bolts found himself unable to transact any Business there and sailed away for Gogo. The Chiefs at Surat and Broach will use every justifiable Method to prevent his meeting with Success, and We learn He has not Yet been able to sell any part of his Cargo, but that He had sent to the Pundit of Ahmedavad to whom Gogo is subordinate offering him a Present of Rs. 25,000 annually in lieu of Customs, provided he will permit Him to establish a Factory and carry on a Trade there. He has since proceeded to Poonah [head-quarters of the Marâthâ Government] to negociate this Business himself, but We shall exert our little Influence with the Durbar to defeat this Scheme, and You may be assured that no justifiable or legal Efforts shall be left untried to frustrate the Projects of these Adventurers.

We have sent the most strict Injunctions to all your Subordinate Settlements to have no Commercial or other Intercourse with the Persons concerned in this Ship, and to prevent any Investments whatever being made for them.

[29] *Bombay Letters Received*, V, 250-251.

Consultation at Bombay Castle, 3 December 1777.[30]

A Packet addressed to Mr Bolts on their Imperial Majesty's Service having been intercepted by Mr Lewis [British East India Company's agent] at Poonah and sent by him to the President, it is debated whether the same shall be opened and inspected, when a Letter is read from the Commander of the Sloop *Leopold*, purchaesd from the Portugueze by Mr Bolts and now in the Road, wherein he terms himself an Agent for their Imperial Majesties, and demands that the said Packet should be restored. On Consideration of which It is agreed to give it up. But Mr Carnac[31] desires it may be minuted that as Mr Bolts is engaged in a Scheme so destructive to the Interests of the Company, he thinks every means should be made use of to defeat it, and it is therefore his Opinion that the Packet should be opened and the Contents inspected, as it may probably, from the anxiety of Mr Bolts' Agent to recover it, contain intelligence of Importance.

Consultation at Bombay Castle, 24 *December* 1777.[32]

As Mr Bolts has already been here a sufficient time to answer every purpose of getting Refreshment for the Imperial Sloop now here, the Secretary must signify the same to him, and require him to depart from this place without any further delay.

As We have reason to believe that there are a number of British subjects on board the Imperial Ship *Joseph and Theresa* and as we believe the Squadron is in want of Men, the same must be noticed to the Commodore and the Propriety of his taking them out of the Ship suggested to him.

Letter and Protest from Mr Bolts to the President and Council at Bombay, dated 24 *December* 1777.[33]

Honble. Sir and Gentlemen

I did not receive Mr Secretary Ravenscroft's answer. dated the 19th of November, to the Letter which I did myself the Honor of writing to you under Date of the 31st October, untill the 13th Inst., owing to the very extraordinary interceptions of my Letters, which Your Honor &ca. Gentlemen are well acquainted with, and which make the subject of the latter part of this address. I do not imitate your mode (unusual as I conceive it in the case before us) of answering by my Secretary, as I would not wish by any example of punctilio, much less of personal disrespect, to give cause of prejudice to the affair of my Sovereigns, who, I am sorry to say, Honble. Sir and Gentlemen, from Your answers, will not be able to collect much information of a satisfactory nature on the subjects of my last letter.

You are pleased to inform me in one Paragraph that "You cannot consider mere strangers in India as entitled to the same Privileges and attention in Your Ports as the Nations who have had Establishments and traded in the Country for upwards of a Century and a half by Virtue of Royal Grants and Phirmaunds."

To this I must remark that all European Nations are strangers in India, and in their own respective Ports, while Peace subsists between them, are mutually entitled to that attention and freedom of intercourse which are founded on the general Laws of Society,

[30] *Bombay Public Consultations* (1777), XLIV, 526.

[31] The celebrated General John Carnac (1760-1800), then Second of Council at Bombay.

[32] *Bombay Public Consultations* (1777), XLIV, 551-552.

[33] *Bombay Public Consultations* (1777), XLIV, 568-573.

pted by particular Treaties. The Principles on which Your Honor &ca. appear to consider the Mogul's Phirmaunds as essential to that Peace ntercourse are to me perfectly unknown.

o pleased to inform me that "The English East India Company, by n the Mogul, are Governors of his Castle and Fleet at Surat, and as his ainly be affected by any Acts offensive to his Government." I have very idered the Petition said to have been presented to the Mogul Emperor in of the Honble. English East India Company, together with the Perwa- okums and Firmauns [*parwâna, hasbu'l-hukm. farmân*] said to have been nsequence thereof from the Mogul's Court, respecting their Government of Fleet of Surat, as those authorities have been publickly acknowledged respectable Tribunals of Great Britain. The Petition to the Mogul expressly Company might be invested with those offices for the purposes of protecting ts and traders of all Denon nation from injustice and oppression; and sued in Consequence recite the Petition to have been granted for the ses of preserving the Bar and Sea open to all ships and Vessells, that the erchants and pilgrims might meet with no trouble or impediment and they Company the strongest injunctions of "*Care, Circumspection justice and* the execution of those offices.

to those acknowledged documents and the immemorial established usages City of Surat, The English East India Company, in the Character of the and Fleet, cannot permit, much less themselves occasion, in the name of y impediments of trade by the exaction of exorbitant and unusual duties, or other breaches of humanity or acts of oppression, which were the very hich they themselves disposs[ess]ed the former Nabob of his Government. were admitted that the English East India Company as Governor of the nd Fleet might be at liberty to *defend them* when attacked, it would as servants of the Mogul: but how "*they must certainly be affected*" as his an European Nation in amity with Great Britain for any other act of aliation of a breach of the Law of nations on the part of Nabob, is a point vers of discussion, and must be left to the decision of the Courts of Vienna and ver occasion should be given for it. How far their Imperial Majesties have dissatisfied with the treatment their subjects have already received on Trade and Hospitality at Surat, I leave Your Honor &ca. Gentlemen, to

er Paragraph I am farther acquainted "that circumstanced as I have been onble. Employers, I must be sensible I can expect no farther countenance or what the Laws of Hospitality indispensibly require."

e to assure Your Honor &ca. Gentlemen, in answer to this Paragraph, that tly obliterated from my Memory all the injuries I have formerly received nble. English East India Company. They are dead with their Author, and to revive their remembrance. But my present claim, having no relation to rcumstances, but to that situation alone in which I have now the Honor to f, it is solely on behalf of their Imperial Majesties that all my applications when necessary, to the Representatives of the British Nation in every part this point of view, I "*expect no countenance*" for the very idea would be an

indignity to my Sovereigns; but as I shall endeavour on every occasion to pay the strictest attention to all national Rights of others, I shall also expect from you, Honble. Sir and Gentlemen, the same "attention" to those Rights, from which the smallest relaxation on my part or deviation on Yours might possibly be highly resented by our respective Sovereigns.

I come now, Honble. Sir and Gentlemen, to that subject which gives me the most lively concern, I mean the interception of my Letters by William Lewis Esqr., the British Minister at the Mahrattah Court at Poonah during my late Residence there, by Order of Your Honble. Board. The accompanying Affidavit sufficiently ascertains the fact, although abundance of other proof can be legally adduced if necessary. I assure you, Honble. Sir and Gentlemen, that the object of my Visit at Poonah was purely of a Commercial Nature, in execution of a trust reposed in me by her Imperial Majesty The Empress Queen of Hungary, &ca., &ca., which in no respect could tend to interrupt the peace or harmony subsisting between the British Government and the Mahrattahs, or any other of the Indian Powers. This open infraction, therefore, of the most sacred publick rights, in time of profound peace, added to the many obstructions I have already experienced by your Orders from the Indian Governments, make me conclude that a determinate resolution has been taken *per fac ac et nefas* [*sic*] to impede all intercourse between the Court of Vienna and the Princes of India, and wholly to destroy the peaceful and lawful trade of their Imperial Majesties' subjects in Asia. In this state of insecurity for transacting any business of their Majesties or their subjects, I have no other remedy left me than that of protesting, as I now most solemnly do, on behalf of my Sovereigns, Their Imperial, Royal, and Apostolick Majesties, against Your Honor &ca. Gentlemen as representatives of the British Government for the infraction of Right, which I now complain of, and for all the detriment and loss that may accrue to the property and persons of their Majesties' subjects on this side the Cape of Good Hope, in consequence of any order issued, or which may be issued directly or indirectly by Your Honble. Board, or by any other Agents or Representatives of the British Nation in Asia.

At the same time that my duty forces me to lay this Publick Protest before Your Honble. Board, permit me to assure You that I have the Honor to subscribe myself with the most profound Respect

Honble. Sir and Gentlemen

Your most obedient humble Servant

WILLIAM BOLTS, Lt. Col. in the

Bombay 24th December 1777. service of their Imperial Majesties.

Attestation of John Joseph Bauer.

John Joseph Bauer a native and heretofore inhabitant of Oldenburgh in the kingdom of Hungary[34] but now actually resident at the British Settlement of Bombay maketh oath and saith that he the deponent was employed by William Bolts, Lieutenant Colonel in the service of their Imperial Royal and Apostolick Majesties the Empress Queen of Hungary, &ca., &ca., and the Emperor Joseph the second, to transmit from this Port of Bombay to him William Bolts then at the Mahrattah Court at Poonah, a letter on the business of their said Majesties; that accordingly on or about the twenty third day of November last past

[34] The Duchy of Oldenburgh in N. Germany, then under Austrian domination, but it seems to be a stretch of historical fact to call it in the Kingdom of Hungary.

he made or caused to be made application to the Honble. Wm. Hornby Esqr. President and Governor for all affairs of the British Nation at Bombay, to obtain a Permission or Pass for a Pattamar or Express to convey the said letter, which was accordingly granted by the said Honble. President.; That on or about the said 23rd day of November 1777 last the Deponent hired, paid and dispatched an Express with the said Pass or permit and Letter directed to the said Lieutenant Colonel William Bolts at Poonah, that the said Express or Pattamar with the said Letter was seized at Poonah by or by the Orders of the British Agent there; and sent down to Bombay under a strong Guard of the British Indian Troops belonging, as this Deponent believes, to the Battalion called the Pily Phultum[35]; that he the Deponent repaired to Poonah to inform the said Lieutenant Colonel Wm. Bolts of the interception of his Letters; that being arrived at Poonah on or about the 3rd day of this present month of December he the deponent was sent by the said Lieutenant Colonel Wm. Bolts with one or more Letters to William Lewis Esqr., the English Agent then Resident at Poonah, to demand his reasons and authority for the said interceptions, and that the said Wm. Lewis Esqr. did then and there personally acquaint this Deponent in answer to the said Letters that he had sent all Mr. Bolts' Letters down to the Honble. the President and Council of Bombay, agreeably to the Order of his Constituents, the Honble. English East India Company, or of the said Honble. President and Council, which Orders he was obliged to comply with in Conformity to the duty of his station; or word[s] to that or the like effect: and further this Deponent saith not.

JOHN JOSEPH BAUER.

Bombay Town Hall, 22 *Decr.* 1777.

Sworn before this Court sitting in Judgement.

BECK, Register.

N.B.—This Paper was attested in the usual Form by the Mayor and Notary Publick.

Letter from the President and Council at Fort St. George to the President and Council of Bombay, dated 3 *January* 1778.[36]

We have paid attention to that part of your letter of the 3rd Ultimo which relates to the Austrian Enterprise under the direction of Mr Bolts, and have only to acquaint your Honor &ca. that as the orders of the Company to this Presidency Correspond literrally with the extract of their Commands which you have transmitted to us upon this subject, We shall readily cooperate with you to the utmost of our power in frustrating the success of a scheme which appears to be so prejudicial to their interests.

Letter from the Council at Bombay to the Court of Directors, dated 25 *January* 1778.[37]

In our Address of the 30 November We mentioned the Arrival of the Austrian Ship *Joseph and Theresa* at Surat and of Mr Bolts having left that Place and proceded to Gogo on account of the Obstruction thrown in his way by our Directions. We conclude that the Object of his Journey to Poonah was to obtain a Settlement at Gogo, and We shall be able to judge what Success He met with by his future Proceedings, but no Endeavours were wanting on our part to oppose his Design. It is surmised that Mr Bolts by making a Settlement at Delagoa means to make that Place his Magazine for European Commodities and from thence to pour them into India.

35 *Pahilā Paltan, i.e.*, The First Regiment, Bombay Native Infantry, formed in 1767.

36 *Letters Received at Bombay* (1778), XLIV. 41.   37 *Bombay Letters Received*, V, 285—289.

A Sloop named the *Leopold* purchased by Him from the Dutch at Surat arrived here the 16th November with a Letter from Him dated at Gogo the 31st October, wherein He complained much of the Treatment He received at Surat, and put two Queries to Us which He requested We would answer. We accordingly sent Him a Reply by our Secretary.

Whilst Mr Bolts was at Poonah a Packet addressed to him superscribed " on their Imperial Majesty's Service " fell into the hands of Mr Lewis thro' the Mistake of the Pattamars, who thought it his duty to transmit it to Us. The Captain of the Sloop *Leopold* who had by some means gained Information of the Packet being intercepted, demanded it from us in the Name of their Imperial Majesties, and on Consideration of the matter it was thought best to give it up, but Mr Carnac desired it might be minuted that as Mr Bolts was engaged in a Scheme so distructive to the Interests of the Company, he thought every means should be made Use of to defeat it, and He was therefore of Opinion that the Contents of the Packet should have been inspected, as there was reason to conclude from the Anxiety of Mr Bolt's Agent to recover it that it contained Intelligence of Importance.

Mr Bolts himself arrived here from Poonah the 13th December, when We immediately resolved not to permit of his stay here beyond a reasonable time for procuring the necessary Supplies for the Sloop during her Voyage. He left this Place on the 24th when We had determined to require Him to depart , and on that Day He sent in a Letter and Protest commenting on our reply to his former Letter and protesting against us for the Interception of his Packet. We have to remark in Reply to his Complaint of the Disrespect shewn him by our Answer being sent thro' the Secretary that however much We might be disposed to pay all possible Respect to a Commision from so illustrious a Personage as the Empress Queen, We could not consistently shew any Distinction to Mr Bolts who may justly be termed an Apostate from the Company's Service. With regard to our Replies to his Queries, We think they were as explicit as the Nature of his Queries required, and in our Interference with the Nabob of Surat to obstruct his commercial Views, We acted in exact Conformity to your Commands of the 21st of February which direct Us to make Use of our Influence with the Country Powers to counteract his Designs.

Four British Subjects deserted from Mr Bolts's Ship and have entered into your Service. Having received Information from them of their [*sic*] being several others on Board, We gave Notice thereof to Sir Edward Vernon[38] who has sent the *Cormorant* Sloop of War to make Enquiry into the Affair.

Letter from the Council at Tellicherry to the President and Council at Bombay, dated 8 *February* 1778.[39]

The Resident [Richard Church] having wrote to the Prince of Cherrika [Chirakkal] to send Nanah Putterah[40] hither, as he wanted to communicate to him the Orders received from your Honor &ca. . . . the latter arrived the 2d Instant . . . The Resident

[38] Admiral Sir Edward Vernon (1723—1794), Commander-in-Chief in the East Indies, 1776—1781.

[39] *Letters Received at Bombay* (1778), XLIV, 48—50.

[40] *Paṭṭar, paṭṭara,* a Malayâlam name given in Malabar to foreign Brâhmans, who there are usually traders and money-lenders.

mentioned the report that prevailed of Mr Bolts being promised a Factory in the Princes dominions and that as it would be contrary to the Treaties subsisting between the Company and the Palace of Colastria,[41] We expected the Prince would not grant any establishment to any European power in his Country besides the Company, which Nanah Putterah has reported to the Prince. The former said the Prince desired him to assure us he would strictly abide by that clause in the Treaty with the Honble. Company. But in this assurance we cannot place a firm reliance.

Bombay Diary, 13 *March* 1778.[42]

Received the following Letter from Mr Bolts, which the President directed the Secretary to send round for the opinions of the Council, in consequence of which Mr Bolts's request was refused.

Honble. Sir and Sirs

Being much in want of a little Salt for Ballast of the Vessel under my Command, now in this Harbour, I request your purmission for taking in the same, which I shall esteem a particular favor, who am with the greatest Respect Honble. Sir and Sirs,

Your most obedient and humble Servant

WILLIAM BOLTS, Lieut. Colonel in the Service of their Imperial Majesties.

Consultation at Bombay Castle, 1 *April* 1778.[43]

Mr Carnac now acquaints us that as Mr Bolts's ship has been in this Port full three weeks, a time in his opinion more than sufficient for procuring Refreshments and Ballast, the avowed motive for his coming here, He shall, to exculpate himself, deliver in a Minute expressing his disapprobation of Mr Bolts being permitted to make so long a stay.

Consultation at Bombay Castle, 8 *April* 1778.[44]

Mr Carnac lays before us the Minute he acquainted us last Council day he proposed delivering, respecting Mr Bolts, which is ordered to be entered after this Consultation.

Mr Ramsay[45] thinking it necessary, in consequence of a Passage in Mr Carnac's Minute, that his Conduct with respect to Mr Bolts should stand recorded, now delivers in a Minute which is subjoined to Mr Carnac's.

Enclosures.

1. Mr John Carnac's Minute respecting Mr Bolts.

It has been positively enjoined from home to all the Settlements that the most strenuous Efforts should be exerted to defeat the Austrian attempt to carry on an interloping trade in these Seas, and to frustrate the Voyage set on foot at Trieste for that purpose. This was the more necessary, as the expedition was projected and is conducted by a man who, from the time he lost our Service, has made it his principal study both at home and abroad how he could most effectually injure the English Company and their Servants.

[41] Colastria, Portuguese corruption of Kōlattiri or Kōlatnād (Kōlam), North Malabar Its rulers were formerly known as the Kōlattiri Rajās and now as the Chirakkal Rajas.

[42] *Bombay Public Consultations* (1778), XLV, 119.

[43] *Bombay Public Consultations* (1778), XLV, 158.

[44] *Ibid*, 171, 178-179.

[45] Andrew Ramsay, Sixth, and last, of Council.

Mr Carnac is therefore amazed at, and cannot help thus publickly expressing his disapprobation of, Mr Bolts being permitted to remain so long with his Ship in our Harbour, particularly as his conduct since his arrival in India has not been such as to merit any indulgence from us. Having assumed a right of Dominion in the River of Delagoa, he ordered forcibly to be taken down the English Flag hoisted by the master of a vessel trading thither under our protection; he has been at Poonah intriguing with the Minister most adverse to us, in the hope of being able to purchase some Establishment in the Gulph of Cambay and privilege of trading, which must have been hurtful to our Interests; and we learn from the subordinacy of Tellicherry that the disturbances excited in that district by Domingo Rodrigueze are supposed to arise from a design of granting to Mr Bolts a License, which he is solicitous of obtaining, to form a Settlement at Bimliapatam.[46] In strict compliance to the Orders of his Employers, Mr Carnac has scrupulously avoided all intercourse whatever with Mr Bolts, but from his being still here after the expiration of more than three weeks, without any ostensible reason for it, it may be presumed every body has not been equally scrupulous, as there can be no other motive for so long a stay, but that he has a fair prospect of engaging some of our merchants in a contraband trade between this Port and the Factory he has set up in Delagoa River, whereby the Europe Staples may be introduced to this side of India by a new Channel, greatly to the detriment of the Company. Mr Carnac has strong reason for entertaining such a suspicion, as he has been assured by a free merchant of considerable credit that proposals had been made to him by Mr Bolts for engaging in this Traffick, so very advantageous as to prove a temptation too powerful to be generally resisted.

1*st April* 1778. JOHN CARNAC.

2. Mr Andrew Ramsay's Minute respecting Mr Bolts.

As it may be inferred from Mr Carnac's minute that persons in Authority have been interested in the long detention of the Austrian ship at this Port, Mr Ramsay, as a member of the Board, who has been largely concerned in trade, thinks it necessary thus publickly to declare that he has had no interest therein directly or indirectly, nor has he had the least intercourse with Mr Bolts, not even in the common civilities due to a Stranger, which, but for his particular Predicament in respect to the Company and their Servants, Mr Ramsay would otherwise most certainly have shewn him.

ANDREW RAMSAY.

Letter from the Council at Tellicherry to the President and Council at Bombay, dated 24 April 1778.[47]

We received information that Mr William Bolts in the Austrian Ship the *Joseph and Theresa,* arrived the 21st Instant at Billiapatam, with an intention of taking in Pepper there.

As this proceeding of Mr Bolts is an infringement of the Honble. Company's privileges of Trade, granted them by the Kings of Colastria, and that he might not plead ignorance thereof, we immediately wrote him a letter, acquainting him therewith, and which was sent to Billiapatam by our Linguist [interpreter], who was directed to gain all the information he could of Mr Bolts proceedings in general, and that in case he should discover Mr Bolts soliciting an establishment in any part of the Prince's Dominions he was

[46] Baliapatam (Beliapatam) or Valaipattanam, near Cananore, in the Chirakkal *tāluk*.

[47] *Letters Received at Bombay* (1778), XLIV, 162-3.

to advise us thereof immediately, and to represent to the Prince the enjury [sic] the Company will receive trom such a breach of the privileges granted by his Ancestors to them.

Letter from the Court of Directors to the Council at Bombay.
dated 7 May 1778.[48]

We approve your conduct relative to Mr Bolts and also the behaviour of our servants at Surat, as stated in your general letter of the 30th of November.

As we have not received the copy of Mr Bolts's letter, asserting a right to Delagoa in consequence of a grant said to have been made to Her Imperial Majesty, we cannot at present reply thereto. If that letter is not accompanied by any remarks of yours, you will not fail to state to us by the first opportunity, every circumstance attending the affair in question, with such information as may be procurable respecting the supposed grant of the country, the name and rank of the grantor, the time when granted, and likewise the particular authority by which Mr Bolts has ventured to remove the English Colours and to destroy the house mentioned in your letter.

Letter from the Council at Tellicherry to the Court of Directors.
dated 9 May 1778[49]

Mr William Bolts in the Austrian ship the *Joseph and Theresa* arrived at Billiapatam the 21st ultimo, with an intention of taking in pepper there. As this proceeding of Mr Bolts is an infringement of the Honble. Company's privileges of trade granted them by the Kings of Colastria, and that he might not plead ignorance thereof, we immediately wrote him a letter, acquainting him therewith, and which was sent by our linguist to Billiapatam, who was directed to gain all the information he could of Mr Bolts's proceedings in general, and that in case he should discover Mr Bolts soliciting an establishment in any part of the Prince's Dominions he was to advise us thereof immediately, and to represent to the Prince the injury the Company will receive from such a breach of the privileges granted by his ancestors, and as he persisted in trading in our districts after our having informed him of the Company's privileges, we thought it unnecessary to enter into a further discussion of them, and determined to leave the whole to the judgement of our Superiours.

While the Imperial Ship remained at Billiapatam there was landed from her at that place many chests of arms: after which she proceeded to Goa, where she will winter; Mr Bolts and other gentlemen belonging to the above ship remain at Billiapatam.

As we heard the Prince of Cherrika was at Cotiote [Kottayam] the 3rd instant, Mr Samuel Stedman was ordered to wait upon him to confer with him on the subject of Mr Bolts's views and proceedings: On Mr Stedman's return, he informed us that he represented to the Prince the injury the Company would receive by Mr Bolts having in particular an establishment in his country, and that we expected from the treaties between him and the Company that he would not grant it. Upon which the Prince gave Mr Stedman the strongest assurances that he would not of his own will grant Mr Bolts an establishment, who he acknowledged was endeavouring at one, but would throw every obstacle in his way to prevent it, tho' he believed Mr Bolts was going to the Nabob

[48] *Bombay Despatches*, IV, 1450—1452.

[49] *Bombay Letters Red*, VI, 56—58.

Hyder Ally Caun [Haidar 'Ali Khān] to solicit for it, and we were sensible if he succeeded, it would be out of his power to refuse obeying it.'

The Resident has addressed the Nabob and represented to him in the strongest light how detrimental it will be to the Company if he gives the Prince an order to grant Mr Bolts an establishment in his country.

Letter from the Council at Tellicherry to the President and Council at Bombay, dated 17 June 1778.[50]

We wrote you last the 12th Ultimo . . . . A few days after we were informed that Mr Bolts paid a visit to Ally Rajah at Cannanore, and from thence proceeded to Callicut in one of his barges. We understand his principal errand was to find out a proper spot there or at Beypore [near Calicut] to build a Factory, but have not learnt whether he has succeeded. On the 1st instant he proceeded to Seringapatam [to Haidar 'Ali].

The Ship *Joseph and Theresa* on the 2nd of last month left Billiapatam for Goa, where she proposed staying the Monsoon, but was not able to reach that place, and returned to Billiapatam the 14th. On the 20th following, she passed this Port to the Southward, and we are since informed is gone to Pondicherry.[51]

On the 31st ultimo a Carrikar [carrick, cargo-boat] arrived from Cannanore, and acquainted the Resident by order of Ally Rajah, that Mr Bolts had been soliciting a place at Cannanore for a Factory, but that Ally Rajah would not give him an answer before he knew if it would be agreeable or not to the Honble. Company. The Resident dispatched the Carrikar the day after, with a letter informing Ally Rajah that the Company expected, from the amity existing between them, that he would not grant Mr Bolt's request.

Letter from the Council at Tellicherry to the President and Council at Bombay, dated 27 November, 1778.[52]

Mr Bolts arrived at Mangalore from Seringapatam the 21st Ultimo, and immediately hoisted the Imperial Colours on the spot of ground granted him there for a Factory. One Mr Fife, a dependant of Mr Bolts, is left in charge thereof. On the 2nd instant he arrived at Billiapatam, but has not yet hoisted the Imperial Colours there or at Mattamy.[53]

Letter from the Council at Tellicherry to the President and Council at Bombay, dated 3 December 1778.[54]

The Imperial Ship *Joseph and Theresa* arrived at Billiapatam the 30th Ultimo from the Coast of Coromandel, and we learn that some time before she left the Coast, Mr Bolts's

50 *Letters Received at Bombay* (1778), XLIV, 204-205.

51 "The south-west monsoon having strongly set in on the Malabar coast, it was deemed unsafe to remain there any longer; we therefore took our departure from Mangalore on the 20th of May 1778, directing our course towards the gulph of Bengal; and in less than ten days, we came in sight of the Carnicobar islands . . In one of the bays formed within those islands, we moored in twelve fathoms, and there remained until the S. W. monsoon was quite over, which was in the beginning of September." *Extract from the Diary of Nicolaus Fontana, surgeon of the "Joseph and Theresa," printed in Asiatic Researches, Vol. III, No.* VII, pp. 149-163.

52 *Letters Received at Bombay* (1778), XLIV, 306.

53 I have not succeeded in identifying this place. It is probably an error for Madakara. See the letter of 4th February 1779, *infra.*

54 *Letters Received at Bombay* (1778), XLIV, 308.

Agent had made a Settlement on the Nicobar Islands, and that the Inhabitants of the four Islands of Soury [Chowra], Nicaoree [Nancowry,] Tricuttee [Trinkat] and Cachoule [Katchall] had joined in a body, and surrendered themselves to the Sovereignty of the Empress Queen, upon condition of having secured to them a due administration of justice, freedom of commerce and liberty of conscience.

Letter from the Council at Tellicherry to the Court of Directors, dated 4 February 1779.[55]

The Ship *Joseph and Theresa* lost her passage to Goa from Billiapattam in the beginning of May, and the 20th [following] passed this place for the Coromandel; she returned the 30th of November. We learn that Mr Bolts's agents had made a settlement on the Nicobar Islands. Mr Bolts on the 1st of June proceeded to Seringapatam, and obtained from the Nabob Hyder Ally a grant to establish factories at Mangalore, Carwar, and the Island of Maddacana,[56] on which last he has hoisted the Imperial Colours. His ship proceeded from Billiapatam to Goa the middle of December, it is said to be repaired.

Letter from the Resident at Onore to the President and Council at Bombay, dated 12 February 1779.[57]

There was landed from the Austrian Ship *Joseph and Theresa* which came to the Port of Mangalore the beginning of December ninety six iron guns from one to four pounds caliber, two brass pieces of six pounds, ten thousand muskets and eight thousand round shott, intended for the Nabob, out of which he has yet only taken three thousand stand of arms and the two brass guns, the remainder of the muskets and guns are still there. Several copper utensils intended for setting on foot a sugar manufacture and distilling spirituous liquors were also landed, and Mr Bolts has left there two European gentlemen, Mr Fyte and Mr Brown with a doctor, at the Banksaul which the Government has allotted him. The same ship toucht at Carwar afterwards, and landed a small quantity of copper and iron for the use of the factory. Both at that place and Mangalore Mr Bolts had began to build the Factory Warehouses, but when the walls were raised only a few feet a general stop was putt to their proceeding further on them by the Governments people, under the pretence of wanting more distinct orders from the Nabob, and I have pleasure to acquaint your Honor &ca. that Mr Bolts's Agents have not yet succeeded in securing any articles of Investment in this neighbourhood. It is true that Luximicant Sinoy [Lakshmikanth Sinai] has been making offers for pepper in the Soundah [Sondā] Province, but we may possibly be able from this Factory to counteract his designs, for which end, I beg to assure you, not activity on our part will be wanting.

Bombay Diary 18 *February* 1779.[58]

Imported the Austrian Ship *Joseph and Teresa*, commanded by Mr William Bolts last from Goa.

Consultation at Bombay 18 *March* 1779.[59]

Read a Letter from Mr William Bolts as entered hereafter, in reply to which he must be acquainted that the Orders We have received from the Honble. Company are not

55 *Bombay Letters Received* (1779), VI, 113-114.

56 The fort of Madakara, near Baliapatam.

57 *Letters Received at Bombay* (1779), XLV, 61-62.

58 *Bombay Public Consultations* (1779), XLVI, 107.

59 *Ibid*, 188.

of the nature he mentions, but that We expect to receive particular Orders respecting the Trade of the Subjects of their Imperial Majestys by the Ships of this Season, till when We will grant him the Liberty of the Port and all requisite Assistance and Supplies for the Imperial Ship *Joseph and Theresa.*

Enclosure.

Letter from Mr Bolts.

Honble. Sir and Sirs

Since my Arrival in this Port I have had the Pleasure to be informed that the Honble. the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies have lately been pleased to issue Orders to their several Presidencies in Asia to admit in their ports of the trade of such European Nations as are in amity with his most sacred Britanic Majesty. I therefore request the favour of information from your Honble. Board whether (as I most sincerely hope) the subjects of their Imperial, Royal and Apostolic Majesties have the happiness to be included in the said general Orders, or whether there is any particular exception against the Colours of their said Majestys.

From the Obstructions which you, Honble. Sir and Gentlemen, know me to have met with in the conduct of the Expedition with which I have the honor to be entrusted, I flatter myself you will admit the Propriety of my requesting this Information, as being essentially necessary, as well for the satisfaction of their Imperial Majesties, my Sovereigns, as for the direction of my future Conduct. For such a determination of the Honble. Company may not only free their Majesties from the Expense of forming Connections with the Powers of Asia but also free me from the disagreeable necessity, to which I might be otherwise with reluctance reduced, of clashing or interfering in any respect with the Political Interests of Great Britain in India.

Permit me to assure you that this is my sincerest wish while I have the Honor of subscribing myself with the greatest respect

Honble. Sir and Sirs

Your most obedient and humble Servant

Bombay, 5th March 1779.

WILLIAM BOLTS, Lieut. Colonel in the

Service of their Imperial Majesties.

Bombay Diary, 5 May 1779.[60]

Sailed the Austria Ship, *Joseph and Theresa,* commanded by Lieut. Coll. Bolts to Bengal.

Letter from the Council at Bombay to the Court of Directors, dated 30 April 1779.[61]

You have been advised from Tellicherry of the proceedings of Mr Bolts on the Malabar Coast . . . On the 18th of February Mr Bolts arrived at this place in the ship *Joseph and Theresa,* which was taken into the dock to receive some necessary repairs, and Mr Bolts having we presume had intimation of the directions contained in your

[60] *Bombay Public Consultations* (1779), XLVI, 291.

[61] *Bombay Letters Received* (1779), VI, 260-261.

commands of the 19th March 1778 respecting the trade of foreign ships, applied to us to be informed whether he should be allowed the benefit of those orders, or whether there was any exception against the subjects of their Imperial Majesties . . . . [In] our answer . . . which . . . is of a general nature we have declined granting him any intercourse of trade, for as the year before we had received very particular and special orders respecting the persons concerned in this enterprize, we were not altogether satisfied that those orders were superseded by your present commands, being inclined to think that if such had been your intention you would have said so expressly. We also hoped soon to be favoured with your particular instructions on this head in consequence of the representations we have before made to you.

Letter from the Resident at Onore to the President and Council at Bombay, dated 8 September 1779.[62]

The Austrian Vakeel at Carwar, Laximicant Sinoy, who was formerly in the Company's employ at that place and this Factory, has been very industrious for several months in sending agents to Soundah, Bilgey, Sorebaw and other adjacent ports[63] for making purchases of pepper, and he has even offered six and eight Rupees per Candy [Port. *candil, candi* about 500 lbs.] more than the price the Company purchase this article for, and as farther encouragement he has promised to supply those parts with broad cloth, iron, lead and other Europe staples, which he gives out the Austrian ship will bring to Carwar in the month of November next, but we are happy to acquaint your Honor &ca. that all Luximacants endeavours have hitherto proved fruitless, which we chiefly attribute to the low state of Mr Bolts's finances at Mangulore and Carwar, tho' we are apprehensive this Factory will feel the ill-consequence of these measures by raising competition among the Pepper Contractors. At the same time, we beg leave to assure your Honor &ca. that we constantly keep a vigilant eye on this material object of our Honble. Masters Interest.

Letter from the Council at Bombay to the Court of Directors, dated 30 April 1780.[64]

Mr Bolts in the Austrian ship *Joseph and Theresa* sailed for Bengal the 5th of May [1779]. The papers and Diary transmitted by the *Hawke* on her former dispatch contain the only information we are able to afford respecting the right asserted by Mr Bolts to Delagoa and the circumstance of his removing the English Colours. We however now send another copy of the letter from the Commander of a Country Vessel, which related the facts mentioned in our address of the 30th November 1777 and also of the letter from Mr Bolts dated the 31 October, containing his relation of the same circumstances. The factory left by Mr Bolts at Delagoa is we understand nearly if not entirely deserted.

(*To be continued.*)

62 *Letters Received at Bombay* (1779), XLV, 246-247.

63 Sondâ, Bilgî and ? Siddapûr in North Kanara, famous for pepper gardens. "Ports" is evidently a copyist's error for "parts" as all three places are inland.

64 *Bombay Letters Received*, Vol. VI.

NEW LIGHT ON GUPTA ERA AND MIHIRAKULA

BY K. B. PATHAK.

(*Continued from Vol. XLVI, p. 296.*)

DR. FLEET'S discovery of the Mandasor inscription was very interesting and important. But his attempt to prove that the Mâlava era was the same as the Vikrama era of 57 B.C. was a failure and looked like the attempt of a person who wishes, to use Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's words,[33] "to determine the value of one unknown quantity by means of another unknown quantity, which cannot be done." Nor was Dr. Fleet more successful in interpreting the date of the pillar inscription of Budhagupta when he said that the Gupta year 165 was a current year and that[34] "in following Albêrûnî's statement and adding two hundred and forty-one, what is really accomplished is the conversion of a given current Gupta-Valabhî year into an expired Śaka year, by which we obtain precisely the basis that is wanted for working out results by Hindu Tables, *viz.*, the last Śaka year expired before the commencement of the current Śaka year corresponding to a given current Gupta-Valabhî year; and that the running difference between current Gupta-Valabhî and current Śaka years is two hundred and forty-two." That this view is erroneous will be obvious from a careful consideration of the following two equations which have been explained above—

Expired Gupta year (*a*) 165 = (*b*) 406 expired Śaka year.
Current Gupta year (*c*) 166 = (*d*) 407 current Śaka year.

Dr. Fleet has mistaken the expired Gupta year (*a*) 165 for a current year and made it correspond to the current Śaka year (*d*) 407 and drawn the wrong inference that the difference between current Gupta years and current Śaka years is 242 instead of 241. His final conclusion, which is also due to the above mistake, that[35] "in the absence of any distinct specification to the contrary, we must interpret the years in Gupta-Valabhî dates as current years" is equally erroneous. Dr. Fleet attacks[36] Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's view that "the addition of 241 would turn a past Gupta year into a past Śaka year; and the addition of 242, a past Gupta year into a current Śaka year." But this view, which is found to be in accordance with the statements of the Jaina authorities and the Sârnâth inscription of Budhagupta, must now be accepted as final and decisive on the point at issue.

Let us turn to the date of the Morvi copper plate grant,[37] which is thus expressed—

पञ्चाशीत्या युतेतीते समानां शतपञ्चके ।
गौप्ते ददावदो नृपः सोपरागेर्कमंडले ॥

This means that the king made the grant, when 585 years of the Guptas had expired, on the occurrence of a solar eclipse. The eclipse, therefore, occurred in the current Gupta year 586. Our equation is—

Expired Gupta 157 = 398 expired Śaka.

Now the expired Gupta 585 is 428 years later than the expired Gupta 157. By the addition of 428 to both sides we get the new equation—

Expired Gupta 585 = 826 expired Śaka.

The equivalent Śaka year 826 can also be obtained by adding 241 to 585. Therefore—

Current Gupta 586 = 827 current Śaka.

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[33] *Jour. Bom. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVII, Part II, p. 92. See Bühler's opinion, *Ind. Ant.*, XV, p. 339 and Cunningham's letter, *ibid*, p. 347.

[34] *Gupta Inscriptions*, Introd. p. 84.

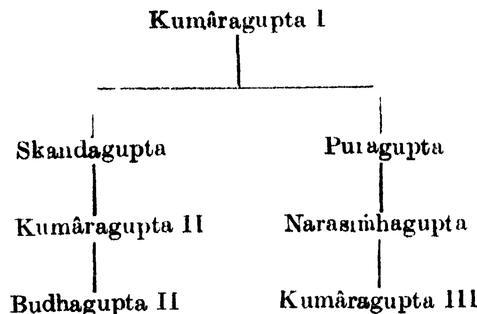
[35] *Idem*, p. 129f.

[36] *Idem*, p. 84, n. 1.

[37] *Gupta Inscriptions*, Introd. p. 97.

The solar eclipse alluded to in the grant is therefore the one that occurred on the new moon of Mârgaśirṣa, Śaka 827 current, corresponding to the 10th November A.D. 904. There was a solar eclipse also in the following Śaka year 828 current, on Jyeṣṭha Bahula Amâvâsyâ, corresponding to the 7th May, A.D. 905. Dr. Fleet's view that this second eclipse is the one alluded to in the grant is untenable as the Śaka year 828 is obtainable by adding 242 to the current Gupta year 586; and this is, as we have seen, against the statements of our Jaina authorities and the two Sârnath inscriptions. Nor can we accept his reading *Gopte* and his explanation of it as the name of a village; for on the analogy of the expression गुप्तानां याते found in the two Sârnath inscriptions of Kumâragupta II and Budhagupta we must expect the reading गौप्ते शतपञ्चके in the Morvi grant. If the reading be गोप्ते, it should be corrected into गौप्ते. It is thus clear that Dr. Fleet's reading and interpretation of the date in the Morvi copper plate grant are positively wrong. On the other hand the decision of Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar on this interesting point is upheld by our Jaina authorities and the Sârnâth inscriptions of Kumâragupta II and Budhagupta.

The connection of Kumâragupta II and Budhagupta with the main line of the Imperial Guptas may be exhibited in the following genealogical tree—



The rule that Gupta years can be converted into Śaka years by adding 241, may be illustrated thus: Skandagupta ascended the throne in Gupta Saṁvat 136. In the very first year of his reign, the Gupta empire was invaded by the Hûṇas. Kâlidâsa assures us that the Hûṇas, who enjoyed the reputation of being the most invincible warriors of their age, were still on the Vaṅkṣû (Vakṣû)tîra or Oxus banks, when he wrote his well-known verses. The Hûṇa empire in the Oxus Basin was founded about A.D. 450. The date of the invasion of the Gupta empire by the Hûṇas and their defeat by Skandagupta, namely the Gupta year 136, must therefore be subsequent to about A.D. 450 by a very few years. By calculating 24 years backwards from Śaka year 394, corresponding to the Gupta year 153, we arrive at Śaka 370 (=A.D. 448) corresponding to the Gupta Saṁvat 129. Now the Gupta year 129 (A.D. 448) is the 36th regnal year of Kumâragupta I. In A.D. 448, in the reign of Kumâragupta I, the establishment of the Hûṇa empire in the Oxus Basin may be placed. That the year A.D. 448 is the exactly correct date of this event, while the year A.D. 450 is only approximate, will be shown hereafter. The Gupta year 136 (A.D. 455) is thus only 7 years subsequent to A.D. 448. Kâlidâsa's reference to the Hûṇas being the most invincible conquerors of their age, and as being still in the Oxus Basin, must have been made between A.D. 448 and A.D. 455. Kâlidâsa and Skandagupta were thus contemporaries. This argument needs no elaboration here, as it has been discussed at length in the introduction to my second edition of the *Meghadûta* (pp. 10, 11, 12) where it is shown that the fall of the Gupta Empire took place towards the close of the fifth century. Jinasena, who writes a

little less than three centuries later, has preserved to the world the oldest, and therefore the most reliable, text of the *Meghadûta* as yet discovered, while his pupil *Meghadûta* says that the *Kumârasambhava* was widely read in his time and was the delight of every class of people, young as well as old.[38]

From a comparison of the Eraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta and the Eraṇ Boar inscription of Toramâṇa it can be conclusively proved, as has been shown by Dr. Fleet, that[39] Toramâṇa came after Budhagupta. The latest date for Buddhagupta is Gupta Saṁvat 180 corresponding to Śaka 421 or A.D. 499. Toramâṇa was the father of Mihirakula. Mihirakula was defeated by Yaśodharman who was reigning[40] in Mâlava or Vikrama year 589 corresponding to Śaka 454 (A.D. 532). The first regnal year of Toramâṇa is mentioned in the Eraṇ Boar inscription, while the 15th regnal year of his son Mihirakula is given in his Gwâlior inscription. These two regnal years must fall between Gupta Saṁvat 180 and Mâlava year 589, corresponding to Śaka 421 (A.D. 499) and Śaka 454 (A.D. 532) respectively, according to our Jaina authorities. It is worth noting that the inscription which records the defeat of Mihirakula by Yaśodharman is not dated. But from another inscription of Yaśodharman dated in Mâlava or Vikrama year 589, the approximate date of Mihirakula is ascertained. This Mihirakula is believed by Dr. Fleet and other scholars to be identical with the famous tyrant Mihirakula, whose career has been described in such vivid colours by the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang and by Kalhaṇa in the *Râjataraṅgiṇî*. On the other hand our Jaina authorities tell us that the early Gupta kings were immediately succeeded by the great tyrant Chaturmukha-Kalkin, Kalkin or Kalkirâja. He was a paramount sovereign (महीं कृत्स्नां स भोक्ष्यति). He was foremost among wicked men (दुर्जनादिमः), a perpetrator of sinful deeds (अक्रमकारिन्). He oppressed the world (उद्वेजितभूतलः). He asked his ministers whether there were any people on earth who did not owe allegiance to him; the reply was, none but the Nirgranthas. He thereupon issued an edict that the first lump of food offered to the Jaina community of Nirgranthas at noon every day by pious people should be levied as a tax. The Jaina Nirgranthas are allowed by the rules of their religion to take their meal at noon once a day. If any अन्तराय or difficulty occurs at that hour, they must wait for their meal till noon on the following day. The result of the tyrant Kalkirâja's edict was that the Nirgranthas were exposed to utter starvation. Unable to bear this spectacle, a demon appeared and killed the tyrant with his thunderbolt. Kalkirâja then went into the hell called Ratnaprabhâ, there to live countless ages and to endure misery for a long time.[41] We may compare this account with the statement[42] of Hiuen Tsiang as regards Mihirakula—"the holy saints said, in pity, for having killed countless victims and overthrown the law of Buddha, he has now fallen into the lowest hell, where he shall pass endless ages of revolution."

We have seen that the tyrant Kalkirâja was a paramount sovereign. The Mihirakula of the inscriptions also was a paramount sovereign, because he bowed down before none

[38] Compare, for instance, उत्तरपुराण, Chap. 59, stanza 36—

संवर्ध्य विषवृक्षं च छेत्तुं स्वयमवैति कः ।
इत्याबालप्रसिद्धं किं न वेत्सि विषभृत्पते ॥ 36 ॥

with कुमारसंभव ii, 55—

विषवृक्षोऽपि संवर्ध्य स्वयं छेत्तुमसांप्रतम् ।

[39] *Ante*, Vol. XVIII, p. 227.

[40] *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 150, 158, 162.

[41] See the passage given at the end.

[42] V. Smith's *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., p. 319.

save the god Siva. The real meaning of the verse, in which this fact is stated, and which was misunderstood by the translators of the Gupta inscriptions, has been pointed[43] out by the present writer and by Dr. Kielhorn. Like the Mihirakula of the inscriptions the tyrant Kalkirâja came immediately after the Early Guptas, that is to say, he overthrew the Early Gupta sovereignty. The Mihirakula of the inscriptions was therefore a tyrant and must be identical with the tyrant Mihirakula of Hiuen Tsiang and of the *Râjataraṅgiṇî*. Then again, like the tyrant Mikirakula, the tyrant Kalkirâja (A.D. 472-542)[44] was reigning in A.D. 520 when the Chinese pilgrim Song Yun visited this country, and was still on the throne when the Greek monk Cosmas came to India about A.D. 530. There is no denying the cogency of these arguments, which lead to the inevitable conclusion that Kalkirâja was only another name of the famous tyrant Mihirakula. It is to this great Hûṇa conqueror that the Jaina author Somadeva, contemporary with the Râṣṭrakûta king Kriṣṇarâja III, alludes when he says[45]. -

नामुद्रहस्तोऽशोधितो वा कश्चित्स्वमण्डलविषयं प्रविशेन्नि(न्नि)र्गच्छेद्वा । श्रूयते हि किल हूणाधिपतिः पण्य-पुटवाहिभिः सुभटैश्चित्रकूटं जग्राह ।

The Jaina version of the story of Mihirakula has this advantage over the Buddhist and Brahmanical versions that, while the two latter afford no clue to the real date of the tyrant, the former gives the exact dates of his birth and death. Not only is the approximate date of the tyrant deduced from inscriptions and coins amply corroborated by the Jaina authors, but they supplement, in a material degree, the information which we owe to those two independent sources.

The famous tyrant Mihirakula, accounts of whose cruel deeds have been preserved to us in Buddhist, Jaina and Brahmanical literatures, was then born on the 1st of the bright half of the month Kârttika in Śaka 394 expired, the cyclic year being a Mâgha-saṁvatsara, corresponding to A.D. 472. And he died at the age of 70 in Śaka 464 or A.D. 542. Jinasena assigns to him a reign of 42 years, while, according to Guṇabhadra and Nemicandra, he reigned 40 years. Deducting 42 or 40 from A.D. 542 we get A.D. 500 or A.D. 502. We shall accept A.D. 502 for the initial year of Mihirakula's reign. His fifteenth regnal year must be A D. 517. His father Toramâṇa's first year may be safely taken to be A.D. 500, coming after Gupta Saṁvat 180 or A.D. 499, the latest date for Budhagupta. And the figure 52 found on Toramâṇa's silver coins corresponds to A D. 500, the initial year of his reign. If calculated backwards, the figure 52 brings us to A.D. 448,[46] which is thus the exact date of the foundation of the Hûṇa empire in the Oxus Basin.

The tyrant Mihirakula died in A.D. 542, just a century before Hiuen Tsiang was on his travels, and exactly 241 years before Jinasena wrote his passage relating to the Guptas. Jinasena says that he owes his information to chroniclers who preceded him (कालविद्भिरुदाहृतम्). These chroniclers must be as near in time to the period of the Hûṇa sovereignty as Hiuen Tsiang himself. In the light of these facts we feel that we are in a position to discard as baseless the opinion of the Chinese pilgrim that Mihirakula lived 'some centuries previously,'

43 See my paper entitled "*Nripatuṅga and the authorship of the Kavirâjamârga*. Jour. Bom. Br. R. A. S., Vol. XXII, p. 82 ff; *ante*, Vol. XVIII, p. 219.

44 See below, on this page.

45 नीतिवाक्यामृत Bombay edition, p. 79.

46 V. Smith's *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., p. 316, note 3.

as it comes into conflict with the statements of the Jaina writers, which have been shown to rest upon contemporary Gupta inscriptions. On the same ground we should reject as valueless the view of Albêrûnî, admittedly a later writer than our Jaina authorities, that the Gupta era dated from the extermination of the Guptas. This erroneous opinion of Albêrûnî, coupled with his conflicting statements as to the difference between Śaka and Gupta years being 241, 242 or 243,[47] led to a fierce controversy over the epoch of the Gupta era, which has raged now for more than 78 years since 1838, when Mr. James Prinsep discussed the date of the Kahâuṁ pillar inscription of Skandagupta. A great step in advance was made when Dr. Fleet discovered his Mandasor inscriptions. But his method of proving that the Mâlava era was the same as the Vikrama era of 57 B.C. left a great deal to be desired. Now that we have placed his hypothesis on a footing of certainty, unstinted praise should be given to Dr. Fleet for his interesting discovery. But that he claimed more for his discovery than was its due has been already shown. Nor should we refuse to pay a well-merited tribute to Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar for his discovery of an earlier date in the Vikrama era, namely 461, referable to the reign of Chandragupta II. Mention should be made here of the synchronism between Samudragupta and the king Meghavarṇa of Ceylon discovered by M. Sylvain Lévi to whom our thanks are due. But this synchronism, valuable as it is, should be utilized not in proving the epoch of the Gupta era, as was suggested by some scholars, but in rectifying Ceylonese chronology, which is full of uncertainty, as various dates are proposed for king Meghavarṇa. Nor should we omit to express our gratitude to Mr. Hargreaves who has lately discovered the two Gupta inscriptions, one of Kumâragupta II dated Gupta Saṁvat 154, and the other of Budhagupta dated Gupta Saṁvat 157, which have enabled us, with the help of our Jaina authorities, to prove that the Gupta years between 153 and 157 are expired and not current years.

Thus the controversy, which has raged over the epoch of the Gupta era for more than 78 years, is finally set at rest.

Extract from Guṇabhadra's Uttara-purâṇa, Chap. 76.

अथान्यदा महाराजः श्रेणिकः क्षायिकीं[48] दृशं ।
दधत्स्वा गणाधीशं कुड्मलीकृतहस्तकः ॥ 387 ॥
शेषावसर्पिणीकालस्थितिं निरवशेषतः ।
आगाम्युत्सर्पिणीकालस्थितिमप्यनुयुक्तवान् ॥ 388 ॥
गणी निजद्विजाभीशुप्रसरैः प्रीणयन्सभाम् ।
गिरा गंभीरया व्यक्तमुक्तवानिति स क्रमात् ॥ 389 ॥
चतुर्थकालपर्यंते स्थिते संवत्सरत्रये ।
साष्टमासे सपक्षे स्यात्सिद्धः सिद्धार्थनंदनः[49] ॥ 390 ॥
दुःषमायाः स्थितिर्वर्षसहस्राण्येकविंशतिः ।
शतवर्षायुषस्तस्मिन्नुत्कृष्टेन मता नराः ॥ 391 ॥
समारत्निप्रमाणांगा रूक्षच्छाया विरूपकाः ।
त्रिकालाहारनिरताः सुरतासक्तमानसाः ॥ 392 ॥
परेपि दोषाः प्रायेण तेषां स्युः कालदोषतः ।
यतोस्यां पापकर्माणो जनिष्यंते सहस्रशः ॥ 393 ॥
वर्णोक्तभूभुजाभावाज्जाते वर्णादिसंकरे ।

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[47] *Gupta Inscriptions*, Introd. p. 25; *ante*, Vol. XV, p. 189.

[48] सम्यग्दर्शन which purifies the soul permanently by entirely destroying कर्मन् or actions *Cf.* Tattvârttha-Râjavârtika II, 1, 2 and 10, Benares Ed. I, p. 69.

[49] Mahâvira.

दुःषमायां सहस्राब्दव्यतीतौ धर्महानितः ॥ 394 ॥
पुरे पाटलिपुत्राख्ये शिशुपालमहीपतेः ।
पापी तनूजः पृथिवीसुंदर्यां दुर्जनादिमः ॥ 395 ॥
चतुर्मुखाह्वयः कल्की राजोद्वेजितभूतलः ।
उत्पत्स्यते[50] मघासंवत्सरयोगसमागमे ॥ 396 ॥
समानां सप्ततिस्तस्य परमायुः प्रकीर्तितम् ।
चत्वारिंशत्समा राज्यस्थितिश्चाक्रमकारिणः ॥ 397 ॥
षण्णवत्युक्तपाषंडिवर्गस्याज्ञाविधायिनः ।
निजभृत्यत्वमापाद्य महीं कृत्स्नां स भोक्ष्यति ॥ 398 ॥
अथान्येद्युः स्वमिथ्यात्वपाकाविष्कृतचेतसा ।
पाषंडिषु किमस्माकं संत्यत्र[illegible]ः ॥ 399 ॥
कथ्यतामिति पापेन प्रष्टव्यास्तेन मंत्रिणः ।
निर्ग्रंथाः संति देवेति ते वदिष्यंति सोपि तान् ॥ 400
आचारः कीदृशस्तेषामिति प्रक्ष्यति भूपतिः ।
निजपाणिपुटा[51]मत्रा धनहीना गतस्पृहाः ॥ 401 ॥
अहिंसाव्रतरक्षार्थं त्यक्तचेलादिसंवराः ।
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निर्याचनां स्वशास्त्रोक्तां महीतुमनभिलाषिणः ॥ 403 ॥
आत्मनो घातके त्रायके च ते समदर्शिनः ॥
क्षुत्पिपासादिबाधायाः सहाः सत्यपि कारणे ॥ 404 ॥
परपाषंडिवन्नान्यैर्दत्तमभिलाषुकाः ।
सर्पा[53] वा विहितावासा ज्ञानध्यानपरायणाः ॥ 405 ॥
अनुसंचारदेशेषु संवसंति मृगैः सह ।
इति वक्ष्यंति दृष्टं स्वैर्विशिष्टास्तस्य मंत्रिणः ॥ 406 ॥
श्रुत्वा तत्सहितुं नाहं शक्नोम्यक्रमवर्तनम् ।
तेषां पाणिपुटे प्राच्यः पिंडः शुल्को विधीयताम् ॥ 407
इति राजोपदेशेन याचिष्यंते नियोगिनः ।
अग्रपिंडमभुंजानाः स्थास्यंति मुनयोपि ते ॥ 408 ॥
तदृष्ट्वा दर्पिणो नग्ना नाज्ञां राज्ञः प्रतीप्सवः ।
किं जातमिति ते गत्वा ज्ञापयिष्यंति तं नृपम् ॥ 409 ॥
सोपि पापः स्वयं क्रोधादरुणीभूतवीक्षणः ।
उद्यमी पिंडमाहर्तुं प्रस्फुरद्दशनच्छदः ॥ 410 ॥
सोढुं तदक्षमः कश्चिदसुरः शुद्धदृक् तदा ।
हनिष्यति तमन्यायं शक्तः सन्सहते न हि ॥ 411 ॥
सोपि रत्नप्र[54]भां गत्वा सागरोपमजीवितः[55] ।
चिरं चतुर्मुखो दुःखं लोभादनुभविष्यति ॥ 412 ॥

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....

50 So three Kannaḍa MSS. of the Jaina Matha, Kolhapur, and one Nagari MS. of the late Manikshet of Bombay. But I reject the reading महा in some Deccan College MSS., which gives no sense.

51 अमत्र a pot ; cf. पाणिपात्रो दिगंबरः ।

52 आहृति = आहार, food.

53 वा = इव, अकृतावासाः ।

54 The name of the first hell.

55 सागरोपमः = असंख्येयः Tattvârtharâjavârtika III, 38, 8 (Benares Ed., II, p. 149).

तनुजः कल्किराजस्य बुद्धिमानजितंजयः ।
पत्न्या चालनया[56] सार्धं यातेनं शरणं सुरम्[57] ॥ 426 ॥
सम्यग्दर्शनरत्नं च महार्घं स्वीकरिष्यति ।
जिनेंद्रधर्ममाहात्म्यं दृष्ट्वा सुरविनिर्मितम् ॥ 447 ॥

Extract from Trilokasâra, Palm-leaf MS., p. 32:—

इदानीं शककल्किनोरुत्पत्तिमाह—

पण छ॰सय व॰सं पणमासजुदं गमिय वीरणि॰वुइदो ।
सगराजो तो कल्की चदुणवतिय[58]महिय सगमासं ॥ 840 ॥

श्रीवीरनाथनिर्वृतेः सकाशात् पंचोत्तरषट्शतवर्षाणि (६०५) पंचमासयुतानि गत्वा पश्चात् वि[59]क्रमांक-शकराजो जायते तत उपरि चतुर्णवत्युत्तरत्रिशत (३९४) वर्षाणि सप्त (७) मासाधिकानि गत्वा पश्चात् कल्की जायते ।

इदानीं कल्किनः कृत्यं गाथाषट्केनाह—

सो उ॰म॰गाहिमुहो चउ॰मुहो सदरिवासपरमाऊ ।
चाळीसरज॰ओ जिदभूमि पु॰छइ समंतिगणं ॥ 841 ॥

स कल्वयुन्मार्गाभिमुखश्चतुर्मुखाख्यः सप्ततिवर्षपरमायुष्यश्च चत्वारिंशद्वर्ष(४०)राज्यो जितभूमिः सन् स्वमंत्रिगणं पृच्छति ।

अम्हाणं के अवसा णि॰गंथा अ॰थि केरिसायारा ।
णि॰धणव॰था भि॰खाभोजी जहस॰थमिदिवयणे ॥ 842 ॥

अस्माकं के अवशा इति मंत्रिणः कथयंति निर्ग्रंथाः संति इति पुनः पृच्छति ते कीदृशा इति निर्धनवस्त्रा यथाशास्त्रं भिक्षाभोजिन इति मंत्रिणः (णां) प्रतिवचनं श्रुत्वा—

त॰पाणिउडे णिवडिदपढमं पिंडं तु सु॰क मिदिगे॰झं ।
इदि णियमे सचिवकदे च॰ताहारा गया मुणिणो ॥ 843 ॥

तषां निर्ग्रंथानां पाणिपुटे निपतितं प्रथमं पिंडं शुल्कमिति माह्यमिति राज्ञो नियमे सचिवेन कृते सति त्यक्ताहाराः संतो मुनयो गताः ।

तं सोढुम॰खमो तं णिहणदि व॰जाउहेण असुरवई ।
सो भुंजदि रयणपहे दु॰ख॰गाहे॰क जलरासिं ॥ 844 ॥

तमपराधं सोढुमक्षमो सुरपतिश्चं(श्चा)मरेंद्रो वज्रायुधेन तं राजानं निहन्ति स मृत्वा रत्नप्रभायां दुःख-माह्यैकजलराशिं भुंक्ते ।

त॰भयदो त॰स सुदो अजिदंजय स॰णिदो सुरारिं तं ।
सरणं ग॰छइ चेलयस॰णाए सह समहिळाए ॥ 845 ॥

तस्मादसुरपतिभयात्तस्य राज्ञः सुतो जितंजयसंज्ञितश्चेलक[60]संज्ञया स्वमा हिष्या सहितं सुरारिं शरणं गच्छति ।

स॰म दंसणरयणं हिययाभरणं च कुणदि सो सि॰घं ।
प॰च॰खं द॰ठूणिह सुरकयजिणध॰ममाह॰पं ॥ 846 ॥

सुरकृतजिनधर्ममाहात्म्यं प्रत्यक्षं दृष्ट्वा शीघ्रं सम्यग्दर्शनरत्नं हृदयाभरणं करोति ।

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[56] Also called चेलना.

[57] No distinction is made between सुर and असुर in these passages.

[58] This means 394 according to the principle अंकानां वामतो गतिः; cf. खद्वयाष्टद्वि (=2800) विज्ञातवार्द्विंशाभिवंदितः ॥ Gunabhadra, Uttarapurana, Chap. 61.

[59] This is a mistake. See my paper on the date of Mahâvîra, *ante*, Vol. XII, 22.

[60] See fn. 56, above.

AN ADDITIONAL PROOF FOR THE GENUINENESS OF THE VṚITTIS IN MAMMAṬA'S KÂVYAPRAKÂSA.

BY ROBERT ZIMMERMANN, S.J.; BOMBAY.

IT has repeatedly been shown that Mammaṭa is the author both of the Kârikâs and the Vṛittis of the Kâvyaprakâsa. (See *The Kâvyaprakâśa*, ed. by Bh. V. B. R. Jhaḷakîkara, 2nd. ed., Bombay, 1901. Introduction, Nr. 7, pp. 14-15[1]; for the literature on the question see *Z.D.M.G, LXVI*, "Miscellaneous Notes on Mammaṭa's Kâvyaprakâśa," by V. Sukthankar, M.A., pp. 477-78, n. 2; *Z.D.M.G., LXVII*, "Indologische Studien," von Johannes Nobel, p. 35, n. 1. As an independent, internal, proof for the common authorship of the Kârikâs and the Vṛittis has been adduced so far: माला तु पूर्ववत्, ullâsa X, śloka 8, the Kârikâ on the Mâlâ Rûpaka. Jhaḷakîkara gives the argument in the following words :—

कारिकयाऽनुक्ताया अपि वृत्त्युपदर्शितमालोपमाया दृष्टान्ततामुद्भावयन्ती "माला तु पूर्ववत्".... कारिकैवास्य प्रवादस्य [वृत्तिकृन्मम्मट एव कारिकामपि प्रणिनाय इति] प्रामाण्यं व्यवस्थापयति । एषा हि 'पूर्ववत्'-इत्यनेन मालोपमायाः पूर्वोक्ततां व्यनक्ति । न च मालोपमा कारिकया पूर्वमुक्ता, किंतु वृत्त्यैवेति. Introd. p. 15.

There is, if I am not mistaken, another proof, though running on the same lines and contained in the very same śloka. The beginning of śloka 8: सांगमेतन्निरंगं तु शुद्धं treats of the "Entire" and the "Partless"[2] Rûpaka. On the सांगमेतत् the Vṛitti remarks: उक्तद्विभेदं सावयवं (=सांगम्). This express statement of the subdivision of the सांगं रूपकम् into two sorts is made only here in the Vṛitti, nowhere in the Kârikâ. It is true, the two kinds of सांगं रूपकम्, the समस्तवस्तुविषयं and the एकदेशविवर्ति, have both in the Kârikâs and the Vṛittis been treated of immediately before; but there only their respective character, which discriminates one from the other, has been pointed out; the two figures of speech are not spoken of as the two kinds of the उक्तद्विभेदं सावयवम्. Thus the Vṛitti contains a new, explicit, statement. The Kârikâ continues: निरंगं तु शुद्धम्. It emphatically—तु—lays stress on the difference of the निरंगं रूपकम् from the सांगं रूपकम् by saying that it is only of one kind.

From here the argument is the same as that based on माला तु पूर्ववत्. The Kârikâ supposes the Vṛitti; the Vṛitti, therefore, cannot have been written either later than the Kârikâ, or—as we know on other grounds as well—by another hand. And as there is neither any internal nor external evidence for an interpolation, we have no reason to doubt the genuineness of the Kârikâ or the Vṛitti on this point. The apparent deficiency of the Kârikâ, on the other hand, is sufficiently explained by Mammaṭa's style, which often enough approaches the Sûtras in brevity. A doubt, moreover, about the genuineness of सांगमेतन्निरंगं तु शुद्धम् could hardly be entertained without impunity for माला तु पूर्ववत्, imperilling thus the traditional proof for the common authorship of Kârikâs and Vṛittis.

But neither the traditional nor our proof evince that the whole Vṛitti, as we have it now, has been written by Mammaṭa. *Cf.* Nobel, "Indol. Stud." *Z.D.M.G., LXVII*, p. 35.

[1] The force of language used by Jhaḷakîkara against the वङ्गीयाः, who hold the opposite view, is perhaps not quite in proportion with *his* argument. But it is only fair to say that, in spite of occasional mistakes in particular points, there cannot be two opinions on the general merit and usefulness of this edition of the *Kâvyaprakâśa*.

[2] "Partless" for निरंग may be kept only for want of something better. अंग here has the meaning of attributive or secondary part, auxiliary, dependent member, serving to help the principal one, if we refer अंग to the subordinate metaphor in the सांगं रूपकम्, or, as D. T. Chandorkar, *The Kâvya-Prakâsh of Mammata*, ullâsa X. 2nd. ed., 1915, p. 45, takes it to mean, a cause. "Thus, सांगं means that [रूपकम्] where one metaphor is the cause of another metaphor," referring अंग to the principal metaphor.

THE WIDE SOUND OF *E* AND *O* WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO GUJARATI.

BY N. B. DIVATIA B.A.; BANDRA.

(*Continued from Vol. XLVI, p. 304.*)

I shall now address myself direct to the arguments contained in sub-heads (*a*), (*b*) and (*c*), noted above. I do not contend that, where and when ऐ–औ were actually written in the earliest Mâravâḍî Manuscripts for the अइ–अउ of a previous period, अय–अव were found in writing at any intermediate stage. I regard the ऐ–औ not as symbols of diphthongal sounds in these cases, but as rough attempts to symbolize approximately the wide sound that had come into the spoken language. The spoken अइ–अउ became अय–अव and अय्–अव् in the mouths of the people and generated the wide sounds, *è* and *ò*. The late Śâstrî Vrajalâl Kâlidâsa wrote to me (in a letter dated V. S. 1942, Bhâdrapada s. 15) that he had seen in the possession of a Mâravâḍî Bhâṭa a manuscript copy of Mâravâḍî *Prithviâja Râsau* wherein he saw the following line:—

मक्रंदरा मकवांगरां हंदे नित जुद्ध हमेंश ;

and that, on being questioned about the inverted *mâtrâ* stroke in रां and हां, the Bhâṭa explained that such was the practice in his country to denote the wide sound of ए and ओ. It would be interesting to know how far this account tallies with Dr. Tessitori's experience and results of his examination of Mâravâḍî Manuscripts, and during what period such practice obtained, if it did. Dr. Tessitori states in his present article (p. 79, ll. 1-2) that Mâravâḍî sometimes writes अे–ओ and sometimes अै–औ to distinguish the wide sound. Could this alternative अे–ओ have anything to do with the inverted *mâtrâ* of Śâstrî Vrajalâl's Bhâṭa?

Any way, the ऐ–औ seem to be special symbols in the Mâravâḍî Manuscripts for the wide sound; and the very fact that Dr. Tessitori was misled by them is significant; for, in the true spirit of the honest investigator, he tells us that he was incorrect when in his "Notes" he stated that the अइ–अउ of O. W. Râjasthânî became *ê*—*ô* (narrow ए–ओ) in modern Gujarâtî and *ai*—*au* (ऐ–औ) in modern Mâravâḍî; he admits that in both these languages the अइ–अउ become *è*, *ò* (अॅ–ऑ, wide). It is the reason which he gives for this mistake that is of particular significance. When he wrote the "Notes" (he informs us) he had never been in India and for information concerning pronunciation in Gujarâtî and Mâravâḍî he had completely to rely on the accounts given by others.[17] Thus, away from the sound of spoken language, he was guided by the eye and the incorrect representations of informants. If this was so in the case of present times, when informants of some sort were available, how much more difficult is it for all of us when, even the possibility of such informants being out of the question, we have to depend solely on the written forms in manuscripts? It is therefore that I contend that the ऐ and औ of the manuscript need not as a matter of course, be taken as a proof that they were symbols of the pure, narrow diphthongal sound. In the circumstances, I bring into aid a condition within our present-day experience: In Hindi we find ऐ and औ written to express the peculiar widish sound of these vowels; we hear with our own ears that sound and we see with our own eyes the symbols; we also know that the ऐ and औ symbols in these cases are not of a recent date but

[17] See his present article, p. 74, para. 1.

fairly old.[18] It is therefore permissible to infer that the ऐ-औ of the earliest Mâravâḍi Manuscripts were symbols, not of the narrow diphthong, but of the wide sound in ॲ and ऑ.. These remarks practically dispose of all the three sub-heads (a), (b) and (c) given above. I may just add a remark or two in regard to sub-head (b) : Dr. Tessitori's theory that ऐ-औ were written for अइ-अउ because the latter were pronounced as diphthongs (ऐ-औ) would create a fresh case for reversion of phonetic process, at least in cases like बर-बइर-बैर, ऐ-औ (Sanskrit) becoming अइ-अउ (Prâkṛit and O. W. Râj.) and again ऐ-औ in early Mâravâḍî. One might express the very doubt which Dr. Tessitori puts in the other case and say—it is not admissible that a language which began its existence by reducing ऐ-औ to अइ-अउ should have brought अइ-अउ back to ऐ-औ. I am myself not against the *possibility* of reversion. But in the present case, I have already stated that the ऐ-औ of early Mâravâḍî are not the old diphthongs but crude symbols for the wide sound. Next, if ऐ-औ were really purely diphthongal in their sound (*i.e.*, narrow) in the early Mâravâḍî stage, it is not easily conceivable what possibly could have turned them later on into the wide sound almost at a bound. The diphthongal ऐ-औ have no affinity with the wide sound. In order to reach it they must pass back into अइ-अउ, for even for passing into the narrow ए-ओ they first get split into अइ-अउ, as I shall show later on. This sort of double reversion has no foundation in probabilities.

This being my position, the practical suggestion made by Dr. Tessitori to reintroduce the ऐ-औ to express the wide sound does not appeal to me, for the simple reason that, being really the signs of the narrow diphthongal sound, they will not be true symbols of the wide sound, and are likely to create confusion between the two. For ै ौ will indicate narrow sound as in दैव, गौण, etc., and also the wide sound in बैर, गौड़ etc. ; this will create a situation similar to the one prevailing at present when े ो represent both the sounds narrow and wide, the only difference between the two situations being that, while *tatsamas* with ऐ-औ are comparatively few, *tadbhavas* with ॲ-ऑ will be found in a larger number. The source of confusion will thus remain all the same. In fact, Dr. Tessitori *was* really misled by the े ो signs before he visited India, and thought Mâravâḍî did not possess even the narrow *ê—ô* as evolutes of अइ-अउ, much less the wide *è—ò*.

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[18] I pick up the following from the poet Bihâri's *Satsai* (which was completed by him in V. S. 1719, *i. e.*, over 250 years ago) :—

(1) कीनेहु कोरिक यतन अबगहि काढ़ै कौन ।
भोमन मोहन रूप मिलि पानीमें कौ लौन ॥
(2) आज कछु औरै भये छये नये ठीक ठैन ।
चितके हितके चुगल ये नितके होय न नैन ॥
(3) कत लपटै यत मो गरै सोन जुही निस सैन ।
(4) पल सोहै पगि पीक रँग छल सोहै सब बैन ।
(5) कहा करौं लालच भरे चपल नैन चलि जात ।
(6) सौंह करै भौंहनी हसै देन कहै नहि आव ।
(7) कनक कनकेन सौगुनी मादकता अधिकाय ।
वह खावें बौरात है वह पावे बौराय ॥
(8) मोहिं तुमैंह बाढी बहस को जीतैं यदुराज ।

For additional instances see Appendix B.

I shall now refer to a theory of Dr. Tessitori's which is given separately, outside the three reasons for differing from me. In connection with his theory that original Prâkṛit अय passed into the wide अॅ through the intermediate step अइ, he states that the fact that in manuscripts there are no instances of written अइ for अय is easily accounted for by the remark that all words with an अय are (Prâkṛit) *tatsamas* and therefore they continued to be written according to the traditional spelling. All I would say to this is that it would not be enough that such words should only be *written* with अय; if they were really *tátsamas* they would be required to be *pronounced* with अय; and thus there would be no room for the intermediate अइ.

I shall now supplement my answer to Dr. Tessitori's objections by giving the analytical examination of the problem, on which I base my hypothesis :

(*A*) If we carefully compare the sounds of, say—

	बॅसवुं	(Guj.)	बैसणे	(M.)	बैठना	(H.) ;
	बॅल	(Guj.)	बैल	(M.)	बैल	(H.) ;
	खॅर	(Guj.)	खैर	(M.)	खैर	(H.) ;
				(from Sanskṛit खदिर) ;		
or	चॉथुं	(Guj.)	चौथे	(M.)	चौथा	(H.) ;
	चॉक	(Guj.)	चौक	(M.)	चौक	(H.) ;
	कॉडी	(Guj.)	कौडी	(M.)	कौडी	(H.) ;
	चॉरस	(Guj.)	चौरस	(M.)	चौरस	(H.) ;

as they are spoken by the people, we shall find marked differences in each of the three languages. While each is evolved out of the contactual vocalic groups अइ and अउ, the Gujarâtî sound is a distinctly wide one (as in 'hat' and 'awl'), making a complete fusion of the अ and इ and अ and उ; the Marâthî sound leans more towards the इ and उ and makes the resulting diphthong narrow; while the Hindi sound, leaning more towards the अ of the vocalic groups (अइ—अउ), approximates the wide sound of Gujarâtî up to a certain point but stops short there, and is not the same wide, fused, sound as the Gujarâtî one. At the same time the last one (the Hindi sound) is not the pure diphthongal sound of Sanskrit, but resembles अय्—अव् a good deal, thus making the symbols ै and ौ wrong indicators, strictly speaking.

(*B*) Let us now examine a few Gujarâtî words with the wide sound, which have come from Arabic and Persian :—

Gujarâtî.	Arabic and Persian.
कॉल	कबूल
गॅरत	गय्रत
हॅरान	हय्रान
ॲब	अय्ब

Again these :—

झॅर	झहर
कॅर	कहर
श्हॅर	शहर

In this latter set the steps of phonetic mutation are—

कहर — कहअर — कय्र — कॅर ;
शहर — श्हअर — श्हय्र — श्हॅर (शॅहर) ;
झहर — झअर — झय्र — झॅर.

If we sound the अवु-अव् in all these words, as also in the words वयूर, ववण, कवूड, गवृख, etc., we shall perceive the peculiar विवृत (open, wide) nature of the phonal phenomenon which alone can give the Gujarâtî विवृत, अॅ and ऑ.

(*C*) Now, examine the sound in the following words on the basis of accentuation :—

I

(*a*) [19]गभीरकं गहीरडं घईरडं घेरुं

(*b*) चंपकनगरी चंपानअरी (चंपानयरी) चांपानइरी चांपानेर

(*c*) अन्धकार अंधआर (अंधयार) अंधयर[20] अंधइर अंधेर

(*d*) पर्णपल्ली पण्णवल्ली पण्णउल्ली पानोली (name of a village in Surat District).

(*e*) चतुर्वर्त्मकं चउव्वहडं चऊवडडं चौटुं

(*f*) चतुर्दश चउदह चऊदह चौद

II

(*a*) वैरं वइरु ववर वॅर

(*b*) कपर्दिका कवड्डिआ कवडी कॉडी

(*c*) पृथुलक पहुलउं पहउलउ पॉहोळुं

(*d*) भ्रातृजाया भाउजाआ भावजाई [20]भवजाई भॅाजाई

(*e*) पादतल पायतल पयतल[20] पॅतल (from Hindi)

(*f*) [21]अन्यपक्षकं अन्नवक्खडं अनवखुं[22] अनॉखुं (Hin, नॉखु=separate).

[19] True, the case of गभीर does not fall under the principle under consideration because of the long ई; but it is taken for that very reason, as the long ई furnishes a test and shows how the long ई, which is necessarily accented, comes in the way of *prati-samprasârana*.

Siddha-Hemachandra VIII. i. 101 shortens this ई (गहिरं), but the glossary tells us—बहुलाधिकारा देषु क्वचित्प्रवृत्तिः क्वचिदप्रवृत्तिः क्वचिद्विभाषा क्वचिदन्यदेव, thus giving an opening for option, and we may very well regard गहिरं. and गहीरं as alternative forms.

[20] Dr Sir R. G Bhândârkar regards the ए in अंधेर as a direct change from अया, as also ऑ in भॅाजाई direct from भाउ, and the ए in पॅतल direct from आय. (See his Wilson Philological Lectures, pp. 166, 145). But I believe those must pass through the shortening stage shown above.

[21] Hemachandra (VIII. iv. 422) gives नवस्य नवखः. This नवख (नवखऊं) may be advanced as the origin of नॉखुं, and with apparent reason. But there are some strong points, in favour of अन्यपक्षकं, as the origin of नॉखुं: they are :—

(*a*) One of the Manuscripts of *Si. He.* gives the reading नवक्ख (as the *âdeśa* of नव).

(*b*) अनॉखुं is used in Gujarâtî, as well as नॉखु.

(*c*) The ख or क्ख tacked on to नव by Hemachandra appears quite inexplicable and its arbitrary nature leaves a mystery, while अन्यपक्षकं supplies a good explanation of the क्ख and ख.

Thus it seems that नवक्ख, an evolute of अन्यपक्षक before Hemachandra's time, was regarded by him as the *âdeśa* of नव on the strength of the meaning and external similarity, and he was probably oblivious of the other phonetic phases, especially the loss of the unaccented initial syllable in अन्यपक्षक.

Sir R. G. Bhândârkar (Philological Lectures, p. 168) gives Hindi अनोखा in the sense of 'unexpected', and derives it from अनपेक्षित. The sense in which अनॉखुं (नॉखुं) is used in Gujarâtî is 'separate', and would favor the derivation from अन्यपक्षक. It would also be enlightening to ascertain the Hindi text where अनॉखुं is used and what sense fits in there.

[22] Here, although वक्ख leaves व accented at the early stage, the accent gives way under the double influence of

(1) the loss of the conjunct, क्ख without the compensating lengthening of the preceding vowel, and (2) the tendency to accentuate the second syllable in a word where the first syllable is unaccented and eventually therefore gets dropped.

(The change of प in पक्ष to व indicates that the word is become a part of the whole compound, and hence the प is eventually subordinated.)

In group I we observe that in the vocalic groups—(स्वरक्रम 8), अइ (अई) — अउ (अऊ), the accent is on the second member, whereas in group II it is on the first member, *i.e.*, on अ. Now the स्थान of अ is कण्ठ and the wide sound is produced by a peculiar[23] widening of the कण्ठ or glottis. This विवृत nature of अ is thus the source of the wide sound in अॅ and ऑ, and it is helped by the इ and उ as noted under the last para. (B).

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

MALAY CURRENCY IN TRENGGANU.

WITH reference to my articles on the *Obsolete Tin Currency of the Federated Malay States, ante*, Vol XLII, the capital *Annual Report on the State of Trengganu* for 1916 by Mr. J. L. Humphreys, has a most interesting note on currency, which I give below in extenso. An account of the tin currency prevalent on the East Coast of the Malay Peninsula will be found on p 101 of the above quoted volume of this *Journal*.

The point there is that the tin *pitis* (or cash) ran by normal scale 400 to the dollar, but in reality varied from 320 in Trengganu to 480 in Kelantan and even to 640 in Jering (Patani), the differences being stated to be due to changes in the price of tin, in other words, to the value of the silver in the dollar We are now told that recently in Trengganu *pitis* ran in relation to the "British dollar" before its recent demonetization, 200 to the dollar, or double their face value, and that the British dollar was converted to the official Straits Settlements dollar at 70 cents, the *pitis* being advanced to 266⅔ to the dollar, which is rightly called an "extremely inconvenient" figure. To remedy the monetary confusion thus caused, Mr. Humphreys recommends the introduction of the Straits Settlements coinage in full, *i e.*, of the dollar and its parts, together with the depreciation of the *pitis* to 400 to the dollar, thus bringing it back to its original normal value

The names for the denominations of Malay currency are legion and many are quoted by me in the articles above mentioned, but the name for the double *pitis*, or half cent, given by Mr Humphreys, "white cent," is new to me.

Extract from the Annual Report of the British Agent, Trengganu, for the Year 1916, *by J. L. Humphreys.*

Currency.

The matter of the local subsidiary coinage required attention during the year owing to the increase of counterfeit. These tokens, composed of a mixture of lead and tin, are of two denominations, the white cent and the *pitis*, they were formerly minted annually for charitable distributions after the Fast month, and before the British dollar was demonetized bore a fixed relation to it of 100 and 200 ; the Straits Settlements dollars and subsidiary coins were, of course, also current, but in insufficient quantities The British dollars were redeemed in 1915 at a rate of 70 Straits cents to the dollar.

After their removal it became necessary to affiliate the local tin cents—which in the language of the Trengganu peasant had now "lost their parent"—to the Straits dollar ; the proportion fixed was the extremely inconvenient one of 133⅓.

The loss of the parent dollar, the complications of the money table (which act always to the detriment of the peasant), and the increase of counterfeit, are destroying the former popularity of the tin coins. Their ultimate disappearance is inevitable. At present they provide two denominations of subsidiary coin lower than the copper cent and finance the petty marketings of the poorer classes; their sudden removal would cause a general rise in the price of local commodities

At the moment of writing the question of the subsidiary coinage generally is under the consideration of Government, and it is hoped that measures will be taken to promote the establishment of a clean Straits currency The depreciation of the white cent from 133⅓ to the dollar to 200 and of the *pitis* from 266⅔ to 400, together with a steady importation of Straits subsidiary coin, seem to be obvious measures for hastening the disappearance of the former and discouraging the production of counterfeit.

Analysis shows that the metal value, in tin and lead, is about 50 per cent. of the token value of genuine and counterfeit alike. Redemption can only be made at a cost that Government will not yet pay, and it is certain that the immediate removal of the small denominations would be felt severely by the peasants, who hold 90 per cent. of the tin coins, and would suffer most from the enhancement of prices that would follow. Measures to produce a gradual change will probably be adopted.

R C. TEMPLE.

[23] It is for this reason that I utilize the old technical term, विवृत in an extended sense and a slightly new application, for the wide sound of अॅ ऑ never existed when the Sanskrit grammarians described the बाह्य and आभ्यन्तर *prayatnas*, and is more or less an offspring of foreign influence, as I shall show later on

AUSTRIA'S COMMERCIAL VENTURE IN INDIA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE, BART.

(*Continued from p.* 15.)

II

Measures taken at Fort William, Bengal.

Consultation at Fort William, 7 July 1777.[65]

GENERAL Letters received by the *Cormorant* and *Egmont*. . . Of the letter dated 24th December 1776, Paragraphs 21 to 27,[66] Agreed that the Governor General [Warren Hastings] be requested to write a letter to the Naib Suba [Nâib Sûbadâr, Deputy Governor], advising him of this intelligence, and desiring him to send General Orders to the Officers of the Nizamut[67] to oppose the Officers and crew of the expected vessel in their attempts to land in any part of the Nabob's dominions and special orders to his Vackeel[68] at the Presidency to apply for such aid from this Board as may be required for this purpose.

Agreed that an advertisement be published, forbidding the Company's Servants and all under the Company's protection to hold any commerce or other intercourse with Mr Bolts or the other Agents or Seamen of the expected Ship, or to supply them with money, goods, stores or any other assistance conducive to the execution of their plan.

The following Advertizement is accordingly published.

Fort William 7th July 1777. Advice having been received of an enterprize of trade set on foot by Mr William Bolts, late a servant of the Honble. East India Company, who is now on his way to India in a ship called the *Joseph and Theresa*, and the Honble. the Court of Directors judging it expedient to guard against any injury which their commerce may suffer by this undertaking, have thought proper to forbid their Covenanted Servants and all others under their protection to hold any commercial or other intercourse with him or any of the agents or seamen of the said ship, or to supply them directly, or indirectly, with money, goods, stores or any other assistance which may conduce to the execution of their plan. Notice is therefore given that a strict observance of this prohibition is expected and required. By order of the Honourable the Governor General and Council.

Consultation at Fort William, 26 July 1779.[69]

The Governor General [Warren Hastings] informs the Board that he has received a letter from Mr William Bolts, dated on board the *Joseph and Theresa* the 23d instant, at Kedgeree, [Khijirî, at the mouth of the Hûglî] and desires that the Orders of the Court of Directors dated the 24th December 1776, and the publication made in consequence on the 7th July 1777 may be read, to enable the Board to pass such further Resolutions and Orders as they shall think proper.

[65] *Bengal Public Consultations*, (1777), XIX, 704-707. [66] See *ante*, XLVI., 279.

[67] Nizâmat, the Government of the Nawâb Nâzim of Bengal, created by Clive in 1757 ruler of Bengal, Bihâr and Orissa in subordination to the Government of the East India Company. The Nawâb at this time was Mubâraku'ddaula, youngest of the three sons of Mîr Ja'far 'Alî Khân, 1770-1793.

[68] *Vakîl*, legal agent or representative of the Nawâb Nâzim.

[69] *Bengal Public Consultations*, (1779), XXXI, 525-531.

Read the above-mentioned Orders and Resolution.

Resolved that the following Advertisement be now published.

Advertisement respecting Mr Bolts.

Fort William 26*th July* 1779. Whereas the Governor General and Council were informed by the Honble. the Court of Directors in their letter of the 24th of December 1776 that an enterprize of trade had been undertaken by Mr William Bolts, formerly in their service in Bengal, who had embarked in a large ship, late the *Earl of Lincoln*, now the *Joseph and Theresa*, from the Port of Leghorn, or some other foreign European Port, laden with a valuable cargo of merchandize and with ordnance and ammunition and all kinds of military stores to a great amount, which were reported to be destined for the East Indies. In consequence of which information they were pleased to prohibit all commercial and other intercourse of the Company's servants and all others under the protection of this Government with the persons who had the conduct of the expedition or were concerned therein, and to shew a resentment adequate to the nature of the offence, they have been further pleased to command the Governor General and Council &ca. to prevent the latter from being furnished by any persons subject to their authority with money, goods, stores, or any other assistance which may conduce to the success of the undertaking. Of which Orders public notice was given on the 7th July 1777. And whereas the Governor General and Council have received information that the said Mr William Bolts is actually arrived in this river [Hûglî] on board the said ship *Joseph and Theresa*, they have thought it proper to cause this publication to be repeated that no persons may plead ignorance of the same, and further to declare their firm resolution effectually to execute the commands of the Honble. the Court of Directors, and to enforce them with rigour against all persons who shall be found offending against them. By Order of the Honble. the Governor General and Council.

Mr Francis.[70] The Orders are very proper as far as they go. I myself shall adhere to them literally, but I apprehend they will answer very little purpose, if we do not take other measures. Mr Bolts' ship will proceed to Serampore [Srîrâmpur] or Chinsura.[71] He will there unlade his cargo, and thro' the intervention of the Dutch or Danes accomplish every commercial object which he may have in view by coming hither, and which the Company seem to have it very much at heart to defeat. We cannot correspond with their intentions in this respect by any means so effectually as by using our weight and influence with the Nabob to induce him to order Mr Bolts' ship immediately to leave the river without landing any part of his cargo. No foreign ship can have a right to come into the Bengal River and to carry on traffic here without the permission of the Prince of the Country. This step will be effectual and much less likely to embarrass the Company in its consequences than any thing done directly by ourselves.

The Secretary begs leave to read to the Board the Resolution passed in Consultation the 7th July 1777, which contains an application to the Nabob somewhat similar to that proposed by Mr Francis.

Read the Resolution of 7th July 1777.[72]

Agreed that the Governor General be requested to write a letter to the Nabob, referring him to the former letter of the 7th July 1777, and informing him that Mr Bolts is actually arrived.

[70] Sir Philip Francis (1740-1748), member of the Supreme Council at Fort William.

[71] Headquarters of the Danes and Dutch respectively, both situated near Hûglî.

[72] See *ante*, p. 29.

Consultation at Fort William, 12 *August* 1779.[73]

The Governor General [Warren Hastings] informs the Board that he has received a report from the Master Attendant that eight sloops are arrived at Calcutta laden with cotton and other goods, which they received on freight from on board the *Joseph and Theresa*, the ship under the orders of Mr Bolts, that two other sloops have passed on to Chinsura, and that several more are coming up.

The Governor General sent for the Sarangs [*sarhang*, skipper] of the sloops, which had stopped at town, and received the following information from them.

That they had been engaged by Captain Dundas to carry down goods to the *Royal Henry* lying at Kedgree. That on their arrival there an European came on board their sloop from Mr Bolts's ship and desired that as soon as they should have cleared their sloops of the goods brought down for the *Royal Henry*, to come along side and take in a cargo of cotton for Calcutta, for which they should be paid the customary price. That having delivered the goods for the *Royal Henry* they received a cargo of cotton from Mr Bolts's ship. That on their arrival at Calcutta, they were told to proceed on to Chinsura, for that the cotton could not be unloaded here. The Governor General adds that he has given directions to the Manjees [*mânjhî*, master of a native boat] not to proceed further without an order from him.

[Here follows a list of the sloops and their owners.]

The Governor General also lays before the Board a letter to the Phousdar [*faujdâr*, chief police officer] of Houghley which, if approved, he recommends that the Commander in Chief be requested to give orders to the Officer Commanding at Chandernagore [Chandarnagar] to comply with any applications which shall be made to him by the Phousdar of Houghly conformably thereto.

To Khan Jahan Khan, Phousdar of Hooghly.

Notwithstanding the orders issued by this Government as well as by the Nabob to prohibit all trade or intercourse with Mr Bolts, eight sloops have come up the river with merchandize from his ship, three of which have passed Calcutta and will probably proceed to Chinsura: Should they have reached that place, it will not be advisable to interfere with them, but with respect to any others which may attempt to pass Chinsurah, it is necessary that you take effectual means to prevent them, and should you stand in need of any additional force, Captain Grant, who is stationed at Chandernagore, will, on your written application to him, afford it to you.

Approved the letter to the Phousdar of Houghly, and agreed that the Commander in Chief be requested to give orders to the Commanding Officer at Chandernagore to comply with any application which may be made to him by the Phousdar of Houghly for troops to prevent the sloops laden with Mr Bolts's goods from passing up the river. To obviate the consequence of any misunderstanding of the publication of the Company's Orders respecting Mr Bolts.

Resolved that the Custom Master be directed not to suffer any goods whatever imported by Mr Bolts's ship to be landed in Calcutta, and that the Collector of Government Customs be laid under the same prohibition and further enjoined to give orders to his officers to prevent any from being landed within the jurisdiction of his office.

Ordered that the Master Attendant be directed peremptorily to forbid the Sarangs of the sloops laden with Mr Bolts's goods to proceed further up the river with them.

[73] *Bengal Public Consultations*, (1779), XXXII, 52-57.

Consultation at Fort William, 2 *September* 1779. [74]

The following letter from the Deputy Collector of Government Customs having been read at the Revenue Board on Tuesday last, the Minutes which are entered after it were then taken and sent in.

Honble. Sir,

A quantity of Redwood, the property of Mr Bolts imported on the *Sanctissimo Sacramento* (a Portuguese ship) and now laden on boats to be transported on board his vessel, is stopt by the Officers of the Customs in consequence of your late orders. As the goods have not been landed but are removing from one foreign vessel to another, I request your orders, whether the redwood is to pass for Mr Bolts's ship ? And if in future he may be at liberty to export whatever goods he may think proper.

Government Custom House, 31*st August* 1779.

I have the honour to be &c.

(Signed) HY. SCOTT, Dy. Cr. G. Customs.

Ordered that it lie for consideration, and in the mean time that the Collector be referred to the orders which he has already received respecting Mr. Bolts, and to the regulations of his office, leaving him to act conformably to those authorities.

The Secretary now informs the Board that the only special orders sent to the Collector of Government Customs respecting Mr Bolts's ship was to forbid him from suffering any goods to be landed from them, but are silent with respect to the lading of other goods, and that the Collector in consequence is at a loss how to act.

Ordered that the Collector of Government Customs be informed that the Board expressly forbid him to pass any goods whatsoever belonging to Mr Bolts, that if he has reason to suspect that the goods in question have been procured in Calcutta, the Board desire he will endeavor to trace and report the persons who furnished them to the Board, but if they have been purchased at either of the foreign settlements, it does not depend immediately upon him to collect the duties, the Fouzdar being in this case the proper officer who will take cognizance of the matter upon his representation.

Consultation at Fort William, 6 *September* 1779. [75]

The following letter from Mr Bolts was circulated on Saturday last, and the Minutes which are entered after it were returned.

Honble. Sir and Gentlemen,

In the month of July last I purchased and loaded on freight at Madras, upon a Portuguese vessel called the *Sanctissimo Sacramento* for Bengal, a quantity of redwood, the property of such of the subjects of Her Imperial Majesty, my sovereign, as are interested in the Asiatic Company of Trieste. Finding that at this Presidency all subjects of the British Government were publickly prohibited from having any intercourse with the subjects of Her said Majesty, on the arrival of the Portuguese vessel I did not attempt to land this redwood at Calcutta, but had it laden on four boats, in order to be conducted on board of one of the said Company's vessels now under my command in this river ; I am now informed that the officers of your Custom House have stopped the said redwood on the river, and taken possession thereof ; and as I am ignorant of the reasons which have occasioned this seizure I take the liberty of informing you that I have paid the English Company's

[74] *Bengal Public Consultations*, (1779), XXXII. 317-319.

[75] *Bengal Public Consultations*, (1779), XXXII, 356-358.

duties on this article at Madras, and am ready to pay any other legal demand that can be made thereon by your Government. On these terms I request the favor of an order for its being released.

I have the honor to be &ca.

Chinsurah 2d. September 1779.

(Signed) WILLIAM BOLTS,

Lieut: Col: in the Service of Their Imperial Majesties.

Mr. Barwell.[76] By the orders of the Company we can hold no intercourse with Mr Bolts; of course can give no reply to his letter.

Consultation at Fort William, 29 *September* 1779.[77]

Read the following letter from Mr Bolts.

Honble. Sir and Gentlemen,

On the second instant I did myself the honor of addressing you a letter relative to four boats loaded with redwood, the property of the subjects of Her Imperial Majesty, my sovereign, which, in consequence of your orders, were on the 27th of August past, seized by your Custom House officers on the river, and conducted within the districts of your Town of Calcutta. Not having had the honour of an answer to that letter, to which I beg permission to refer, and much less obtained restitution of the redwood, I must now look upon the said property as lost to Her Majesty's subjects, and shall therefore trouble you no farther on that head.

At the same time, Honble. Sir and Gentlemen, I am sorry to be under the necessity of informing you that other officers of your Government, at Fultah, have been extremely troublesome, not only in obstructing the lawful business of Her Imperial Majesty's subjects and insulting her flag, but in having even gone so far as to prevent the officers and men of the ships under my command from obtaining provisions and the common necessaries of life.

It is not necessary for me to inform you, Honble. Sir and Gentlemen, that the commerce under my directions is "under the protection of the Empress Queen, belonging to a Company erected in Germany"; or that "this commerce is not contrary to any treaty at present subsisting", since you have been formally advised thereof by the Honble. Court of Directors for Affairs of the Honble. the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies. But whatever may be the orders of that Honble. Court, perhaps too much dictated by a commercial jealousy equally as illfounded as at this period ill timed, permit me to address myself to you on this occasion, not as to the agent of a commercial society, but as to a tribunal appointed by an act of the British Legislature to the National Government of the British Dominions in Asia. In this point of view it will be needless for me to call to the recollection of gentlemen of so superior knowledge, what great events have often sprung from small causes, or how easy a spark may at first be quenched, that in its consequences must produce a conflagration.

I must confess after the amicable treatment which we have lately received at the other British Presidencies of Bombay and Madras, where we have been permitted even to trade on paying the established duties, and after seeing the friendly manner in which the ships and subjects of other European States are received at the British Ports in Asia, it is matter of the greatest astonishment to me, ignorant as I am of any differences subsisting between our respective sovereigns, to find your Government here so extremely hostile towards the

76 Richard Barwell (1741-1804), member of the Supreme Council 1773-1781.

77 *Bengal Public Consultations* (1779), XXXII, 549-554.

colours and subjects of the Empress Queen. For admitting you may have a right to prohibit British subjects from all intercourse with those of Her Imperial Majesty, what right can you have to obstruct or oppose Her Majesty and Her subjects in their peaceful intercourse or licit commerce with those of her allies His Most Serene Majesty of Denmark, and the high and Mighty United States of Holland ? Or what right can you claim to seize the property of Her Majesty's subjects, as in the case of the redwood, where ever you find it ?

Earnestly desirous on my part of promoting peace and harmony, I have hitherto most cautiously forbore every act that could possibly give the least offence to your Government, and it is a conduct I wish to pursue during the whole period of my short stay in this river. Let me then conjure you, Honble. Sir and Gentlemen, by those ties of humanity which unite Great Nations together in peace and amity, to give such orders to the respective officers of your Government as may in future remove the causes of the complaints I now make, and thereby prevent any possible interruption of the harmony which I hope will long subsist between the August Courts of Vienna and St. James.

Chinsura 18th September 1779. I have the honor to be &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM BOLTS,

Lieut. Col. in the service of their Imperial Majesties.

Extract of a General Letter from the Council to the Court of Directors at Fort William, dated 14 *January* 1780. [78]

We are to inform you that your orders prohibiting your servants and dependants from having any commercial intercourse or connection with Mr Bolts were published immediately on receipt of the General Letter which contained them, and again advertized on the arrival of that gentleman in July last. [79] Your wishes with respect to this gentleman have been so strictly attended to by us and by the officers of the Nizamut, in consequence of orders from the Nabob to that effect, that he was unable to land any part of the goods imported by his ships, the *Joseph and Theresa* and *Kallowrath*, either at Calcutta or any where below it. He addressed repeated letters to us on the subject, but we did not think ourselves at liberty, consistently with your instructions, to return him an answer to either of them. We believe however that his merchandize was received at Chinsura and disposed of to the Dutch.

As the President and Council at Bombay had not been equally vigilant to prevent the intercourse of persons under their authority with Mr Bolts, we found that some consignments of goods had been made both by European and Native merchants at that place to individuals here by the ships of Mr. Bolts, which we were induced on their claim to suffer the importation of.

Extract of a General Letter from the Council at Fort William to the Court of Directors, dated 5 *April* 1783. [80]

With respect to the conduct which we observed towards Mr William Bolts, we were cautiously governed throughout by your orders concerning him, and have regularly reported the particulars of it to you in our General letter of the 14th January 1780. After having been forbid any intercourse with Mr Bolts, and having issued the prohibition of Trade with him generally to all the dependants of this Government by Public Advertisement, it was not in our power to admit of any Goods imported in his name to be passed thro' the Custom House.

It is within the memory of some of the Members that a letter of representation was presented from Mr. Bolts on the subject of some redwood belonging to him being detained by the Custom House officers, but we did not think ourselves at liberty to receive it.

(*To be continued.*)

78 *Bengal Letters Received*, XVIII, 16-17.

79 *See ante*, p. 29.

80 *Bengal Letters Received*, XX (unpaged).

DATE OF THE ÂBHÎRA MIGRATION INTO INDIA.

BY N. G. MAJUMDAR; CALCUTTA.

IN his monograph on *Vaishṇavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems,* [1] Sir R. G. Bhandarkar has assigned the migration of the Âbhîras into India to the first century A.D. According to him the cult of child Krishṇa was a side-issue of Christianity and was imported by the Âbhîras (' *among whom the boy-god Krishṇa lived* ') from outside India in the century following the crucifixion of Jesus Christ. Mr. Ramâprasâd Chanda in his work called the *Indo-Aryan Races,* [2] has attempted to prove that the Âbhîras came into India long before Christ was born, and as such they cannot be credited with an importation of Christian traditions as alleged by Sir Râmkrishṇa. I fully agree in the contention of Mr. Chanda, though I think his arguments are too weak to prove his theory.

Mr. Chanda refers to the word *ghosha* which occurs in the *Mahâbhâshya* of Patañjali (II. 4. 10) [3] and interprets it in the sense of Âbhîra settlement, which is the meaning put upon that word only by such late authors as Amara and Jayâditya. It cannot be proved that the word *ghosha* was understood in the same sense in the time of Patañjali as it was in the time of Amara and Jayâditya. On the other hand, it will follow from the very passage Mr. Chanda has quoted, that *ghosha* has been used here in an altogether different sense. In the passage in question, *Âryanivâsa* or Aryan settlement is stated as consisting of four units, *grâma, ghosha, nagara* and *saṃvâha*. Here *ghosha* could have been taken to mean an *Âbhîrapallî, i.e.*, a settlement of the Âbhîra race, if the Âbhîras had been Aryans. But in *Patañjali,* as I shall just show, they have been associated with the *Sûdras,* and in the *Vâyupurâṇa,* too, they have been pointed out as *Mlechchhas*.[4] So *Âbhîrapallî* could not have been the sense of the *ghosha* of the above mentioned passage where the intention is to denote the units of Aryan settlement. I do not mean to say that *ghosha* exclusively denoted a unit of Aryan settlement. What I contend here is that, because a certain author wanted to give an example of an Aryan settlement the term *ghosha*, which was used to serve that purpose, could not be referred to in the sense of *Âbhîrapallî*. *Ghosha* which is grouped with such general terms as *grâma, nagara* and *saṃvâha,* could only have been taken in a general sense. It is like the rest, a unit of settlement and has nothing to do with one special class of people. The word has been used in this general sense also in the *Râmâyâṇa* and the *Vâyupurâṇa*.

" रजकांस्तन्तुवायांश्च ग्रामघोषमहत्तराः ।"

—Ayodhyâ, Ch. 83, V. 15.

" आभ्रमानथ ग्रामांश्च घोषांश्च नगराणि च ।"

—Vâyu, Ch. 33, V. 10.

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1 p. 37.

2 pp. 84-85.

3 " कः पुनरार्यनिवासः ग्रामो घोषो नगरं संवाह इति "—Kielhorn's *Mahâbhâshya,* I, 475. For other references to the word *ghosha* in the *Mahâbhâshya* see *ibid,* II, 117-118.

4 Ch. 37, V. 263.

The other argument adduced by Mr. Chanda to prove that the Âbhîras migrated to India before the birth of Christ, is that Kâtyâyana, the predecessor of Patañjali, excludes the word *mahâśûdrî* 'from the operation' of a certain rule of Pâṇini (IV. 1. 4). According to Amara and Kâśikâ the meaning of this word would no doubt be *Âbhirî*. But it is neither a scientific nor a safe method to explain a text of the early second century B.C. in the light of an interpretation suggested by authors later by at least seven hundred years.

Whatever might be the value of the premises put forward by Mr. Chanda it is fair to acknowledge that his theory might have been substantiated from the *Mahâbhâshya* itself. I draw here the attention of scholars to one important passage of Patañjali, which, so far as my knowledge goes, has not yet been pointed out. The Âbhîras are actually mentioned by Patañjali in his gloss on the *Vârtika-sûtra*, "**सामान्यविशेषवाचिनोश्च द्वन्द्वाभावात् सिद्धम्.**" The passage is quoted below :—

सामान्यविशेषवाचिनोश्च द्वन्द्वो न भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥ यदि सामान्यविशेषवाचिनोर्द्वन्द्वो न भवतीत्युच्यते शूद्राभीरम् गोबलीवर्दम् तृणोलपमिति न सिध्यति । नैष दोषः । इह तावत् शूद्राभीरमिति आभीरा जात्यन्तराणि । etc.

The import of the above passage is that *dvandva*-compound should not be formed between a general term (*sâmânya*) and a particular term (*viśesha*). If this be so, there cannot be any *dvandva* compound like *śûdrâbhîram*, *gobalîvardam*, etc., for in these examples the words of each pair stand in relation of *sâmânya* and *viśesha*. Therefore if we want to have a *dvandva* compound in *śûdrâbhîram* *śûdra* must not be taken as a general term and *âbhîra* as a particular term included within that term, though they are actually so, for, in that case, the meaning would be, an Âbhira who is a Śûdra, which would satisfy only the requirements of a *karmadhâraya* compound and not a *dvandva*-compound. Here, the two terms are thus required to be understood as if they represent two different classes (*jâti*).

The legitimate inference which we can draw from the above, is, that the Âbhîras had settled in India and come to be associated with the Śûdras even in the time of Patañjali, who lived at any rate in the second century B.C. Therefore, their migration is to be placed at least three hundred years before the Christian era. The *Vâyupurâṇa* tells us that, at the time when the portion referring to the Âbhîras was composed, they were not even counted as *Śûdras*, but were looked down upon as *Mlechchhas*. The period of its composition must therefore be placed prior to Patañjali. From the *Vâyupurâṇa* we learn also that the Abhîras had already settled in northern India and penetrated even to the far south.[6] This is again indicative of the further antiquity of the Âbhira migration into India.

[5] Kielhorn's *Mahâbhâshya*, I, 252.

[6] *Vâyupurâṇa*, Ch. 45, vs. 115, 126.

THE WIDE SOUND OF *E* AND *O* WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO GUJARÂTÎ.

By N. B. DIVATIA, B.A.; BANDRA.

(*Continued from p.* 28.)

(*D*) Lastly, let us consider some *apparent* exceptions, and see how the accent affects the phonetic process :—

Sanskrit.	Prâkṛit or Apabhraṃśa, and further steps.	Gujarâtî.	Remarks as to causes, etc.
(1) गर्दभकक:[24]	गद्दहडउ गद्धयडउ गद्धइडउ	गधेडो	The accent on ग (which is *guru* because of the conjunct next after it) deprives the अ in धय of its accent and consequent preponderance. Hence the य gets accented and its अ is not ह्रस्व and therefore not dropped. Thus ॲय् is not formed, which alone would give the wide ॲ. Consequently the य undergoes *samprasâraṇa*, and thus अ and इ unite into a narrow ए. *Note*. The accent here is to be considered as relative between अ and इ (or उ) and not with reference to the word as a whole.
(2) वत्सतरक:	वच्छयरउ वच्छइरउ	वछेरो (= a colt)	(*a*) व in वच्छ is *guru* and hence accented ; (*b*) यर begins a new sense-bearing portion of the word ; hence the अ of अय remains unaccented and the य gets accented. Result—as above—अ + इ = ए (narrow).
(3) घनतरकं	घणयरउं घणइरउं	घणेरुं	Causes and results as above, *mutatis mutandis*.
(4) भद्रतरकं	भल्लयरउं भलइरउं	भलेरुं	
(5) अन्यतरकं	अन्नयरउं अनइरउं	अनेरुं	
(6) मदकल:	मयगलु मइगलु	मेगळ	The change of क to ग (which can occur only if the letter is uninitial) shows that कल is only a part of the whole word. Consequently the accent, not falling on ग, falls on य, which therefore undergoes *samprasâraṇa*. Result—अ + इ = ए (narrow).

[24] Dr. Tessitori would put डक्क here as a precursor of डउ.

Sanskrit.	Prâkṛit or Apabhraṃśa, and further steps.	Gujarâtî.	Remarks as to causes, etc.
(7) विकिरति	विइरइ वइरइ	वेरे	The इ here is the residue of the beginning of the root portion of वि+किर्, retains its predominance, and is thus accented, and escapes *prati-samprasâraṇa*. Result—अ+इ=ए (narrow). (*Note.*—In उपविशति–उवइसइ (बइसइ बैसे) the result is different (*i. e.*, the अइ has the accent on अ and hence the इ becoming subordinate becomes य, giving the broad sound in बैसे), although the conditions are *apparently* similar to those in विकिरति, in that the इ left from विश् is the initial syllable of the root portion of उप+विश्. The reason is that in उप the accent is on प to start with, and the loss of the unaccented initial उ of उवइसइ (giving बइसइ as the next step) strengthens the accent on the व (व, the evolute of प), which becomes initial in a compact root-like formation, बइस्. Thus the accent falls on the अ of अइ and not on इ. One little fact may seem to go against this explanation, viz., that the elision of क् in किर् would indicate that the root portion is not regarded as a separate word (such elision being always in the case of uninitial consonants). But it may be held rightly that for the purpose of accentuation the root-nature of किर् still clings to it, and hence its operation in changing the अइ to ए direct.
(8) °नगरी	°नयरी नइरी	°नेर, as in चांपानेर, अमळनेर, वांकानेर, and such other names of towns.	The reason here may at first sight seem difficult to find. Dr. Tessitori accounts for the narrow sound by regarding the penultimate ए as a final one because the final अ is " quiescent " (*vide* p. 78 of his article under consideration). I think there is another and a better explanation. Although the न, as beginning नगरी would naturally be accented, yet it is the ग (and its evolute, य) that is accented here, because नगर, as the second member in these compounds (चंपकनगरी, etc.) is a subordinate element and hence the initial न occupies a secondary place and loses its accentuation in favour of the following syllable ग and its evolute, य. As a result, the अ in अय remains unaccented and its tendency to widen the glottis becomes inoperative, the य becomes इ, and अ+इ unite into a narrow ए.

Sanskrit.	Prâkrit or Apabhraṃśa, and further steps.	Gujarâtî.	Remarks as to causes, etc.
(9) अन्धकार	अंधयार अंधयर अधइर	अंधेर	The आ in या is distinctly accented; in the shortened stage the अ in य retains this accent; hence the first अ in अय remains subordinate and unaccented; consequently य becomes इ and अ + इ = (narrow). With this may be contrasted the cases of भाँजाई and पंइल where the आ, obviously accented, transmits its accent to its successor अ, and thus the first member in अउ—अइ is accented, yielding the wide ऑ—ॲ as a result. Also contrast the case of ऑरसो (from आतुरत्वकं—आउरत्तउं—(changed to °उ masculine) आउरत्तउ. Dr. Tessitori derives the word thus; see his "Notes," § 148). Here too the conditions are the same, turning आउ to ऑ.
(10) अवयव	अवयव अवइव	अवेव [25]	(*a*) य, coming between व and व, has to be emphasized in order to be pronounced distinctly and clearly, especially as all the three end in अ; (*b*) The final व ending in अ becomes subordinate; hence the य is predominant and accented, and the अ of अय is unaccented. Result:—य becomes इ and अ + इ = ए (narrow).
(11) चतुर्वेदी	चउव्वेई चऊवेई	चोवो [26] (चौबे)	The उ is *guru*, because of the conjunct (र्व) after it, and, being thus accented, it leaves the अ of अऊ unaccented. Result:— ओ narrow.
12) कषपट्टिका	कसवट्टिआ कसउट्टी कसऊटी	कसोटी (=a touchstone)	(*a*) The प has its अ made *guru* by the following conjunct; (*b*) The प begins a new word; (although a second member of a compound it retains its independence for purposes of accent); (*c*) स ends the first word in the compound; these causes render the अ of स (ष) unaccented, because प is accented. Result:—अव becomes अउ (उ accented) and अ + उ (ऊ) change to ओ (narrow).

25 " वेल आणे हेमनी ने अवेवफूले फूली. " (Premânanda; *Nalâkhyâna*, XV.)

26 The ओ ending of this word seems to be the result of a false analogy: the Hindi चौबे appearing like the plural of चौबा, and the Hindi masculine आ ending corresponding to the ओ ending in Gujarâtî.

Sanskrit.	Prâkrit or Apabhraṃśa, and further steps.	Gujarâtî.	Remarks as to causes, etc.
(13) पर्णपल्ली	पण्णवल्ली पण्णउल्ली पानऊली	पानोली (name of a village in the Surat District.)	(*a*) The अ in व is *guru* and accented ; (*b*) The अ in प is also *guru* and accented ; (*c*) व begins a new word (as in the case of No. 12 above) ; (*d*) The अ in ण्ण ends the first word of the compound ; Result :—as above,—अव—अउ (अऊ) ओ—(narrow).
(14) चित्रकूट	चित्तऊड	चितौड	(*a*) चि is *guru* and accented ; (*b*) कू (ऊ) is long and accented ; Thus both are accented : (*c*) कू begins a new word (as above) ; (*d*) The अ in त्र ends the first word of a compound ; hence the अ of त्र—त्त (*i.e.*, the अ in अऊ) is subordinate and therefore unaccented. Result :—अ+ऊ=ओ (narrow).
(15) राष्ट्रकूट	रट्ठऊड राठऊड	राठोड	Causes the same as above, *mutatis mutandis*. Result :—अ+ऊ=ओ (narrow). *Note.*—It need not be pointed out that the last two instances, चित्रकूट and राष्ट्रकूट are given here for the smae purpose for which गभीर is included above, viz., to show how *pratisaṃprasâraṇa* is prevented by the long ऊ).
(16) गुहिलपुत्र	गुहिलउत्त गुहिलऊत	गुहिलोत	(*a*) The उ is strong on account of the subsequent conjunct ; (*b*) पुत्र is a separate word, for the purposes of accent ; (*c*) The final अ of गुहिल occupies a subordinate position. Result as before :—अ + उ (ऊ)=ओ (narrow).

All these facts, noted above, will go to show—

(*a*) that when, in the vocalic group अइ or अउ, अ is accented, the इ-उ, getting subordinate, the ultimate result is the wide sound, अॅ-ऑ;

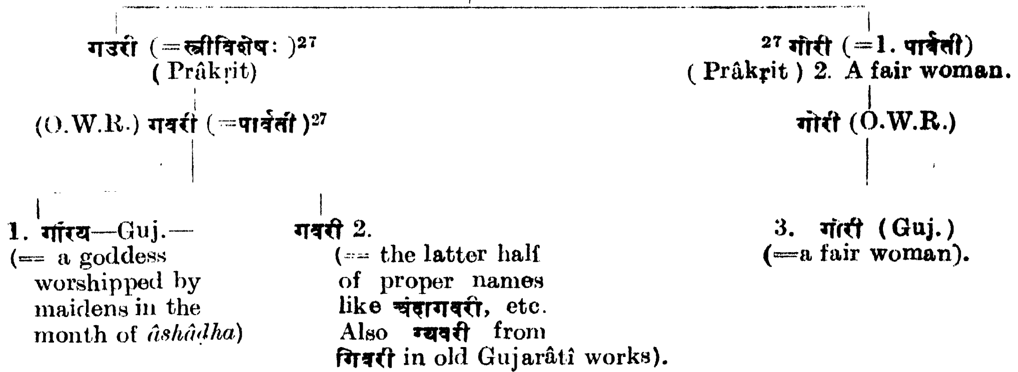
(*b*) that, when in these groups the इ-उ are accented, their prominence leads to the uniting of अ and इ and अ and उ into the narrow ए and ओ;

(*c*) that the wide sound is akin to अय़-अव़ rather than to अइ-अउ;

(*d*) that the इ-उ, when subordinate, turn into य-व (and then य़-व़);

and (*e*) that thus the wide sound is the result of अय़-अव़ and the narrow one is the result of अइ-अउ.

I shall give two or three comparative instances from identical words to further illustrate pointedly the operation of these principles; I give them in the form of a genealogical tree for the sake of giving a clear impression :

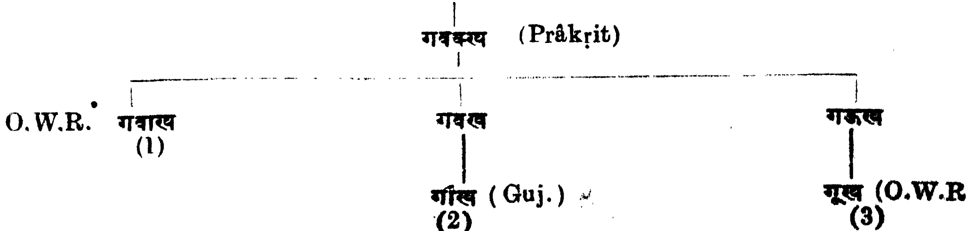


Here, Gujarâtî has (1) गॉरय, (2) °गवरी, and (3) गोरी, each in a different sense; and the phonetic processes are different, as under :—

(1) अउ-अव-अव़-ऑ; (it is to be noted in this case that the final ई becomes subordinate and turns into य; whereas in (2) it remains prominent and preserves the अ of व from becoming हलतर, and hence the अव stays on, and we have गवरी).

(2) अउ—अव. (See note, just above, under (1).)

(3) The ओ has come direct from Prâkṛit under the operation of the general rule in *Si. Hema.* VIII-i-159. (I shall soon consider below the nature and genesis of this operation; I may only state here that in the contraction of औ to ओ, the औ passes through अउ, wherein उ is prominent and hence the narrow ओ.)



27 *Vide Kumârapâlacharita* (Ed. by S. P. Pandit), V, 80; IV, 56; and I, 75, &c. Also Index to it.

We notice here अव changed to ऑ in (2) गॉख ,and अऊ changed to ऊ in (3) गूख ; in the latter case the अ of अऊ is so subordinate and ऊ so very predominant that, instead of the two uniting into a narrow ओ, the अ is lost and ग्+ऊ remain as गू in गूख.[28] The following lines in *Kânhaḍadê Prabandha* (V. S. 1512) will show the place of both गुख and गवाख in old Western Râjasthânî :—

कोठे छइ कोसीसां घणां [29] गूखगवाख मढ मतवारणां

(*Khaṇḍa* III, st. 245.

III—कवण (Apabhraṃśa)
|
कउण (O. W. R.)

| |
(O.W.R.) कुण कवण (O. W. R.)
|
कॉण (Guj.)

Here also the results, कुण and कॉण, are as in गुख (गूख) and गॉख, the only difference being that, while the ऊ in गऊख is long, that in कउण is short, and yet somehow occupies a prominence which ousts the अ off.

We may also contrast—चौलावत, चंद्रावत, etc., which contain वत as the final evolute of पुत्र through पुत्त, उत्त,[30] with गुहिलोत from गुहिलपुत्र, गुहिलउत्त ; the point of contrast being that, in the latter case the अउ unites into a narrow ओ because of the strong उ, while in the former the strength is more than counteracted by the long आ preceding it, and hence the change into व.

It may be objected : Is not this fixing of the accent an arbitrary procedure ? What is the guide for fixing it ? Does it not amount to begging the question when you fix the accent on the अ or on the इ-उ (or य-व) according as the resulting sound is wide or narrow ? My answer to the first and last question is—No ; and to the second question the answer is furnished in the reason I shall just give for this answer in the negative. We have the guide and the test in certain instances where the accent is obvious and undisputable, *e. g.*, घईर, चित्तऊड, अवयव, अंधयार, चउव्वेई, कसवट्टिआ, पण्णवल्ली, रहऊड, गुहिलउत्त, भाउजाई, पायदल, and the like ; and in the light of these we detect the location of the accent in the other cases, *always with good reason for the same.* In this subsequent process if the method appears to be *a priori*, it has a justification and is not the same as begging the question ; for the test indications have already disclosed to us the governing principle, and we trace it backwards

[28] The अ is extraordinarily subordinate in this case because it is in the initial syllable, and hence unsupported by a preceding syllable, and so it becomes लुप्त. In the case of गवख the accent on व gets lost when it becomes shortened, and hence the अ of अव gets accented.

Of course, the fact is that when people are inclined towards subordinating अ overmuch it becomes lost, and in the opposite case it acquires emphasis.

[29] Karmaṇa Mantri's *Sîtâharaṇa* (V. S. 1526) also has गूख and गवाख in juxtaposition :

गूख, गवाख, नइ मालिआं ऊभडां उत्तम ठाम;

(Description of Ayodhyâ).

(This double-barrelled word must have been a conventional expression, it seems.)

Vimala-prabandha (V. S. 1568) has गुख with a short उ. (See *Khaṇḍa* I, st. 55.)

[30] The उत्त becomes वत्त by *prati-saṃprasâraṇa* in these cases. I do not believe that पुत्र-पुत्त becomes वुत्त and thus वत्त; for in the case of गुहिलोत the steps are पुत्त-उत्त, (not पुत्त, वुत्त, उत्त).

from the visible results in cases of possible dispute, and see how it fits in. This method is, I believe, fairly permissible and frequently resorted to in all inquiries of this nature.

Dr. Tessitori (" Notes," § 10, (4)) refers to the change of अइ into ए (narrow) as visible in Prâkṛit and Apabhraṃśa, and cites Pischel, § 166. The instances given by Pischel are केल from कदल,[31] थेर from स्थविर, etc. Similarly the change of अउ to ओ is visible if we look behind and under the *âdeśas* given by Hemachandra: as in लोण, etc., from लवण, etc. (*Si. Hema.* VIII-i-171) and ओ for अप and अव (*Si. Hema.* VIII-i-172). Similar is the principle underlying the *sûtra*, VIII-i-170, wherein the word presumably passes through an intermediate step, पउर, (alternatively with बअर which gives बैर in Hindi), and the ऊअ in the mediate evolutes of पूतर and पूगफल first goes through a metathesis and the अऊ thus derived becomes ओ.

To this I would further add that the changes of ऐ to ए and औ to ओ, noted by Hemachandra in VIII-i-148 and 159 respectively are not direct, single-stepped changes, but really through the intermediate steps अइ and अउ respectively; consequently all these changes to ए-ओ may be regarded as but changes from inherent अइ-अउ. The exceptional position of दैत्यादिगण and वैरादिगण (VIII-i-151, 152), as also that of पौरादिगण (VIII i-162) and गौरव (VIII i-163), which note the change of ऐ-औ in those cases to अइ-अउ, is really this:-- All Sanskṛit ऐ-औ are in Prâkṛit changed to अइ अउ *in the first instance*, and, while in the exceptions just mentioned (दैत्यादि, etc., and पौरादि, etc.) they stop short at the hiatus form अइ-अउ, in all the remaining cases the contactual vowels thus arrived at move a step further and unite into ए and ओ respectively.[32]

It will thus be seen that even in the Prâkṛit stage the tendency was for the union of अ and इ and अ and उ to result into the narrow ए and ओ. Of course, the wide sound was

---

[31] Pischel's steps are कदल-कदिल--कइल-केल. I would prefer कवल-कअल (कयल)-कइल-केल, for *samprasâraṇa* is latent in *Sûtras* like *Si. Hema* VIII i-171, 172, and VIII iii 149, under which लवण becomes लोण and अप and अव become ओ, and the अय of the causal becomes ए (मारयति -मारेइ), obviously, through the change of व to उ and य to इ (*Samprasâraṇa*); whereas कदिल for कदल is not quite a known change, the principle underlying स्वराणां स्वराः प्रायोऽपभ्रंशे, or, better still, that underlying *Si. Hema.* VIII-i-46, may cover the case by stretching a point. But we need not go so far when the obvious and natural steps are available.

[32] I base this theory on the difference in the essential formation of ऐ-औ and ए-ओ. It is this; Sanskṛit and Prâkṛit grammarians divide the vowels into समान (simple), which are अ to लृ and सन्धि (compound), which are ए, ऐ, ओ, औ, because these latter four are formed by a coalition of अ and इ and अ and उ respectively. They (the grammarians) do not make any further distinction in the latter division. I am inclined to differentiate these by further dividing them into संकीर्ण, which are ए and ओ, and संसृष्ट, which are ऐ and औ. The meaning is obvious: संकर is fusion, and संसृष्टि is mere admixture; we find in ए and ओ the component simple vowels thoroughly fused together as in a chemical combination, while in ऐ and औ the component simple vowels stand joined together, as in a mechanical mixture. They are to the simple components what conjunct consonants are to the simple consonants composing them. Thus, while it would be easy for ऐ and औ to get split up into अइ and अउ as contactual vowels, it would be practically impossible for ए and ओ to be so split up. Consequently ऐ-औ would seem to have no *direct* connection with ए-ओ, and, in passing into the latter form, must necessarily first get split up into अइ-अउ.

I am half inclined to call ऐ-औ by the name संश्लिष्ट instead of संसृष्ट; but on second thoughts I adhere to the latter name, because (1) संसृष्टि is conventionally used as the reciprocal of संकर (as in the case of *alaṅkâras*); and (2) संश्लेष would indicate a closer union (an embrace) than संसर्ग which is a mere union; only a little more than mere contact.

Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar's distinction between ऐ-औ and अइ-अउ will prove interesting incidentally in this connection. (*Vide* his Wilson Philological Lectures, 81, 142 and 146.)

not known then ; and no wonder, because the conditions for that sound were not present ; viz., अय्-अव् as results of accent on अ. Consequently Dr. Tessitori's theory that अय-अव must pass through अइ-अउ before forming the wide अॅ-ऑ, will not fit in with all these principles noted above. A small indication will bear this out : Sanskṛit अय becomes ए in Prâkṛit in cases like the causal forms of verbs : पारयति-पारेइ, कारयति-कारेइ, भावयति-भावेइ and the like. (*Vide Si. Hema.* VIII-iii-149.) This ए must obviously be the result of अय passing into अइ. Similarly the change of लवण, etc., to लोण, etc., and of अप and अव to ओ indicate the change of अव to अउ first. This will show the nature of the union between and अ and and इ, and अ and उ, even when derived from अय-अव. It will be seen, thus, that अ and इ and अ and उ are the generators of the *narrow* ए and ओ, while अय् and अव् those of the wide अॅ and ऑ. For it cannot be seriously contemplated that the narrow ए-ओ thus formed turned all at once into the wide ones, or that अ+इ and अ+उ could generate both the sounds, narrow as well as wide.

I have already referred to Dr. Tessitori's gracefully frank admission that, when he wrote his " Notes ", the wide sound of *e* and *o* (as अॅ ऑ) was never present before his mind, and he states there that अइ and अउ became *ê* (ए) and *ô* (ओ) narrow. May it be that, now when he has discovered that both Gujarâtî and Mâravâḍî have the wide *è—ò* (अॅ-ऑ), the first impression still clings, of course partially, in so far as he regards the wide sound as resulting direct from अइ-अउ without an intermediate step ?[33]

One word more. It will be remembered that the wide sound of अॅ-ऑ was quite unknown to Prâkṛit or O. W. Râjasthânî ; and that it came into Gujarâtî and Mâravâḍî alone during the early history of their growth, probably about the early part of the seventeenth century of the Christian era. This period coincides with the time when the Moghul Empire had just been consolidated by Akbar, and Akbar's great efforts had brought Arabic and Persian literature into close contact with Indian literature. May I therefore venture a suggestion that this wide sound, which is peculiarly similar to, or at least extremely near, the wide sound of Arabic and Persian words of the types of हय्रान and कव्ल, was matured under the indirect influence of these foreign languages ? It is certainly not unlikely that the sound in वयण-वय्ण should have recognized a close likeness in the foreign word हय्रान or that in कवडी-कव्डी should have found a similar correspondence in that of कव्ल, and that thus a silent current of phonal influence generated and established itself. I am aware that Hindi—the language of a province where the Moghul influence was wider and more powerful—has the sound not identically wide with Gujarâtî and Mâravâḍî. This can be very well accounted for by the comparatively sturdy character of the people speaking Hindi who tried to steer clear of this foreign influence, and only partially succeeded, for, after all, the similarity between the new indigenous sound and the foreign sound was really very close.

Finally, it is possible that the question may be asked—" If the wide अॅ-ऑ are the results of अय्-अव् how could the formation contain ए and ओ which comprise अ+इ and अ+उ, without the presence of इ and उ in the precedent stage ? " The answer is this : As just observed, the wide अॅ-ऑ are really new and, in a way, foreign sounds ; they comprise

(*a*) the foreign element,

and (*b*) the nature of ए and ओ ;

of these (*a*) is predominant and (*b*) subordinate, and this latter is contributed by the इ and उ remaining, as it were, in the form of a latent influence in the य् and व्. This need

[33] I must here admit that, when I wrote my Note in the *Indian Antiquary* to which Dr. Tessitori has alluded, I had mistaken the circumflex over *e* and *o* (*ê—ô*) for the *grave* (*è—ò*) when reading Dr. Tessitori's " Notes." The former marks the narrow sound and the latter the wide one.

not be regarded as if I gave up my whole case. The latent influence can exist for its limited operation and yet the final formation (य्-व्) remain as the dominant factor.[34]

To summarize,—my position amounts to this :

I. The wide sound in अॅ-ऑ in Gujarâtî (which is also a peculiarity of Mâravâḍî) comes from

(*a*) अय-अव in Prâkṛit, Apabhraṃśa, and O. W. Râjasthânî ;

and (*b*) अइ-अउ in the same languages, through a subsequent step अय-अव by *pratisamprasâraṇa* (a principle at work in an extensive field).

NOTE :—

(1) In both these cases the अय-अव assume the form अय्-अव् (by the loss of the हुस्वतर अ) before taking the form of the wide sound.

(2) अहि-अहु which also become wide अॅ-ऑ really pass through the अइ-अउ step by the movement of the ह to the initial syllable of words :

वहिल्लउं	व्हइल्लउं	व्हॅलुं
	व्हइलउं	
(पृथुलकं) पहुलउं	प्हउलउं	प्हॉळुं

II. The reasons for the above analysis are :—

(*a*) अइ-अउ, if they combine, form ए-ओ (narrow), as shown by the tendency ever since Prâkṛit and Apabhraṃśa periods ; they cannot yield the wide sound by mere combination as they are ;

(*b*) अय-अव (through अय्-अव्) generate the wide sound, as is manifest to the ear by actual perception ;

(*c*) This wide sound, which did not start much earlier than the seventeenth century of the Christian era, and is confined to Gujarâtî (and Mâravâḍî), is really foreign in its nature, and its advent was helped by the O. W. Râjasthânî अय-अव (in the अय्-अव् stage) finding a phonal affinity with the Arabic-Persian sound in अय्-अव्:

वयण (वय्ण), (खदिर) खइर, खयर (खय्र):

कवडी (कव्डी), चउत्थउं (चउथउं, चवथउं, चव्थउं);

these find, as it were, a phonal kinship with the types represented by ऍहतान-दव्लत ;

(*d*) This phonal phenomenon is determined by the position and movement of accent ; if the accent is on the अ of the अइ-अय, अउ-अव, the resulting sound is wide, अ being कंठ्य and capable of विवृत pronunciation ; if the accent is on इ-य, उ-व the resulting sound is ए-ओ (narrow), य-व passing first into इ-उ by *samprasâraṇa;*

(*e*) The dipthongs ऐ-औ in Sanskṛit were narrow in sound ; the ॅं-ॲ in Marâṭhî *tadbhavas* (*e.g.*, बैल, चौथा) are almost similar to the Sanskṛit sounds ; the ऐ-औ in Hindi *tadbhavas* (बैल, चौथा), although swinging to the side opposite to the Marâṭhî sound, *i.e.*, inclining towards the wide sound, do not quite come up to the full wide sound in Gujarâtî (and Mâravâḍî) *tadbhavas* ;—consequently ऐ-औ would be misleading as symbols for this last-named wide sound, for which अॅ-ऑ would be perhaps the best symbols, especially as these were in vogue at one time in old manuscripts, if my information is correct.

I conclude now, but not without acknowledging my great debt to Dr. Tessitori whose learned labours have helped me in examining this question in all its bearings and enabled me to place my view before him and other scholars interested in this subject, in a spirit of friendly co-operation in the search for knowledge and truth.

34. This may be likened, *in a way*, to the principle underlying Pâṇini's *sûtra* स्थानिवदादेश: (I-i-56). though it adds अनल्विधौ and thereby excludes अल्विधि from its operation. I am aware, the purpose of the *sûtra* is different. I simply apply the principle in a different way for my purpose. In fact exclude the exception, अनाल्विधौ, *i.e.*, a process similar to it, in this case.

Appendix A.

(*See page* 297, *December*, 1917, *n*. 3.)

The scope of अइ–अउ is further restricted by the fact that, as a general rule, Sanskṛit ऐ and औ are changed in Prâkṛit to ए and ओ respectively, and the changes to अइ and अउ are confined, as exceptions, to—

(*a*) Words in the दैत्यादि group (*Si. Hemachandra,* VIII-i-151), or, optionally, to those in the वैरादि group (*Si. Hema.* VIII-i-152);

(*b*) Words in the पौरादि group (*Si. Hema.* VIII-i-162), and, optionally, the word गौरव (*Si. Hema.* VIII-i-163);

And अइ–अउ formations are otherwise evolved in—

(*c*) Words where the अइ or अउ is derived by the elision of certain consonants united with the इ or उ, *e.g.*:

प्रतिष्ठान (पइट्ठाण), उपविंशति (उवइसई बइसइ), प्राविशति (पइसइ), मुकुल (मउल—मॅार Guj.);

(*d*) Words which, in Prâkṛit, contain अहि–अहु undergo a further transitional change by way of the shunting of the *h* to the beginning of a word and precipitate अइ–अउ, *e.g.*:

			Guj.
भगिनी	बहिणी	(व्हइणी)	व्हॅन
	पहिलउं	(प्हइलउं)	प्हॅलुं
शिथिलकं	सहिलउं	(स्हइलउं)	स्हेलुं
पृथुलकं	पहुलउं	(प्हउलउं)	प्हॉलुं

and the like.

In this last case, (*d*), however, the अइ–अउ stage is merely a transitional one, a mere possibility, and therefore not likely to be found in actual writing. This may, therefore, be properly excluded from calculation for the purpose of finding out use in actual writing. Add to this the fact that all the words covered by the above groups do not necessarily yield corresponding words in Gujarâtî (or Mâravâḍî).

This is in regard to medial अइ–अउ. For the rest there is an extensive field of final अइ and अउ in verbal forms and nominative singular of nouns and adjectives; *e.g.*:

करइ, आवइ, छइ, etc.
करिसइ, etc.
करउ, आवउ, छउ, etc.
घोडउ, हत्थउ; बंकउ, रत्तउ, etc.

But the extensiveness of this field is compensated for by what I call the अर्धविवृत [35] nature of the sound in the resulting *e* and *o*, a fact recognized by Dr. Tessitori also.

Thus, as a result of all this, the cases of अय and अव in actual writing will obviously be comparatively very few. In contrast to this अय–अव, as derived from Sanskṛit words by elision of certain consonants or change of प to व (where व does not exist originally) will always be medial—rarely final (as in सर्व–सॅ and the like), and instances thereof will be larger in number. It is interesting to note that Hindi, which pronounces the final and medial wide ए and औ in a peculiar way, sometimes writes हय for है (=is).

[35] A few exceptions may be noted: भॅाँ (fear) from भयः – भउ; छॅाँ (= let be), from छउ (= अस्तु); हॅाँ (an interjection, meaning,—"Do you see?", "Will you?", as in कागळ लखजो हॅाँ! "You will write to me, will you?") from भवतु हुवउ,–हवउ, हउ; जॅ (= victory), from जइ–जय.

These, especially as they are monosyllabic, emphasize the wide sound of the final औ and ए; as will be perceived by contrasting the words with भौ (address of vocative), छो (= chunam plastering), and जे (= which), which all, of course, end in a narrow sound.

Appendix B.

(*See page 25, January*, n. 18.)

Tulsîdâsa (died V. S. 1680) shows the following :—

(1) मोसन भिरहि कौन योधा बड़ (*Lankâ-Kâṇḍa*).

(2) जाम्बवंत औरौ नलनीला (*Kishkindhâ-Kâṇḍa*).

(3) तुम देखी सीता मृग नैनी (*Aranya-Kâṇḍa*).

(4) सुनहु सकल बैठे इहरेता (*Kishkindhâ-Kâṇḍa*).

(5) त्रेता रामलषण औतरहीं (*Sundara-Kâṇḍa*).

(6) इहिँते कवन[36] विपति बड़ भाई (*Aranya-Kâṇḍa*)

(7) यहाँ न पक्षपात कछु राखौं
वेदपुराण संत मत भाषौं (*Uttara-Kâṇḍa*).

(8) पूँछौं काहि कहौं कहिजाई (*Sundara-Kâṇḍa*, Interpolated portion).

(9) कवन[36] उत्तर देहौं तिनजाई (*Ditto* *ditto.*).

(10) अस स्वभाव कहुँ सुनौं न देखौं
केहि खगेश रघुपतिसम लेखौं (*Uttara-Kâṇḍa*).

(11) मोसन होइ न प्रत्युपकारा
वन्दौं तवपद बार हि बारा (*Ditto*)

(12) मैं कृतकृत्य भयउँ तव बानी (*Ditto*)

(13) मोर जलधिशोहित तुम भयउ
मोकहँ नाथ विविधसुख दयउ (*Ditto*)

(14) निज परिताप द्रवै नवनीता
परदुख द्रवहिं सुसन्त पुनीता (*Ditto*)

(15) धन्य सो भूप नीति जो करइ
धन्य सो द्विज निज धर्म न टरइ (*Ditto*)

(16) तोष मरुत तब क्षमा जुड़ावै
धृतसम जावन देइ अमावै (*Ditto*)

A comparative study of these specimens will show that अइ. अउ in instances like No. 15 and No. 13 are necessitated by the requirements of metre ; ऐ–औ in such cases would not have done. Barring this, we find ऐ–औ in general use, and ए–ओ rare. It may be reasonably inferred that, while this state of mixed use of अइ–अउ and –ऐ–औ––indicating the rise of ऐ–औ—prevailed in Tulsîdâsa's time, the ऐ–औ practice was fairly well-established about half a century after Tulsîdâsa's death, when Bihâri wrote his "Satasai." Of course, a careful inspection of the original manuscripts would throw further light on this matter. I have had to depend on printed works only in this case.

The "Song of Jasavanta Sonigaro" (given by Dr. Tessitori in the article under notice, pp. 82-84) which is in old Mâravâḍî and contains ऐ–औ in fair profusion, is placed by Dr. Tessitori soon after V. S. 1670. This would show its affinity with the similar practice in Hindi in Tulsîdâsa's period.

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[36] कवन is also found in other places :—

कह दशकन्ध कवन तैं बन्दर (*Lankâ-Kâṇḍa.*)

करहु कवन कारण तपभारी (*Bâla-Kâṇḍa.*)

This shows that, if कउण did not exist between Apabhraṃśa and Hindi, कवन preserved its व form side by side with the changed form कौन ;—a phenomenon no unusual in linguistic evolution. The करहु here, for instance, retains the इ and we have forms like भयउ. दयउ also (see instance 13).

AŚOKA NOTES, NO. XII.

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BY VINCENT A. SMITH, M.A. (OXON.)

Identification of Tambapaṁni in the Rock Edicts.

The name *Tambapaṁni* **occurs twice in the Edicts,** namely, in Rock Edict II, which asserts that 'curative arrangements' were organized 'as far as Tambapaṁni'; and in Rock Edict XIII, which describes the 'conquest by the Law of Piety,' or 'morality' as extending to the same limit. The name undoubtedly is that written in Sanskrit as *Tâmraparṇi* (Tâmbraparni of *Imp. Gazetteer*), which is applied both to Ceylon and to a river which formerly flowed through the ancient Pâṇḍya kingdom and now traverses the Tinnevelly District. In the second edition of my *Aśoka* (Oxford, 1909) I translated the name in both passages by "Ceylon", but am satisfied that I was mistaken, and that **the reference in both cases is to the river, not to the island.** Aśoka meant that his medical institutions and Buddhist propaganda extended into the Pâṇḍya territory. The Rock Edicts, as is now well known, were published in or about 257 B.C. At that date the relations of the Indian emperor with Ceylon had not begun. They did not come into existence until several years later, soon after the accession of Tissa as king of Ceylon, which event, according to Wickramasinghe, may be dated in 253 B.C. The reign of Tissa, who, like Aśoka, bore the title *Devânaṁpiya*, lasted, as that of Asoka did, for about forty years. (*Ep. Zeylanica*, I, 81.) **Consequently, it is impossible that the word** *Tambapaṁni* **in the Edicts should refer to Ceylon.**

The *Arthaśâstra* of Kauṭilya or Châṇakya, which was composed in the time of Aśoka's grandfather, and makes only one reference to Tâmraparṇi, certainly treats the name as meaning the river. Chapter 11 of Book I, in which the various kinds of gems are described, mentions the Tâmraparṇika kind as being 'that which is produced in the Tâmraparṇi.' The commentator explains the meaning by the note, 'A river in the Pâṇḍya country.' The river was famous as the seat of fisheries for both pearls and the chank shell (*Turbinella rapa*). **The ancient port of Korkai,** then on the bank of the river and on the sea-coast, was a place of extensive commerce and a centre of the gem trade. The gems, other than pearls, must have come chiefly from Ceylon, and the close commercial relations between the Pâṇḍya kingdom and the island may explain the transfer of the name Tâmraparṇi from the river on the mainland to Ceylon. Prior to the accession of Tissa, in or about 253 B.C., Ceylon probably was known to India mainly as a place which supplied gems and spices to the mart on the Tâmraparṇi, from which it was not distinguished.

The Tâmraparṇi river was and is still a stream of exceptional importance on its own account, although its course, windings included, measures only about seventy miles. The catchment area receives both the S.W. and N.E. monsoons, with the result that the river is in flood twice in the year and offers unique facilities for the irrigation of rice. Its valley is the wealthiest portion of the Tinnevelly District. The river rises in the Potiyam or Potigai mountain, also called Agastya's Hill, the Potalaka of Hiuen Tsang,[1] 6800 feet high, which receives an annual rainfall of 300 inches, while the Tinnevelly plain receives only 25. The river is said to be mentioned in both the *Âraṇya-parva* of the

[1] Beal, II, 233; Watters, II, 231.

Mahâbhârata and in the *Raghuvaṁśa.* It is considered extremely sacred throughout its whole course, and especially at the falls in the hills. The Greeks called it Solen, which seems to be a variant form of Ceylon. It is remarkable that they, like the Indians, should apply the one name to the river and the island The Potigai mountain appears as 'Bettigo' in Greek.

The port of Korkai, which used to be situated near the mouth of the Tâmraparṇi, but now is five miles from the sea, seems to have been the first settlement of civilized man in those parts. The ruin of Korkai and the other ancient ports in the neighbourhood undoubtedly is due to a **gradual elevation of the land,** and not to mere silting up by deposits of sand brought down by the rivers. The proof is given concisely by Caldwell in the following passage :—

'I should not expect to find relics of the oldest period anywhere near the sea, as I consider it certain that the land has been slowly but steadily rising above the ancient sea level for ages, probably even before man made his appearance in the district. The rise of the land all through the historical period is, I think, capable of proof. Near Kulaśekhara-paṭṭanam, a town and port of some antiquity, **pieces of broken pottery are occasionally found imbedded in the grit stone, a marine formation abounding in sea shells of existing species, found all along the coast.** I have a specimen in my possession found about a mile from the sea-shore ; but I regard this as proving, not the immense antiquity of the pottery, which does not appear to differ in the least from the pottery now in use, but rather the comparatively recent origin of some portions of the grit-stone.' [2]

The long-expected edition of the edicts of Asôka by Professor Hultzsch was in the press when the war broke out in 1914. The work is not sufficiently advanced to be completed by anybody except the author. I have been permitted by the Clarendon Press to consult the small portion printed off which comprises the whole of the Rock Edicts in the Girnâr recension and most of the Kâlsi recension, but not the 13th edict or the close of the 12th. **Dr. Hultzsch correctly renders the words** *â Tambapaṁni* **in Edict II, Girnâr, by 'as far as the Tâmraparṇi', and appends the note :—**

'Here and in edict XIII Tâmraparṇi is usually taken to refer to Ceylon ; but it is more natural to understand by it the river of this name in the Tinnevelly district, which was known to the author of the *Râmâyaṇa* (Bombay edition, IV, 41, 17). Cf. Mr. V. A. Smith's note, *ZDMG.*, 63, 211.'

Edict XIII in the Girnâr recension is missing

In edict II of the Kâlsî recension we have the enumeration of foreign countries *Choḍâ Paṁ[di]ya Sâtiyaputo Kelalaputo Taṁbapaṁni,* which Dr. Hultzsch renders :— 'the Choḍâs, the Pâṇḍyas, the Sâtiyaputa, the Kelalaputa, the Tâmraparṇi.'

His edition of the 13th edict in that recension is not at my disposal.

It is clear that in both edicts *Tambapaṁni* **means the Tinnevelly river, not the island of Ceylon.**

[2] *History of Tinnevelly,* Madras, 1881, 5, 9-11, 19, 38. 'Within India proper there have been local changes in the relative level of land and sea within recent geological times. . . On the east side of Bombay Island trees have been found imbedded in mud about 12 feet below low-water mark, while a similarly submerged forest has been described on the Tinnevelly coast. On the other hand, there is evidence to show that a part of the coast of Tinnevelly has risen and driven back the sea in the neighbourhood of Kâyal.' (*Imp. Gaz.*, 1907, I, 99, 'Geology' by T. H. Holland.)

THE ARTHASASTRA EXPLAINS :

BY K. P. JAYASWAL, M.A. (OXON.), BAR.-AT-LAW ; BANKIPORE.

(1)

"Praṇaya" of Rudradaman's Inscription.

THE meaning of the term *praṇaya* occurring in Rudradâman's inscription [1] is now settled by Kauṭilya's *Arthaśâstra*.

Hindu Law lays down a fixed system of taxation which no king acting under the Law could violate. He could neither introduce a new tax, nor could he enhance the rates fixed by the Common Law (*Dharmaśâstra*). This, of course, was very inconvenient to an imperial system like that of the Mauryas, which had to maintain a large standing army and to carry on great wars. The system, therefore, had to have recourse to devices. It introduced and levied taxes without directly calling them taxes.

The *Arthaśâstra* calls them *praṇayaḥ* (in the singular). This 'gift of affection' was to be realised during financial stringency ('*Pratyutpannârthakṛichchhaṃ,*' p. 240). [2] This could be levied only once, presumably in one reign (*sakṛideva na dvih prayojyah*, p. 241). If there was disappointment in the realisation of the *praṇaya* the Minister of Revenue had to 'beg' it from the capital and the country after pointing out the importance of the object for which it was wanted (*tasyâkaraṇe vâ samâhartâ kâryamapadiśya paura-jânapadân bhiksheta*, pp. 241-2). For better success, the king had also to beg (*râjâ paura-jânapadân bhikhsheta*). The agents of the Government were the first to give largely and they would put to shame those who paid little. '*Hiraṇya*' (gold coin) was begged of the rich.

Another device was that titles or dignities, the privilege of using the umbrella of distinction, and what in Muhammadan times was called *khillats*, were to be given for *hiraṇya* (स्थान-छत्र-वेष्टन-विभूषाश्चैषां हिरण्येन प्रयच्छेत्, p. 242).

The *praṇaya* amongst the rural population was realised at twenty-five per cent. of the agricultural produce, and at one-sixth of cotton and woollen goods, etc. Likewise the urban articles of trade and merchandise were also made to pay a high profit and capital tax ranging from 50 per cent. to 20 per cent. Theatrical people had to pay half of their salaries (p. 241).

It seems that this 'affection' tax was carried down to the time of Rudradâman and thus had a history of about four centuries, at least. That the 'affection' tax had been very much resented is proved by the fact of Rudradâman's publicly announcing its discontinuance. True to his coronation-oath ('*pratijñâ*') he realised only the taxes sanctioned by Hindu Law. [3]

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. 43, 44.

[2] Cf. प्रतिज्ञां चाभिरोहस्व मनसा कर्मणा गिरा । पालयिष्याम्यहं भौमं ब्रह्म इत्येव चासकृत् ॥
M. Bh., Śânti, 59. 106.

[3] The oath exacted a promise to follow the Law. Cf. यश्चात्र धर्मो नित्युक्तो दण्डनीतिव्यपाश्रयः तमशङ्कः करिष्यामि स्ववशो न कदाचन. M. Bh., Śânti, 59. 107.

(2)

The God-idols of the Mauryas.

The old discussion on Patañjali's *Mauryair hiranyârthibhir=archâh prakalpitâh* [4] ought to be considered now in the light of a datum in the *Arthaśâstra*.

The '*pranaya*' and sale of honours were not the only Mauryan devices to ease financial situation. Patañjali's remark 'the worships established by the Mauryas who wanted *hiranya* (money)' has reference to another of those devices.

In the same chapter (on Financial Stringency, ch. 90) one more method of raising money is given and that is by instituting new worships (p. 242). There was an imperial Department of Temples and Worships. The Minister in charge (देवताध्यक्ष) was expected to help the Exchequer by various procedures. He had, for instance, to exploit the superstitious devotees (*Sraddadhânân*) of Nâgas by showing a real serpent in the Nâga-idol through secret human agency (p. 242). New *daivata* had to be set up at night and *yâtrâsamâjas* convened there to raise revenue from their offerings. According to Patañjali some of the objects of worship established by the Mauryas were still worshipped in his time (यास्त्वेता संप्रतिपूजार्थास्तासु), and amongst such worships were also the wellknown "*Siva*," "*Skanda*" and '*Viśâkha*" [5] (शिव स्कन्द विशाख इति), apparently, of Pâṭaliputra. [6]

(3)

Nivi of the Inscriptions

The word *nîvî* occurring in the inscriptions has not been properly understood. The *Arthaśâstra* explains it

Nîvî is a technical term of the Hindu secretariat. It means a 'despatch,' 'document,' 'record' or 'file See *Arthaśâstra*, pp. 61, 62, 64. (आयव्ययनीवीनां; समुद्र-पुस्तभाण्ड-नीविकानां, etc.) The expression, like our modern 'red-tape,' is derived from the physical feature 'the string' which was tied round the despatch or returns.

The *Nîvî* of the inscriptions has thus to be translated as 'document' or 'despatch,' and *akshaya-nîvi* as 'permanent document.'

(4)

"Thus saith Priyadarsi": 'Proclamations' not 'edicts.'

"Thus saith" was a technical style used in a certain class of royal documents. The style had come down from pre-Mauryan times. For Kauṭilya in his chapter on

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[4] On *Pâṇini*, 5. 3. 99 : जीविकार्थे चापण्ये ।

[5] It may be noticed that most of the gods mentioned in the *Arthaśâstra* (pp. 55-6) go back to the Maurya and pre-Maurya times Its *Śiva* and *Vaiśravaṇa* may be compared with Pâṇini's *Śiva* (4.1.112), and *Siva-Vaiśravaṇau* of the Mahâ-Bhâshya (on Pâṇini, 6.3.26), and the *Nâgas* and *Śri* with the *Nâgas* and *Siri* of the Buddhist Sûtras. The *Aśvins* are vedic. The histories of *Madirâ*, *Jayanta*, *Vaijayanta*, *Aparâjita* and *Apratihata*, however, are still to be traced.

[6] Patañjali means by implication that the Mauryas did make a *trade* by instituting these idols (*pratikritis*, P. v. 3. 96), and thus the limitation of Pâṇini '" अपण्ये " ' where no trade is made' (only a livelihood is made, जीविकार्थे), fails in the case of the '*Siva*', etc., of the Mauryas, which are called '*Siva*,' etc. (not *Sivaka*, etc.): अपण्य इत्युच्यते तत्रेदं न सिध्यति । शिवः स्कन्द विशाख इति । किं कारणम् । मौर्यैर्हिरण्यार्थिभिः etc.

Sâsanâdhikâra or the Department of Royal Correspondence [7] (pp. 70-75) gives ancient rules " सर्व शास्त्राण्यनुक्रम्य प्रयोगमुपलभ्य च " (p. 75). He quotes verses which by their very style prove themselves to be ancient.

" प्रज्ञापनाज्ञापरिदानलेखाः " are the royal communications which stand in the first *pâda* of the first verse, others being *Parî-hâra*, *Nisrishti*, *Prâvrittika*, *Pati-lekha* and *Sarvatraga*. We are not here concerned with the *sâsanas* other than the first two—*Prajñâpanâ* and *Âjñâ*. *Prajñâpanâ* is described in these words: अनेन विज्ञापितमेवमाह तद्दीयतां चेद्यदि तत्त्वमस्ति । राज्ञस्समीपे परकारमाह प्रज्ञापनैषा विविधोपदिष्टा ॥ (p. 73). The verse is difficult and the meaning obscure, but this much is clear and certain that the *Prajâpanâ* gave various advices or informations (विविधोपदिष्टा) and that it began with " *Anena vijñâpitam*, " " It is notified hereby," or " *evam âha*, " " Thus saith. " [8]

Thus the inscriptions of Asoka beginning with *evam âha* are all *Prajñâpanâs*: Proclamations, advising or informing the people. It is wrong to call them " edicts."

These Public Proclamations sometimes quote an *âjñâ-lekha*. Let us first discuss the characteristics of an *âjñâ-lekha*.

भर्तुराज्ञा भवेद्यत्र निग्रहानुग्रहौ प्रति ।
विशेषेण तु भृत्येषु तदाज्ञालेख-लक्षणम् ॥ (p. 73).

" An order of the Master (Sovereign)—an order restraining or approving, issued especially to Government servants—bears the characteristics of an *âjñâ-lekha*."

An *âjña-lekha* is quoted in the Rock series, section III. It is addressed to the *bhrityas* '*râjûkas*', '*Prâdesikas*' and 'the council' [9] (*Parisâ*, = the Council of Ministers '). Another *âjñâ-lekha* in cited in sec. VI of the Rock Series. It is issued to the Council of Ministers (*Parisâ*). Both are marked by the style " *evam mayâ âjñâpitam*."

These *âjñâ-lekhas* are included in the *evam-âha* documents of Asoka; they have no separate existence there. They contain one more class of writs, called by Kautilya a *Prati lekha*, where a document is drafted in the king's own words (यथा राजवचस्तथा) p. 74). A good example of this is the Jaugad, Separate Record II, beginning with " Thus saith " but giving the *lâja-vachanika* text.

It would be, therefore, proper to call these inscriptions *Prajñâpanâs* or 'Public Proclamations.' " Edicts " are not correct. European scholars take "*lipi*" of *dharma-lipi* standing at the head of the series as denoting the character of these documents and they translate it by "edicts." But it can be demonstrated that *lipi* does not mean "edicts." In the Sâranâth inscription Asoka says that two *lipis* of the same *sâsana* were sent there. *Lipi* therefore means a 'despatch.' [10]

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[7] *Sâsana* does not there invariably mean "orders." Foreign correspondence was also called *sâsanas*. शासनप्रधाना हि राजानः, तन्मूलत्वात् सन्धिविग्रहयोः (p. 70.)

[8] The other styles of commencement are obscure. They probably are "*taddiyatâm ched-yadi tattvam=asti*" or "*taddiyatâm chet*" ('you may give if '(?)) and "*yadi tattvamasti*" ('If it is true' (?)) and *Râiñas-samîpe Parakâram = âha* (meaning obscure) " Enemy's document (cf. करण, p. 73) come to the king says thus" (?)

[9] As it is an *âjñâ-lekha* it must have been addressed to the Royal *Parisâ* ('servants'), and not to the clergy as supposed by scholars. *Cf.* also my interpretation of the *Parisâ* in sec. VI (*ante*, 1913, 282-84.)

[10] *Cf.* also the *lipi* addressed to the Government of Kaliṅga.

(5)

Vinita of Asoka's Inscriptions.

Vinîta used in Aśoka's *dharma-lipi*, section VI of the Rock series, has been translated by European scholars, with some diffidence, as a 'carriage.'

We get the real sense if we refer to the Royal Time-Table given in the *Arthaśâstra* in the chapter on Royal Duty (pp. 37-39). The chapter emphasises *utthâna* (energy): तस्मादुत्थानमात्मनः कुर्वीत (1st paragraph, p. 37), and again, राज्ञो हि व्रतमुत्थानम् । अर्थस्य मूलमुत्थानम् । प्राप्स्यते फलमुत्थानाल्लभते चार्थसम्पदम् (last lines, p. 39).

Now Aśoka's 'edict' VI is also on *utthâna*: नास्ति हि मे तोसो उस्टानम्हि |. Bearing this in mind we can proceed further.

According to the *Arthaśâstra* time-table the King was to attend to the questions of Defence and Finance early morning for 1½ hours (p. 37), and after that between 7-30 a.m. and 9 a.m he had to entertain public petitions freely in the Throne-Hall.[11] After that he went to have his bath and meals and private study (9—10-30 a.m.)[12]

That this time-table was acted upon by Chandragupta may be gathered from Megasthenes, who says that the King was being 'shampooed' while receiving petitions. This 'shampooing' would naturally refer to the hours before bath.

Aśoka is really extending the hours for the petitions of the public. He says that he would attend to the *attha* of the people (cf. कार्यार्थिनां, AS.) even in the hours set apart for meals and study (' while I be taking food or I be in the palace " -Aśoka). Then after the hours of breakfast and study, the *Arthaśâstra* again enjoins attending to public business—correspondence with the Council of Ministers (10-30—12 a.m.) after which he might have his (स्वैरविहारं) rest and amusements (12—1 30 p m.). Against this (स्वैरविहारं), Aśoka refers to his presence in his "*garbhâgâra*" This *garbhâgâra* was most likely an underground cool room for स्वैरविहार in summer.[13] In the after-noon, according to the *Arthaśâstra* time table, the king would go to the military training grounds (सप्तमे हस्त्यश्वरथायुधीयान् पश्येत्, p. 38) and himself would join the drill or *vinaya* (पूर्वमहर्भागं हस्त्यश्वरथप्रहरणविद्यासु विनयं गच्छेत p. 10). Against this we have Aśoka's *vachasi* and *vinitasi*.[14] *Vinita*, therefore, stands for *vinaya* or military exercise.

(6)

Vracha of Asoka's Inscription.

Vacha (Girnar and Kalsi) would also refer to some military matter, as it occurs after *garbhâgâra* corresponding to the 'rest' of the *Arthaśâstra* time-table. Mr. Vincent Smith restores *vacha* into *vracha* (*Aśoka*, 1901, p. 122). The Kharosthi versions have *varcha* which in view of the eccentric orthography of those versions[15] or our eccentric reading of that

11 द्वितीये पौरजानपदानां कार्याणि पश्येत् (p. 37) उपस्थानगतः कार्यार्थिनामद्वारासङ्गं कारयेत् (p. 38).

12 तृतीये स्नानभोजनं सेवेत । स्वाध्यायं च कुर्वीत । (p. 37).

13 Cf. with the *bhûmi-griham* of the *Arthaśâstra*, p. 40.

14 सवं कालं अदमानसा मे ओलोधनसि गभागालसि वचसि विनितसि उयानसि सवता पटिवेदका अठं जनसा पटिवेदेंतु मे (Kalsi).

15 Cf. *parti-vedaka* (VI) instead of *prati-vedaka*.

orthography, may represent both *vracha* and *varcha*. With regard to *varcha*, European scholars have translated the word as 'latrine'. No king in his senses would ask officers to announce the business of suitors in his latrine. The basis of the interpretation (*varcha*), therefore, strikes me as being a mistaken value. *Vracha* on the other hand gives a meaning which agrees with the data of the *Arthaśâstra*.

Vracha and *vacha* both equate with *vraja*. *Vrachanti* in sec. XIII, Rock series (Shahbazgarhi) stands in the place of the Khalsi *yânti*, that is, *vrachanti* = Sans. *vrajanti*. Hemachandra gives *vachchai* for *vrajati*.[16] We may therefore take *vracha* and *vacha* as equivalents of the Sans. *vraja*.

Vraja in the *Arthaśâstra* is a technical term for the royal stables for horses, mules, bullocks, etc., and their breeding-farms. अङ्कं चिन्हं वर्णं शृङ्गान्तरं च लक्षणमेवमुपजा निबन्धयेदिति व्रज-पर्यग्रम् (p. 129); गो–माहिषमजाविकं, खरोष्ट्रमश्वाश्वतराश्च व्रजः (p. 60), also see p. 59.

Aśoka thus says that whether he be in the royal steed and cattle farms and stables or he be on the parade-grounds, reviewing animals or men, 'urgent petitions might be brought to his notice by the ushers (*prati-vedakas*).[17]

The last stage of Aśoka's daily routine is his presence in the *udyâna* or the Royal Gardens. The *Arthaśâstra* has, against it, the performance of the *sandhyâ* in the evening (p. 38). Aśoka being a Buddhist had nothing to do with the orthodox prayer *sandhyâ*, but he passed his time in the gardens which presumably was done in the evening. Before the evening hours, we have in the *Arthaśâstra*, the king 'thinking' of *vikrama* along with the Commander-in-Chief. If it meant military expeditions Aśoka had nothing to do with it either, as these had been given up by him. But if it meant military drill, it corresponded with Aśoka's *vinîta*.[18]

(7)

Vacha-Bhûmikas of Aśoka.

Vacha-bhûmikas or *Vracha-bhûmikas* (Mansera) of sec. XII of the Rock series *lipis* of Aśoka, in view of the interpretation of *vracha* in the last note, would "mean the officers of the Vraja-bhûmi." *Vraja-bhûmi* and *Vraja* are not the same. For the Royal *vrajas* in the *Arthaśâstra* are nowhere connected with *bhûmi*; the technical term is *vraja* there, and not *Vraja-bhûmi*.

16 *JRAS.*, 1913, 655, *n.* Bühler, *Aśoka-Inschriften*, p. 173.

17 *Prativedakas* are not spies as translated heretofore but the ushers or the officers who announced the *arthins* or suitors. This is the natural meaning, while the "spy" is forced, and unwarranted by the literature of the time.

18 We may tabulate a comparison between the two routines as follows:—

CHANDRAGUPTA.		ASOKA.
9—10·30 a.m.	.. Meals and study.	Meals.
10·30—12	.. Correspondence with Council.	......
12—1·30 p.m.	.. *Svaira-vihâra*.	In the Palace; in the *garbhâgâra*.
1·30—3 p.m.	.. Inspection of the military elephants, horses, etc.	At the *vrajas*.
3 to 4·30 p.m.	.. 'Vikrama' along with the Senâpati.	Vinîta or military drill.
4·30—6 p.m.	.. Sandhyâ.	In the gardens.

We have, however, in one place another use of *vraja*. It is at p. 22 of the *Arthaśâstra*—राष्ट्रान्ते व्रज-वासिन: "On the frontiers *vraja*-dwellers (are to be employed as spies)." *Vraja-vâsins* here means the class of men who lived by looking after cattle, cowherds, shepherds, etc. *Vraja-bhûmikas* probably were officers of the ecclesiatical service (*dharmayuktas*) living and working amongst the wandering population on the frontiers.[19]

(8)

'Narendra' as another name of Chandragupta in the Purāṇas.

In discussing the Puranic data about the end of the Nanda and the beginning of the Maurya chronology, I could not understand a passage of the *Vâyu Purâṇa* which read as नन्देन्दु: स भविष्यति [20] (37-324). This comes after the statement that the land had remained for 100 years under the Nandas. (भुक्त्वा महीं or भुक्ता मही, वर्षशतं). The Matsya adds to this ततो मौर्यान् (or मौर्यं) गमिष्यति (Pargiter, *Purâṇa Text*, p. 26).

Nandenduḥ in the *Vâyu* is clearly a corrupt reading. For the MSS. are not unanimous—*Nandendaḥ*, *Nandendraḥ*, *Nandenthâ°*, *Nandanaḥ*, and *Nandendhaḥ* are the variants (See Pargiter, p. 26 n. 42)

The correct form appears in the *Brahmâṇḍa* as *Narendraḥ*. I could not see its significance in 1913 when I wrote the paper on the Maurya chronology,[19] and it appeared to me then as filling up some gap after भुक्त्वा महीं. Now as the nominative form मही has been found in MSS मही वर्ष-शतं would stand independently and the next passage नरेन्द्र: etc, independently. Instead of स भविष्यति there has been found in one MS. (18th century) सम्भविष्यति (Pargiter, p. 26, n. 42). नरेन्द्र: संभविष्यति or नरेन्द्र· सम्भविष्यति would thus mean- (after the 100 years of the Nandas) "there will be *Narendra*" ("the Maurya" of the *Matsya*), that is Narendra Maurya -- Chandragupta.

भुक्ता मही वर्षशतं नरेन्द्र: संभविष्यति (V., Br.)

= भुक्ता मही वर्ष-शतं ततो मौर्यं गमिष्यति। (M.)

The preceding passage mentions the destruction of the Nandas by Kauṭilya. Hence there is no doubt that the 'Maurya' of the Matsya is equivalent to the "Narendra" of the *Vâyu* and *Brahmâṇḍa*. It thus becomes obvious that 'Narendra' is employed as another name of Chandragupta, and *Narendra* as another name of Chandragupta is confirmed by the *Arthaśâstra*. The *Arthaśâstra* (p.75) gives a verse

सर्वशास्त्राण्यनुक्रम्य प्रयोगमुपलभ्य च।

कौटिल्येन नरेन्द्रार्थे शासनस्य विधि: कृत: ॥

—The Kauṭilya laid down the canons governing the issue of the *Sâsanas* for the benefit of Narendra.

[19] For *Vraja* as a division of land see references in St. Peter's Dict. where *vraja* is opposed to forest and town. *Vraja-bhûmi* may also mean the 'province' or 'country' of *Vraja*, around Mathurâ (Harivaṃśa and Bhâsa); cf. *Vatsa-bhûmi* of the Sabhâ-P. MBh. According to Megasthenes the Kṛishṇa cult was powerful in the Vraja area. It is possible that Aśoka attempted to check the adverse criticism of Buddhism by the followers of that cult through his Vraja-bhûmika censors.

[20] *JBORS.*, I. 87.

(9)

Dipista and Dipi of Aśoka's Inscriptions.

Prof. Hultzsch has corrected the old readings *dipista*, *dipa(pi)taṃ*, *dipapito* of Shahbazgarhi. He found that *di* is really *ni* in each case, and he derived *nipista* from *nishpishṭa* 'ground' (*JRAS.*, 1913, 653-54). Later on he inclined to connect it with the Persian *naviśtan*, 'to write' (*JRAS.*, 1914, 97).

The *Arthaśâstra* saves us from the necessity of going to Persia for the derivation of *nipista*. In view of the explanation of *nîvî* offered above, it may be said with confidence that *nipi* in *nipista* stands for *nîvî*, and that *nipista* stands for *nîvi-stha* or *nîvîshṭa*.[21] *Nipista* would thus mean 'reduced into document' or 'recorded.'

If we compare this with the direction in the *Arthaśâstra* as to what matters were to be entered into *nibandha-pustaka* "निबन्ध-पुस्तकस्थं कारयेत्" (p. 62), we might get some additional light. Certain facts—*e. g.*, laws and customs (धर्म-व्यवहार-चरित्र-संस्थानं), treaties, subsidies allowed to foreign kings (मित्रामित्रांच सन्धिविक्रम-प्रदानानि)—were to be recorded (निबन्ध-पुस्तकस्थं कारयेत्) in certain registers kept within wooden boards at the department of the Royal Archives अक्षपटले. Likewise Aśoka here is leaving certain directions to his sons and grandsons, and for them he is putting them on record (nîvî-stha). The original *nîvî* must have been kept at the Imperial *Akshapaṭala* enclosed and tied within wooden boards.

As '*dipi*' has to be read as *nipi* so probably *dhrama-dipi* also has to be read now as *dhrama-nîvî*. *Dhrama-nîvî* would mean 'the Despatch (or 'Document') relating to the Dharma.' This accords with the sense of *dharma-lipi* of the Girnar and other editions. *Lipi* there, as already pointed out by me, means a 'despatch' and not an 'edict'.[22]

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

10. Slaves from Madagascar for the Company's Settlement at Sumatra.

17 *October* 1689. *Letter from Elihu Yale and Council at Fort St. George to Benjamin Bloom and Council at Bencoolen.* Your importunenate desiers of a Supply of Cofferyes [*kâfri*, caffree, native of S. Africa] to Carry and serve your fortification has Perswaded us to send the *Pearle* Friggot to Mallagascar for the procury of them and to proceed from thence directly to you. which we hope She will be Successfull in and pray send us a Particular account of whatt and how many you receive by them . . .

[*October* 1689]. Commission and Instructions to Mr. Watson and Capt. James Perriman for their Voyage to Maddagascarr. &ca. Upon the *Pearle* Friggott.

The Cheif &ca. att Bencoolen adviseing us the great want of Cofferyes for the Rt. Honble. Company[s] Service there, we have thought fitt to employ your Shipp. She being newly and well fitted on this Voyage for the buying of Slaves att Mallagascar, to which purpose we have laden and consigned to you for the Right Honble. Company[s] account a propper and Suffitient Stock and Cargoes which we refer to your care and management hopeing you will answer our orders and expectations therein, but haveing noe Settlement or People there to Recommend you to, we must leave the more to your discretions . . . so can give you no more then a Generall advice to deport your Selves and negotiate your business with care, caution and prudence, that you may nither fall into Surprize by the Natives, or give them any just occation of ofence by your Carriage to and dealeing with them; and the ladeing being cheifly in Cofferyes we would have you buy so many of them as your Shipp is able to Carry with Conveniency and Safety . . . *Records of Fort St. George, Letters from Fort St. George*, 1689, pp. 53, 58.

R. C. T.

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[21] Compare the change of *ṭha* or *tha* into *ta* in *tistati* (= *tishṭhantah*) in the same Rock 'Edict' (IV), Shahbazgarhi.

[22] *Supra* 51, .

AUSTRIA'S COMMERCIAL VENTURE IN INDIA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE, BT.

(*Continued from p.* 34.)

III. Obstructive Measures at Madras towards Individuals concerned in the Austrian Venture.

Letter from the President and Council at Fort St George to the Court of Directors, dated 17 *October* 1778.[81]

THE Imperial Ship [*Joseph and Theresa*] arriving here the 4th Inst., we have given strict orders that there shall be no other Communication with her on shore but for fresh water and Provisions.

Letter from Nathaniel Green, Consul at Trieste, to the Earl of Suffolk,[82] *dated Trieste,* 1 *January* 1779.[83]

I have heard talk of an intention to build some large ships; some hint also that they may be of force, but others say thay are to be for the East India trade, which I am told is to be managed by a Company established here some time ago under the title of the Priviledged Company of Fiume, the Adventurers in which are of Brucells [Brussels], Antwerp &ca. I am told that Bolts has certainly been in China and that the ship is on her return destined for this Port, or at least that her Cargo will be sent hither, also that the French will permit ships to be purchased and fitted out at Port L'Orient [Brittany] for carrying on this trade. I have from another part pretty sure intelligence that Bolts was about 6 months ago on the coast of Coromandel and had had some dispute with an English frigate about some sailors; that his agent Ryan died at Madrass; that he sold copper at 12 Per Cent loss, but other goods tolerably well, and that the Dutch caused him much trouble by refusing him Provisions.

Letter from Sir Thomas Rumbold[84] *and the Select Committee at Fort St. George to Sir Edward Hughes,*[85] *dated* 2 *March* 1780.[86]

We think it necessary to inform you that We understand Mr Macey, late a Lieutenant in the French Service at Chandernagore, entered in Bengal as an officer on board the small Imperial Ship now in the Road, and which is to sail for Europe in a few days. He is said to be an active intelligent man, and as his going from hence at this time may be of prejudice to the Company's Affairs, we request you will take measures for preventing his departure in that ship.

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81 *Madras Letters Received,* IX. 178.

82 Henry, 12th Earl of Suffolk, died 6 March 1779, was Principal Secretary of State for the Southern Department from 1771-1779.

83 *State Papers, Foreign, Germany (Empire)*, Vol. 221 (Public Record Office). The information in this letter, if exact, would be most interesting, as Fiume, now the great Hungarian port, has always been the rival of Trieste, the great Austrian port. I have, however, been unable to trace this Company among the Records in England. From Consul Green's letter of 11 July 1783 (see *infra*), the new venture seems to have been styled the "Imperial India (or Asiatic) Company" and to it Bolts resigned the exclusive rights of trade obtained from Maria Theresa in 1775.

84 Sir Thomas Rumbold, Bt. (1736-1791), Governor of Madras 1778-1780.

85 Admiral Sir Edward Hughes (1720-1794), commander in the East Indies 1773-1777 and 1778-1783.

86 *Madras Select Committee Consultations* (1780), LXIX. 319-320.

Letter from Sir Edward Hughes to Sir Thomas Rumbold and Select Committee, Fort St. George, dated Ship Superb in Madras Road, 5 *March* 1780.[87]

I yesterday received your letter of the 2nd Instant, informing me Monsieur Macey, late a Lieutenant in the French Service at Chandernagore, was serving as an officer on board the small Imperial Ship in this Road, and as his going from hence might be of prejudice to the Company's Affairs, requesting me to take measures to prevent his departure in that Ship.

I am now to acquaint You that, in consequence of your request to me, I ordered an Officer of the Squadron to demand Monsieur Macey of the Commander of the Imperial Ship as a Prisoner of War, and he is now on board the *Superb*, where he cannot be well accommodated, to wait your Determination for the future disposition of him.

Deposition of Louis Macé at Madras, dated 25 *March* 1780.[88]

Louis Macé, native of the Port of L'Orient in France, declares upon oath that at the time Chandernagore was taken by the English, the 17th July 1778, he was on board a Dutch Ship then at the Dutch Settlement on the River Hughley, called Barnagore [Bârânagar] that from that time he resided at Serampore, a Danish Settlement in Bengal, till the 27th August following, when he went on board ship and landed at the Danish Settlement of Tranquebar, where he resided for a considerable time till he engaged himself as a Marine Officer in the Service of the Imperial Asiatick Company of Trieste, having to that end, on the 27th of May 1779, taken the oath of allegiance to Her Imperial Royal Apostolick Majesty, Maria Theresa Empress Dowager Queen of Hungary, &c. &c. &c., which oath was administered to him by her Lieutenant Colonel, William Bolts, in consequence of the full powers granted to him by her said Majesty, under the seal of the Empire and under her own hand, dated at Vienna the 27th March 1776, which full powers the said William Bolts has caused to be shewn to and read by this Deponent. And this Deponent further makes oath that he never was made a prisoner of war, or otherwise, in any part of the dominions of Great Britain. He deposes, moreover, that on the 5th of this Instant March, he, this Deponent, being then an Officer commanding on board the Imperial Ship *le Comte Kollowrath* in Madras Road, the Colours of Her said Imperial Majesty being then hoisted on board the said Ship, a boat came from the squadron now under the command of Rear Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, with two officers armed on board the said ship, and by force took this Deponent and carried him on board the said Admiral's ship, called the *Superb*, at present in Madras Road, and he deposes that, notwithstanding the representation which this Deponent made to the said officers of his situation as above, they replied they were obliged to carry him with them as they acted under the orders of the abovementioned Admiral. And this Deponent further deposes that he was kept a prisoner on board the said ship the *Superb* till he signed his Parole of honor[89] not to leave the District of St. Thomé which is in the neighbourhood of Madras and the actual residence of the said Admiral. That in consequence of his said Parole, this Deponent went to St. Thomé, and to this moment continues, with the permission of the said Admiral, to remain at Madras without having been able to obtain his full liberty, notwithstanding many

[87] *Madras Select Committee Consultations* (1780), LXIX. 325-326.

[88] *Miscellaneous Letters Received*, Vol. 69, No. 95. Another copy, differing slightly in the wording, is to be found in *Madras Select Committee Consultations* (1780), LXIX. 511-514.

[89] A copy of the Parole, dated 17 March 1780, is entered in *Madras Select Committee Consultations* (1780), LXIX. 428-429.

Representations which he has had the honor of making to the said Admiral and to the Council of Madras at Fort St. George, at whose requisition the said Admiral told him he had caused him to be seized on board the said ship *le Comte Kollowrath.*

(signed) MACÉ

After having made Oath in the presence of the Lord Mayor John Hollond (to the above), he, on the 26th March 1780 signed and attested it under his hand and afterwards caused the Seal of the Court of Justice to be affixed hereunto [and] registered and attested his said signature to be true.

A true Copy, Madras the 30th March 1780.

(Signed) LOUIS MACÉ.

Consultation of the Select Committee at Fort St. George, 14 *April* 1780.[90]

The Secretary lays before the Committee the following Letter from Mr William Bolts.—

Charles Oakeley Esqr.

Sir, I request the favor of your laying before the Board at their first Meeting the accompanying Papers, in order to be transmitted to Europe in the most regular Channel I have the honor to be Sir

Your most Obedient humble Servant

WILLIAM BOLTS,

Lieut. Colonel in the Service of their Imperial Royal and Apostolick Majesties.

Madras, the 3rd April 1780.

Enclosures.

1. *Deposition of Louis Macé.*[91]

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2. *Protest of William Bolts, dated Madras, 3 April* 1780.

To all whom it doth or may concern, I the underwritten William Bolts as Lieutenant Colonel in the Service of their Imperial Royal and Apostolick Majesties, namely Maria Teresa Empress Dowager of the Romans, Queen of Hungaria and Bohemia &ca, Archduchess of Austria, &ca, &ca, and Joseph the Second, Emperor of the Romans, Hereditary Prince of the States of Austria and Co-regent with his said August Mother, and also as Chief Director in India for all Affairs of the Society of Merchants united for carrying on the Trade of Asia from and to Trieste, Greeting.

Whereas on the 5th day of March 1780, by order of Sir Edward Hughes Bart., Rear Admiral and Commander in Chief of His Britannick Majesty's Squadron now at Anchor within the Roads and Jurisdiction of Madras, a Boat armed with Men and Officers belonging to the said Squadron came suddenly on board the Imperial Ship *Count Kollowrath*,[92] then also peaceably at Anchor within the Jurisdiction aforesaid, Her said Imperial Royal and Apostolick Majesty's Colours being then flying on board the said Ship *Kollowrath*, and did forcibly take from on board the said Ship *Kollowrath* one Lewis Macé by birth a native

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90 *Madras Select Committee Consultations* (1780), LXIX. 509-518.

91 See *ante*, p. 58.

92 Probably named after Adolphe Frédéric, Comte de Kalkreuth, Prussian Field Marshal (1736—179–).

of Port L'Orient in France, but by Naturalization a subject of their said Imperial Royal Apostolick Majestys to whom he hath taken the due and customary Oaths of fidelity and allegiance, the said Louis Macé being then the Commanding Officer on board the said Ship *Kollowrath*, and did then and there forcibly take and conduct him on board Ship of the said Squadron of His Britannick Majesty under the Command of the said Rear Admiral.

And whereas on the sixth day of the said Month of March, another Boat armed with Men and Officers belonging to the said Squadron did come on board the said Imperial Ship *Count Kollowrath*, did take from on board of her one Julius Lindeman, a Native of Germany, who was then Chief Carpenter on board, having duly entered himself upon the said Ship's Books under the usual penalties, and received his advance Money for the Voyage to Trieste, and did conduct the said Julius Lindeman on board His Britannick Majesty's Ship called the *Burford*.

And whereas several Applications have been made by and on behalf of me the said William Bolts in the Name of My August Sovereign Her said Imperial and Apostolick Majesty to the said Rear Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, Bart., for to procure the enlargement and delivery of the said Louis Macé and Julius Lindeman, but without effect.

And whereas I the said William Bolts do conceive that the said acts of the said Sir Edward Hughes are in general violations of the universally acknowledged Rights of Nations, and in particular Acts of Hostility against the Crown and Dignity of my Sovereigns.

And Whereas the said Louis Macé is a man well experienced in the celestial observations, on which I the underwritten greatly depended for the safe direction of the said Ship's path to Trieste, and the business of a Carpenter is so very material that without the said Julius Lindeman, whose place I have not been able to supply, the said Ship proceeds on her Voyage under great risques.

For all these reasons I have thought it my indispensable duty to protest against the British Government and against all persons who may have acted under the Authority thereof respectively, in the Name of my said August Sovereigns, for such reparation as may be justly due to them for the injuries which I the underwritten humbly conceive are done by the Acts aforesaid to the Imperial Crown and dignity and in the name of the said Society of Merchants united for carrying on the trade of Asia from and to Trieste, for such Losses, Charges and Damages as may already have arisen and been incurred, or which may hereafter accrue or be sustained on Account of the Premisses; and particularly in case of the Loss of the said Ship and her Cargo on her intended Voyage to Trieste.

I have therefore thus publickly protested and by these Presents do for and on behalf [of the] aforesaid publickly protest against the British Government and against the said Rear Admiral Sir Edward Hughes Bart., The Honble. the President and Select Committee and Council of Madras, and all others who may have acted in the Premises under the authority of the said Government, at the same time assuring each Individual Member thereof that, impressed as I am with the highest Veneration for their public Stations and Characters, and persuaded in my own mind that they have acted in the Premises in Conformity to the orders received from their Constituents, I hope they will construe this Act on my part as it really is, an Act proceeding from an indispensable obligation and duty, and not from any other motive whatever.

In Witness whereof I the said William Bolts have on the behalf aforesaid hereunto set my hand and Seal in Madras this third day of April in the year of our Lord seventeen hundred and Eighty.

In the presence of

THOS. BAMBRIDGE
JOHN MULLENS

WILLIAM BOLTS,
Lieut.-Colonel in the Service of their Imperial Royal and Apostolick Majesties.

Registered upon the Records of the Honble. the Mayor's Court at Madraspatam this 3rd day of April 1780.

JAMES TAYLOR Register

Agreed that the Court of Directors be advised of this Proceeding of Mr Bolts by the first Dispatch.

Consultation at Fort St. George, 5 February 1781.[93]

Read the following Memorial from Mr James Hegner.

To the Honble. Charles Smith Esqr. President &ca.

Member of the Select Committee, Fort St. George.

The humble Memorial of James Hegner
Sheweth

That Your Memorialist is Super Cargo of the Snow *Vienna*, Burthen 80 Tons, which Snow was bought by Nazareth Satur[94] of Rangoon, Merchant, for account of their Imperial Majestys, the the Cost whereof, with her outfitting, amounted to the sum of (7000) Seven Thousand Rupees. That in the Month of September 1780 the said Snow sailed from Rangoon for Nancoury (one of the Nicobar Islands, and the property of their Imperial Majestys),[95] under the Command of Captain Daniel Bowles. That the said Snow arrived at Nancoury in the month of December last. That in the beginning of this month, Lieutenant Staht, the Imperial Resident at Nancoury, appointed Your Memorialist Super Cargo of the said Snow, with orders to touch at Atcheen [Achin, in Sumatra], where a Cargo would be ready. That your Memorialist sailed from Nancoury the 5th Inst., and after beating up to Windward to the 17th, the said David Bowles declared that it was not in his power to fetch Atcheen and that he must sail for Madras. That on the 26 Instant, being nearly in the Latitude of Madras, we descried the French Fleet consisting of Seven Sail and were immediately after visited by some Officers belonging to a 60 Gun ship, who, after examining our Passport and Commission, ordered us not to leave the Fleet, but to follow them, which we did accordingly, and went to the northward of Polyacott [Pulicat] on the night of the 27th, when, on account of the fast sailing of the said Fleet, we lost sight of them, and as they shewed no Lights, we tacked about and Anchored in the Roads of Madras on the same Evening, and the Cable having broke, we let go a Second Anchor.

That at Sunrise of the 28th Inst. We hoisted the Imperial Colours, and being in distress fired a Gun for a Boat to come on board; soon after which Captain Bowles wrote a letter by a Cattamaran to the Master Attendant to inform him of the Name and Owner of the said Snow. And your Memorialist wrote to Mr Agavally Satur, Merchant of

93 *Madras Select Committee Consultations* (1789), V. 251-255.

94 The two merchants named Nazareth and Agavelly Satur were evidently Persian Armenians from Julfa near Ispahan. The name Satur is nowadays sometimes transformed into Chater.

95 *See ante*, pp. 12-13.

Madras, to order an Anchor and Cable on board, who in consequence thereof applied to the Master Attendant for that purpose; soon after which your Memorialist came on shore to deliver his letter and spoke to Mr Agavally Satur about the want which they were in for the Anchor and Cable.

Your Memorialist Sheweth that the Anchor and Cable was not sent, and the old Cable having broke about three o'clock in the afternoon of the 27th Inst., the Snow began to drive, and the Officer on board hoisted a Signal of Distress and fired again. Notwithstanding which, no assistance came, and the Officer was then obliged to hoist his Sails in order to prevent the Snow from driving on Shore. That the Indiamen thereupon fired seven or more sharp loaded Guns at the Snow, some of which shattered her Sails and Rigging and then sent three boats on board with men armed with Cutlasses, who came alongside, and altho' no resistance was made to their boarding the said Snow, they fell on the Snow's Crew with ther Cutlasses, treated them very ill, broke up many Chests and plundered the Vessell, as if it had belonged to an Enemy. That afterwards they made the Snow fast to one of the Indiamen, but as the Boats had returned, the Rope was cut and the Snow drove on Shore, where she is now lost.

Your Memorialist further Sheweth that Captain Bowles hath lost all his things, and what Money he had on board ; That the Mate suffered a Considerable Loss ; The Imperial Soldier Suwald lost all he had, was very much beaten and ill used, and with difficulty saved his Life. The Lascars have lost every thing. That your Memorialists effects were plundered to the amount of eighty Pagodas, besides the loss of 90 Pieces of Blue Cloth to the value of 400 rupees.

Your Memorialist sheweth that throughout the whole of this misfortune from his first arrival in the Place to the hour the Snow was driven on Shore, every Act of Respect and Attention was shown to the Honble. Company by your Memorialist, by the Captain and by every person on board the said Snow, and that, by hoisting their Colours and afterwards hoisting signals of distress and firing Guns, it was evident that nothing was intended by those on board the said Snow but to save their own Lives. That their Imperial Majesties are at peace with his Britannic Majesty and with the Honble. East India Company, and as an instance of the attention of the Subjects of their Imperial Majesties to those of the British Nation, your Memorialist sheweth that Captain Williams who was taken by a French Cruizer and landed at the Nicobars was entertained for three months at the expence of the said Mr Staht, the Imperial Resident, and was granted a free passage on the said Snow *Vienna* to Madras.

Your Memorialist therefore as the immediate Subject, and as being in the employ of their Imperial Majesties submits to the consideration of the Honble. the Select Committee that the violence which has been thus offered to the Colours of their Imperial Majesties and their Subjects, and the loss of property which has followed therefrom, being entirely unmerited, ought to be redressed, and your Memorialist hopes that your Honors will be pleased to grant such redress as the Case appears to deserve.

JAMES HEGNER

Madras, 31*st January* 1781.

Agreed that the above Memorial be referr'd to the Company's Standing Counsel and his opinion requested thereon.

Letter from the Company's Standing Counsel respecting Mr Hegner's Memorial, dated Fort St. George, 9 February 1781.[96]

To Mr Secretary Sulivan.

Sir,

I have received your favor of the 7th Inst. enclosing me, by Directions of the President and Select Committee, a Copy of a Memorial delivered to them by Mr James Hegner and desiring my opinion on the subject of it. But as it is necessary, to enable me to form an opinion how it would be proper to act upon this occasion, that I should know what the aptains complained of have to offer in their justification, I think it would be right to send them a copy of the Memorial for that purpose. At present having but a partial view of the subject, it is impossible for me to form a satisfactory judgement of it. I request that you will acquaint the Hon'ble. President and Select Committee with this circumstance and am &c.

BENJAMIN SULIVAN

Letter from the Secretary at Fort St. George to Mr James Hegner, dated 16 February 1781.[97]

The Hon'ble. President and Select Committee have received your Memorial. The Subject of it is under the consideration of the Company's Standing Counsel. When his Opinion is reported, I shall have the Command of Government to reply fully to you on the points in Question.

Letter from the Earl of Hillsborough[98] *to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the East India Company, dated St. James's, 21 September 1781.*[99]

Count Belgioioso,[100] the Imperial Minister, having presented to me, by Order of his Court, two Memorials complaining of the proceedings of Vice Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, the Governors of the Company's Settlements in India, and particularly of the Governor General, against the subjects of His Imperial Majesty, I transmit to you herewith copies thereof, and of a Declaration upon Oath of Louis Macé[1] inclosed in one of the Memorials.

I shall by the first Conveyance write to Sir Edward Hughes for what regards the Charge stated against him, as I do not find any mention in his Letters to me of those matters, but in case you may have received intelligence of what may have passed between that Admiral or the Governors in India and the Emperor's Subjects, I am to desire you will communicate the same to me, together with your opinion concerning the propriety of the Admiral's and Governor's Conduct, and if you have received no such notice, it will be highly necessary that you transmit by the very first conveyance to the respective Governors Copies of the inclosed papers, so far as regards them, and that you direct them to send you, as soon

96 *Madras Select Committee Consultations* (1781), V. 350.

97 *Madras Select Committee Consultations* (1781), V. 350.

98 Viscount Hillsborough, 1st Marquis of Downshire, Principal Secretary of State for the Northern Department 1779—1782.

99 *Miscellaneous Letters Received*, Vol. 69, No. 88.

100 Louis Charles Marie Belgio Joso, Comte de Barbrano, born 1728, was Maria Theresa's ambassador (and after her death ambassador for Joseph II. of Austria) in London from 1770 to 1783.

1 *See ante*, p. 58.

as possible, circumstantial Accounts of what has happened, for His Majesty's Information, that I may be enabled to give proper Answers to Count Belgioioso thereupon.

Enclosures.

1. *Memorial from the Count Belgioioso to the Earl of Hillsborough, dated* 21 *June* 1781.[2]

The undersigned Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from Her Imperial and Royal Apostolick Majesty has the honor of transmitting to Lord Viscount Stormont[3] the annexed deposition upon oath of Louis Macé, a naturalized subject of Her Imperial and Royal Apostolick Majesty, made at Madras the 5th March 1780, by which his Excellency will see in what manner that officer, then commanding the Ship *le Comte Kallowrath*, carrying the Imperial and Royal Flag as Lieutenant, was seized in Madras Road by order of Rear Admiral Sir Edward Hughes and detained as a Prisoner.

Her Imperial and Royal Majesty having commanded the undersigned to demand of His Britannick Majesty's Minister that the said Officer should be set at liberty, he acquits himself of that command by this Memorial, with the more alacrity as he is convinced that an act of violence so manifestly contrary to all that is due to a Power in amity could never have had the approbation of His Britannick Majesty.

(signed) LE COMTE DE BELGIOIOSO

Portman Square, 21*st June* 1781.

2. *Memorial from the Count Belgioioso to the Earl of Hillsborough, dated* 13*th December* 1781.[4]

The undersigned Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from Her Imperial and Royal Apostolick Majesty had the honor of transmitting to your Excellency a Memorial dated the 21 June last, to demand satisfaction and reparation for an insult offered to the Imperial and Royal Flag in Madras Road the 5th March 1780 by the English Rear Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, in the violent seizure of one Louis Macé, a naturalized Subject of Her Imperial and Royal Majesty, engaged in her Service as Chief Officer of the Imperial Ship *le Comte de Kallowrath*, and being at that time commanding Officer on board that Ship.

But the undersigned has since learnt that this insult was followed by another of the same kind on the day after the seizure of Louis Macé, the same persons having come a second time armed on board *le Comte de Kollowrath*, [*sic*] and having, notwithstanding the remonstrance of the Officers, taken one Lindeman, a German, an Imperial Subject, and who was Master Carpenter of the Ship.

Nor are these open violations of the rights of nations the only acts of injustice that the subjects of Her Imperial Royal Majesty concerned in the Asiatick Company of Trieste have experienced from the British Governments in India, and particularly from that of Bengal, which not only by publick notice forbid all the subjects of its Colony to have any communication with Her Imperial and Royal Majesty's subjects, but even carried its violence so far as, on the 27th of August 1779, to cause to be seized and detained a considerable quantity of Caliaton[5] Redwood purchased on their account, without assigning any reason

[2] *Miscellaneous Letters Received*, vol. 69, No. 92.

[3] David, 7th Viscount Stormont and 2 Earl of Mansfield (1727—1796), Secretary of State for the Southern Department 1779—1782.

[4] *Miscellaneous Letters Received*, Vol. 69, No. 90.

[5] This term probably means redwood from Kaliot (in South Kanara) near Mangalore, where Bolts had established a factory.

whatsoever for so doing, notwithstanding the Lieutenant Colonel and Director of the said Asiatick Company, William Bolts, repeatedly claimed it on the 2nd and 18th September following,[6] declaring that he had paid the Duties due to the English Company on that article at Madras and that he was ready to satisfy all legal demands which could be made on the part of the said Government.

It being impossible that proceedings so unjust towards the subjects of a Power in amity, and so contrary to all that might be expected from the reciprocal sentiments of the two Courts can have had the approbation of His Britannick Majesty, the undersigned has orders to state them here as a sequel to the abovementioned Memorial transmitted by him to his Lordship on the 21st June last, and to demand the satisfaction which the honor of Her Imperial and Royal Majesty's Flag, as well as the interests of her commerce and of her Subjects require.

Her Imperial and Royal Majesty having both the one and the other so much at heart, the undersigned finds it his duty to pray that his Excellency will honor him with an answer in order that he may be enabled to give an account to his Court of this official step, which he has, by its express orders, taken in this Memorial and in the former one of the 21st June last

(signed) LOUIS COMTE DE BELGIOIOSO

Portman Square, the 13th September 1781.

Letter from Lord Hillsborough to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the East India Company, dated St. James's, 24 *November* 1781.[7]

On the 22nd instant I transmitted to you copies of two Memorials which had been presented to me by Count Belgioioso, the Imperial Minister here, complaining of ill treatment which some of the Emperor's subjects are stated to have received from the Company's Governors and servants in India.

It is with concern that I now inclose to you copies of another Memorial from the same Minister with additional complaints of the like nature, as also of the two Papers accompanying it, marked No. 1 and 2, and I am to signify to you His Majesty's Pleasure that you do take the same into your Consideration and acquaint me, for His Majesty's information, with every Intelligence you may already have received from India relative to the Facts so repeatedly complained of, together with such information and observations as may enable me to give without delay as satisfactory an answer as possible to Count Belgioioso.

Enclosures.

A. Translation of a Memorial from the Count de Belgioioso to the Earl of Hillsborough, dated 21 *November* 1781.[8]

It is with the most just regret that the undersigned Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from Her Imperial and Royal Apostolick Majesty once more finds it his duty to prefer complaints to His Britannick Majesty's Minister respecting an Act of violence offered by a British India ship at Madras on the 27th January last to the Imperial Snow,

6 *See ante*, pp. 32-34.

7 *Miscellaneous Letters Received*, vol. 69, No. 201.

8 *Miscellaneous Letters Received*, vol. 69, No. 205.

called the *Vienne,* which on her voyage from Pegu on account of the Imperial and Royal Asiatick Company established at Trieste, in order to supply its factory on the Nicobar Islands with stores, was forced by a storm to take shelter in Madras Road, after having lost all her Anchors ; excepting one, and having made a signal of distress, the crew of a British ship which was there on guard boarded her, beat the crew, broke open several Chests of the Imperial Ship and caused her to run aground and to break in pieces.

The particulars of this new violence is contained in the annexed Piece, the proofs of which are not only in the possession of the undersigned, but advice thereof must have been already certainly received at the Company's India house in London. It will suffice to convince the Earl of Hillsborough of the necessity which the undersigned finds himself under to demand, in the name of his August Court, the punishment of the persons culpable, and reparation on the part of the Company, as well for the value of the Snow *la Vienne,* as for her Cargo, both of which were entirely lost upon this occasion through the unheard of conduct of a Ship's crew belongingto the Company who were on guard that day.

An Action as contrary to humanity as to the Laws of Nations leaves me no room to doubt but that it must have been committed without the knowledge and against the orders of their Superiors, but it is not the less of a nature to merit the most serious attention on the part of his Britannick Maiesty's Minister, whose equity is so well known. He will certainly see with concern how little a similar conduct on the part of the Commanders and Servants of the British India Company agrees with the sentiments which, on all occasions, he has charged the undersigned to make known to his August Court, on the constant amity of the King, and that after these repeated assurances founded on the strict reciprocal amity which so happily reigns between the two Courts, it was doubtless to be hoped in favor of His Majesty the Emperor's subjects and of his flag, that at least they should meet with the same reception and assistance in the possessions of His Britannick Majesty in India which is granted to all the other European nations in amity with him.

It is consequently with a perfect confidence in the justice of His Britannick Majesty that the undersigned has the honor of addresing himself again to his enlightened Minister to represent to him instantly the necessity, not only of causing complete satisfaction to be made for these insults offered to the Imperial and Royal flags in the East Indies, but for preventing in future, by giving such Orders as the King may think most proper to the proper persons, the repetition of similar acts of injustice and violence towards the Emperor's subjects and that the latter may, in case of necessity, find every reception and assistance that the British Flag and subjects have ever found so particularly in all the Territories of the Austrian Monarchy.

The undersigned in calling to my Lord Hillsborough's recollection the two preceding Memorials which he had the honor of transmitting to him on the 21st June and 13th September last, and of which the present may be deemed a continuation, cannot at the same time avoid offering to his Excellency the accompanying Piece No. 2 [as] a proof of what he set forth in the Memorial of the 13th September, on the almost hostile behavior on the part of the Directors of the India Company towards the Imperial subjects concerned in the fitting out the Ship under the Imperial Flag commanded by William Bolts, Lieutenant Colonel in the Imperial service and a subject of the Emperor and King. This Piece being Copy of a notice published by the Governor General and Supreme Council of

Fort William, conformably to the orders of the Directors of the India Company against the said Ship and her Commander, it cannot admit the smallest doubt of the fact.[9]

This proceeding towards subjects of a Power in amity with Great Britain must by its nature strike the equitable and enlightened Minister of His Britannick Majesty too forcibly to render it necessary that any ulterior reflections should be added. It has not, however, been the first, it being known in 1776 that the Directors of the Britsh India Company, on the 24th December in that year wrote to the Governors of their Settlements in India, giving orders that they should jointly and severally employ the most efficient means to thwart and undermine the undertaking of the Ship *Joseph and Theresa*, adding that if they could effect the failure of this first expedition, it would not be followed by a second.

The undersigned attending the honor of Lord Hillsborough's answer in order to enable him to give an account thereof to his Court, has the honor to renew the assurances of his respect.

LOUIS COMTE DE BELGIOIOSO

Portman Square, the 21st November 1781.

B. 1. *Testimony of divers Persons to the Violence offered by a British East India Ship to the Imperial Snow Vienne at Madras the 29th January* 1781.[10]

We the here underwritten Pilot, Succanys [*sukkânî*, quartermaster of a ship] and Soldiers of the Imperial Snow *Vienna*, make according to truth the following Declaration—

The 27th of January of this year 1781, in the Afternoon, we all being on board of the said Imperial Snow *Vienna*, the wind blowing hard, our Anchor Cable broke and we began to drive; there being no Anchor nor Cable more on board, the Pilot hoisted and tied the Colours and fired a Gun for sign of Distress, and made sail in order to preserve the Snow from running on shore. Immediately the Indiamen fired several Guns sharp loaded at her, and sent some boats with Officers and sailors on board, who, without paying any Attention to the Remonstrances of the Pilot and other People, fell upon them with Swords and Pistols, treated them very ill and chiefly beat the Soldier very sorely. They broke up violently several Chests, and behaved entirely as in an Enemy's Vessel. The Time the Boats were on board the Snow, the Indiamen fastened her with a Rope, but as soon as the Boats had left her, they cut off the Rope, and let them drive on Shore, where she was entirely broken and lost. The truth of which declaration we testify herewith with our handwriting.

Madras, the 28th January 1781.

(Signed) Michel Seewald, Soldier

Piloto, Joan Garcia

Succano, Manoel Mendeff

Succano, João de Cruz

Immediately after the loss of the Snow *Vienna*, I went to the Notary Public, Mr Stephen Popham, the 27th January 1781, about 8 o'clock at night, but he then not being home, I waited upon him the 28th, as the next following day, early in the morning, in order to make a Protest against the Violence committed against the Imperial Snow *Vienna*, but Mr Popham

[9] *See ante*, p. 30, for a copy of this document.

[10] *Miscellaneous Letters Received*, vol. 69, No. 208.

said he would not make any protest against his own Nation, but offered to draw up in my Name a Petition to the Governor and Council of Madras. Therefore, as I could not do better, I agreed to this Proposition, in order to try what Satisfaction I would be able to get. The Truth of this I testify hereby, and desire the Gentlemen who were present at this Transaction to testify the same by their Handwriting.

Madras 28th January 1781.

(Signed) James Higner, [*sic*] Supercargo of the Snow Vienna

(signed) Nicolas Renaud } I was present at this

(signed) Agapeery Thaddeus Callandar[11] } transaction.

B 2. Notice dated July 1779.[12]

Letter from the Court of Directors to the Councils at Madras and Bombay, dated 25 *January* 1782.[13]

We transmit for your information and guidance copies of two letters from His Majesty's Secretaries of State respecting Mr Bolts, together with the representations of Count Belgioioso, the Imperial Minister, and we strictly enjoin and charge you to take especial care that no just cause of offence be henceforth given to any subject of his said Imperial Majesty or to the subjects of any Prince or State whatever in amity with Great Britain.

* * * * * *

In addition to what we have written in a former paragraph of this letter concerning the representations of His Excellency Count Belgioioso, the Minister of His Imperial Majesty, we further direct that you forthwith prepare and transmit to us as soon as possible, the most circumstantial account of all that has happened, together with reasons at large for your proceedings in every instance which has been made a ground of complaint, and which may enable His Majesty's Secretary of State to return proper answers to the representations of His Excellency the Count Belgioioso.

Letter from Robert Ritchie to the Chairman of the East India Company, dated Venice, 6 *May* 1781.[14]

The two Imperial East India ships [the *Joseph and Theresa* and her consort] that arrived at Leghorn sometime ago are not to proceed to Trieste as was at first intended. Their cargoes are actually selling and to be sold at Leghorn. Mr. Bolts seems to be protected by the Grand Duke [of Tuscany]. An English merchant has, however, laid an attachment on all his effects.

Letter from the Court of Directors to the Councils at Madras and Bombay, dated 29 *August* 1781.[16]

We have been informed that the ship *Great Duke of Tuscany*, under Tuscan Colours, being an English vessel bought by Mr. Bolts since the French war commenced, with a valuable cargo from the Coast of Coromandel, was seized at the Cape of Good Hope by two French frigates and condemned by them in virtue of the French King's declaration, the Dutch Governor not chusing to interfere. The same frigates are said to have taken in

[11] This is also the name of a Persian Armenian merchant of Julfa.

[12] *See ante*, p. 30.

[13] *Bombay Dispatches*, VI. 297, 383.

[14] The Company's agent at Venice.

[15] *Miscellaneous Letters Received*, vol. 68, No. 221b.

[16] *Bombay Dispatches*, VI. 169—170.

that harbour an English Packet homeward bound, but from whence dispatched is not known to us, nor the name of the ship. We direct that you make a strict and particular enquiry whether any and who of our servants or persons under our protection were concerned in the above ship bought by Mr Bolts or had any interest therein which occasioned her condemnation, as also to make the most minute enquiry who of our servants or persons under our protection had any concerns or transactions in the promotion of any trade carried on by foreigners, or in furnishing them by any means with ships or vessels for the purpose of carrying on such trade or otherwise.

General Letter from Fort St. George to the Court of Directors, dated 31 August 1782.[17]

Upon Enquiry We found that the Ship *Great Duke of Tuscany*, mentioned in your Letter of the 29th August 1781, had been loaded and dispatched by Mr Bolts from Bengal directly to Europe and did not touch at this place. But as We wished to put your Commands in Effect to their extreme Extent, We ordered the Sea Customer's Books to be examined to discover whether any Persons living under the Company's Protection had been concerned in shipping goods in the vessels that were in this Port in 1780 under the Direction of Mr Bolts. The names of some European inhabitants now residing here were in consequence reported to be found as having shipped Merchandize on them, and We thought proper to call on those Persons to acquaint Us if they had acted upon this Occasion on their own Account or on the Account of others, and of whom. They have in answer declared a total ignorance of the whole transaction except in one instance of a very trifling Quantity, and that their names had probably been made use of by their Servants. We shall however make every possible further Enquiry into this Business for your Satisfaction.

(*To be continued.*)

DEKKAN OF THE SATAVAHANA PERIOD.

BY PROF. D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.; CALCUTTA.

CHAPTER I.

POLITICAL HISTORY.

THERE is hardly anybody in the Dekkan who has not heard of Sâtavâhana, or Sâlivâhana as he is popularly known. Curiously, however, Sâlivâhana or Sâtavâhana is supposed to be the name, not of a royal family as it ought to be, but of an individual king. Various traditions are known about the birth of this prince and the origin of his name Sâtavâhana. Somadeva in his *Kathâsaritsâgara*[1] tells us that he was the son of a Yaksha named Sâta from the daughter of a sage. The union of this couple was not liked by the Rishis, and through the curse of the latter the former became a lion and lioness. When the son was born, the latter died and assumed her previous body. The son thereafter was one day being carried on his back by the lion father, and while the latter dismounted and the former went to the bank of a river close by to quench his thirst, a king called Dîpakarṇi slew him with an arrow whereupon he at once became a Yaksha again. And because the boy was being carried by the Yaksha Sâta, he was styled Sâtavâhana, (*Sâtaḥ vâhanaḥ yasya saḥ.*) Jinaprabhasûri, in his *Tîrtha-kalpa*,[2] gives a different account. In Pratishṭhâna or Paiṭhaṇ in Nizam's Dominions there lived two Brâhmaṇ brothers in the house of a potter with their young

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17 *Madras Letters Received*, vol. XI.

1 VI. 87 & ff.

2 *JBBRAS.*, X. 132.

widowed sister. One day she went to the bank of the Godâvarî to fetch water, when Sesha, king of serpents, became enamoured of her. He assumed the human form and had connection with her against her will. In course of time she gave birth to a boy, who, when he grew up and played with his companions, used to become their king. And because he used to give them clay horses, elephants and other conveyances, he was called Sâtavâhana (*sâtâni dattâni vâhanâni yena saḥ Sâtavâhanaḥ*). Soon after, Vikramâditya, king of Ujjain, when he heard that he was to die at the hands of a virgin's son, despatched his Vetâla or king of ghosts in search of him. Vetâla saw Sâtavâhana and informed Vikramâditya. The latter came with a large army to destroy the child, but Sâtavâhana, by means of an incantation communicated to him by his father Sesha, infused life into the clay figures with which he was in the habit of playing, and at once raised a large army. He gave battle to Vikramâditya, killed him, and instituted an era called Sâlivâhana-śaka commencing with A.D. 78.

Such would have been our knowledge of the ancient history of the Dekkan, if we had had mere legends to go upon. Fortunately for us inscriptions have been found in sufficient numbers, and it is possible to construct a history which is reliable. If these inscriptions had not been found, to this day we should have continued believing that Sâtavâhana was the name of a king and not of a dynasty and that he was the founder of the era beginning with A.D. 78. The latter question does not concern us here, and we may dismiss it with a few words. The phrase *Sâlivâhana-śaka*, which is used at present in Mahârâshṭra to denote this era, has really no meaning, because the word *Saka* has in no Sanskrit lexicon been given as signifying "an era." And what inscriptions teach us is that up to the eleventh century it was called *Śaka-kâla, Saka-nṛipa-kâla*, or, as in an inscription at Badâmî in the Bijâpur district, *Saka-nṛipa-râjyâbhisheka-kâla*, showing clearly that it was believed to be founded by a Saka king and that Sâlivâhana or Sâtavâhana had absolutely nothing to do with it. Let us now see in detail what we can know of the Sâtavâhana dynasty from epigraphic records, which are the principal and most reliable source of our information here. These inscriptions have been engraved in caves at Nâsik, Kârle, Junnar, Kaṇheri and so forth. The names of some of the kings of this family mentioned in epigraphs occur also in the list of the Andhra dynasty enumerated in the Purâṇas, such as the Vâyu, Mâtsya and Vishṇu. The founder of this family is therein described as *Andhra-jâtiya*, *i.e.* as belonging to the Andhra race. It, therefore, behoves us to say a few words about the Andhras before the actual account of the Sâtavâhana dynasty is concerned.

We learn for the first time about the Andhras from the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa,[3] a work which was certainly composed long prior to 500 B.C. Andhras are there represented as a Dasyu tribe living on the fringes of the Aryan settlements and to have descended from Viśvâmitra. Evidently this means that they were a non-Aryan race, and that at the time when the Brâhmaṇa was compiled there was an admixture of blood between them and the Aryans, especially the hymn-composing Aryans. The next notice of this people is to be found in a well-known passage of Pliny,[4] the Roman encyclopædist, whose information was doubtless derived from the writings of Megasthenes, who we know was an ambassador sent by Seleucos to the court of Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty. He describes the Andhras, or the Andaræ as he calls them, as a powerful race, "which possesses numerous villages and thirty towns defended by walls and towers, and which supplies its king with an army of 100,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry, and 1000 elephants. . . ." From this we infer that about 300 B.C. the Andhra country was thickly inhabited and occupied by a large urban

[3] VII. 18.

[4] *Hist. Nat.*, Book vi. 21-3.

population, and their kingdom was then an important second-rate independent power of India. The next important notice of this people is supplied by Aśoka's Rock Edict XIII [5] promulgated about 256 B.C. It speaks of many independent and feudatory princes to whose kingdoms the Maurya monarch dispatched missionaries. In this connection the king of the Andhras is mentioned, but his name is included in the list of those of the feudatory princes. We thus see that about 300 B.C. the Andhra king was independent but was a subordinate chief about 256 B.C. We know from Aśoka's inscriptions that Kaliṅga was the only province which he conquered. Evidently the Andhras were deprived of their independence either by Chandragupta or his son Bindusâra.

We do not hear of the Andhras again till about 75 B.C. The Purâṇas tell us that one Śiśuka (Simuka) of the Andhra race uprooted not only the Kâṇvas, but also "whatever was left of the power of the Śuṅgas," who, we know, supplanted the Maurya dynasty to which Aśoka belonged. It appears that the Kâṇvas, like the Peshwas of the modern day, usurped the power of their masters, the Śuṅgas, and that Śiśuka (Simuka) by supplanting the power of the Kâṇvas supplanted that of the Śuṅgas also. [6]

The Telugu country lying between the rivers Kistna and Godâvarî is called Andhra-deśa at present. But whether or not it was the original home of the Andhras, has been called in question. One Buddhist Jâtaka, [7] however, speaks of two traders going from the Seriva kingdom to a town called Andhapura situated on the Telavâha river. Andhapura certainly corresponds to the Sanskṛit Andhrapura, and as *pura* is invariably used in early Pâli literature to signify 'a capital-town,' Andhrapura must mean the capital town of the Andhra kingdom. The river Telavâha is either the modern Tel or Telingiri [8] both not far distant from each other and flowing near the confines of the Madras Presidency and the Central Provinces. This, indeed, locates the original Andhra country which must, therefore, have comprised parts of both these provinces.

The name of the Andhra dynasty that came to power about 75 B.C. is Śâtavâhana. There can be no doubt that the order of succession of its first three kings has been correctly given by the Purâṇas, viz. (1) Śiśuka (Simuka), [9] (2) Kṛishṇa, and (3) Śrî-Śâtakarṇi. Kṛishṇa, we are told, was a brother of Simuka and father of Śrî-Śâtakarṇi. No record of Simuka has come to light, but of Kṛishṇa we possess an inscription in a cave at Nâsik. It tells us that the cave was scooped out by the Mahâmâtra Śramaṇa, inhabitant of Nâsik, when Kṛishṇa of the Śâtavâhana family was the king. [10] Of the third prince, Śâtakarṇi we have two inscriptions, the most important of which has been engraved in the cave at Nânâghâṭ, a pass in the Western Ghâṭs in the Poona District. Though it is mutilated, it is of great importance. In the same cave figures have been carved on the front wall with their names inscribed above them, which are supposed to represent the royal personages referred to in the big inscription. A combined study of these monuments gives us the following results. Śâtakarṇi was the supreme ruler of Dakshiṇâpatha (Dekkan). His queen was Nâganikâ. They together performed a number of sacrifices, and Aśvamedha we are told was celebrated twice—which

5 *EI.*, II. 471. 6 *Vide* Appendix A. 7 I. 111. 5-8.

8 I owe this suggestion to my friend Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

9 Simuka is the name given by a Nâṇâghâṭ inscription (*ASWI.*, V. 64, No. 3) and must therefore represent the correct original (*ibid*, 69-70).

10 *EI.*, VIII. 93, No. 22.

is a clear indication of Śâtakarṇi being a paramount sovereign.[11] Nâganikâ was the daughter of the Mâharaṭhi Tranakayiro of the Angiya family. She had two sons, *viz.* Vediśrî and Śaktiśrî (Hakusiri). When the inscription was actually incised, Śâtakarṇi was dead and queen Nâganikâ was regent during the minority of her son Vediśrî. There can be no doubt that Śâtakarṇi was a powerful monarch. For the Hâthigumphâ inscription gives us to understand that he was the ruler of the whole country to the west of Kaliṅga.[12] Sâtakarṇi, it is true, has been styled the paramount sovereign of Dakshiṇâpatha, but it does not at all mean that his might was confined to the Dekkan only. His second inscription has been found on an arched gateway (*toraṇa*) of the celebrated *stûpa* at Sânchi[13] in the Bhopâl State, Central India. This shows that Mâlwâ also owned his sway, and it is quite possible that his power was extended still further north.

A long interval intervenes between the earlier and the later inscriptions of the Sâtavâhana dynasty. A period of 89 years has been unanimously allotted by the Purâṇas to the first three kings just described. According to this calculation the third king, viz., Śâtakarṇi, ceased to reign in A.D. 16. Gautamîputra (Sâtakarṇi), according to the Purâṇas, came to the throne in A.D. 133, which fits excellently as we shall see shortly. There was thus an interval of 117 years during which no Andhra inscription has so far been found. Of course, we can imagine that Vediśrî, when he came of age, succeeded to the throne of his father Śâtakarṇi. His name, it is true, is nowhere mentioned in the Purâṇas, but as a king is described also by his epithets, it is possible that Apîlava or Apîtaka may be another name for Vedisrî. The Purâṇas show a remarkable agreement in point of the names and the lengths of the individual names. We may therefore provisionally fill up this long period with reigns recorded in the Purâṇas. It is true that no Andhra inscription has been discovered during this interval, but a good many epigraphic records are known which belong to this period. They clearly tell us that an alien dynasty had risen to power and had for a time eclipsed the glory of the Śâtavâhanas.

The name of the new dynasty was Kshaharâta, and its members called themselves Kshatrapas. The name Kshatrapa is worth considering. At first sight it seems tempting to take the name to mean *Kshatraṃ pâtiti Kshatrapaḥ*, the protector of the warrior class. But such a title is unknown to Sanskrit or Prakrit literature, and must be taken to have been borrowed from a foreign language—a conclusion strengthened by the fact that all the early chiefs of the Kshatrapa families bear foreign names. Like the Greek term Satrap, Kshatrapa seems to be a Sanskrit adaptation of the old Persian *Kshatrapâvan*, 'protector of the kingdom', which was used to denote the governor of a Persian province. Four Kshatrapa Houses have

[11] Bühler wrongly supposes that the sacrifices narrated in the large Nânâghâṭ inscription were all performed by the queen Nâganikâ. He himself admits that "according to the *Śâstras*, women are not allowed to offer Śrauta sacrifices, and that the Brâhmaṇas who perform such sacrifices for them (striyâjaka) are severely blamed." It is true he further says, that "that prohibition does not apply to queens who may be conducting the government of a state, either independently or for minor sons," but this is a mere gratuitous assumption as no proof has been adduced by him in support of his position. Again, the Nânâghâṭ record speaks of Aśvamedha sacrifice as having been twice performed. (It is inconceivable that Nâganikâ, even as queen-regent, celebrated it of her own accord and to indicate her paramount sovereignty. An Aśvamedha sacrifice is performed by a king who lays claims to universal monarchy by conquering all neighbouring princes, and as Nâganikâ's husband Śâtakarṇi has been styled *apratihatachakra*, it is proper and natural to suppose that it was he who celebrated the sacrifice twice. What appears to be the case is that Śâtakarṇi it must be, who carried out the sacrifices referred to in the epigraph, and as all sacrifices are performed by Yajamânas along with their consorts, Nâganikâ has been associated with him.)

[12] Lüders' *List of Brâhmî Inscriptions*, No. 345. [13] *Ibid*, No. 346.

so far been traced in the different parts of India from their inscriptions and coins. A few isolated names of Kshatrapas and Mahâkshatrapas have also been found, but the exact province of their rule not yet known. Two of the four Kshatrapa families ruled over Western India, but here we have to deal with only one of them. It was again only one prince of this family with whom we are directly concerned. His name was Nahapâna; and it was he who seems to have wrested Mahârâshṭra from the Sâtavâhanas. He has been mentioned in no less than eight cave inscriptions. Of these six have been cut in Cave No. 10 of the Pâṇḍu Leṇâ near Nâsik, one in the Chaitya cave at Kârle, and one in a cave at Junnar.[14] All of these except the last specify the many charitable and publicly useful works of Ushavadâta, who calls himself son-in-law of Nahapâna and son of Dînîka. All these records give Nahapâna's family name Kshaharâta which, in Prakrit forms, appears as Khaharâta or Khakharâta. For a long time Nahapâna was the only Kshaharâta prince known to us. A few years ago, another Kshatrapa of the Kshaharâta clan, named Bhûmaka, was brought to light by the celebrated numismatist, Prof. E. J. Rapson, by carefully reading the legends of certain coins wrongly attributed to Nahapâna.[15] He was the immediate predecessor of Nahapâna in Râjputânâ and Mâlwâ, but does not seem to have ruled over Mahârâshṭra. A fragmentary inscription found by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel on the site of Gaṇeshrâ,[16] three miles west of Mathurâ, revealed the name of yet another Kshaharâta, viz., Ghaṭâka, who, if the restoration proposed by him, is correct, was also a Kshatrapa.

It has just been mentioned that of the eight inscriptions which refer themselves to the reign of Nahapâna, no less than seven describe the benefactions of his son-in-law Ushavadâta (Rishabhadatta)[17] and the latter's wife Dakhamitâ (Dakshamitrâ). Most of these charities stamp Ushavadâta as a staunch adherent of the Brahmanical religion, and these we will describe in the next lecture. Ushavadâta's other charitable works were the gifts of gold and river-side steps on the river Barṇâsâ [18] and the bestowing of thirty-two thousand cocoanut trees at the village Nânaṁgola[19] on the congregation of Charakas [20] at Piṇḍitakâvaḍa, Govardhana,[21] Suvarṇamukha and Râmatîrtha in Sorpâraga.[22] Among the works of public utility executed by him may be mentioned quadrangular dwellings for Brâhmaṇs and rest-houses at Bharukachha,[23] Daśapura,[24] Govardhana and Sorpâraga and the establishment

[14] *Ibid*, Nos. 1099, 1131-1136 and 1174.

[15] *JRAS.*, 1904, pp. 371-4.

[16] *Ibid*, 1912, pp. 121-2; *ASI., AR.*, 1911-12, 128-9.

[17] This name is not the Hinduised form of a foreign name as has been thought by some; for it has been mentioned in the *Kalpa-sûtra* as the name of a Brâhmaṇ (*SBE*, XXII 226). This name occurs also in Kârle Inscr. No. 11 (*EI.*, VII. 56; *ASWI.*, IV. 91) as the name of the father of one Mitradevaṇaka hailing from Dhenukâkaṭa and bearing the expense of a pillar in the Kârle Chaitya cave. M. Senart no doubt identifies him with Ushavadâta, son-in-law of Nahapâna, and Prof. Rapson seems to agree with him (*CIC-A.Wk.* etc., Intro. lix). I am afraid I cannot accept this view. We have got an inscription of Nahapâna's son-in-law in this cave recording the grant of a village to the Buddhist monks residing in it. Evidently he made this grant after the cave was excavated. But as Mitradevaṇaka incurred the expenses of carving one pillar in this cave, it is clear that his gift was in time prior to its excavation. Mitradevaṇaka's father, Ushavadâta, cannot, therefore, be the same as Ushavadâta, son-in-law of Nahapâna.

[18] Barṇâsâ corresponds with the Sanskrit Parṇâśâ mentioned in the *Mahâbhârata* and the *Purâṇas* and with the modern Banâs, which is the name of two rivers in Râjputânâ—one coming from Mount Âbû and falling into the Gulf of Cutch and the other a tributary of the Chambal. The former river can hardly be meant, as it rarely contains any water except during the rains.

[19] Perhaps Nârgol on the Ṭhâṇâ sea-board, four miles west of Sanjân, as proposed by Bhagwânlâl Indraji.

[20] These seem to be identical with the Charakas who are named in the stereotyped formula of the Buddhist (e. g., *Mahâvastu*, III. 412, *anya-tîrthika-Charaka-Parivrâjaka*) and Jaina texts, namely, a certain special category of Brahmanical ascetics (*EI.*, VIII. 79).

[21] This is Govardhan-Gaṅgâpur, six miles west of Nâsik.

[22] Sopârâ near Bassein in the Ṭhâṇâ district. A holy reservoir here is still called Râma-kuṇḍa.

[23] Modern Broach.

[24] Mandasor (Fleet, *GI.*, 79, n. 2), which is on the borders of Râjputânâ and Mâlwâ.

of free ferries across and the erection of waiting places and *prapâs* or gratuitous distribution of drinking water on the banks of the Ibâ, Pârâdâ, Damaṇa, Tâpî, Karabeṇâ and Dâhanukâ.[25]

Ushavadâta was no doubt a follower of the Brahmanical faith, but according to the catholic spirit of the age, he was by no means slow to extend his charities even to the Buddhist community. Thus his Kârle inscription speaks of his granting the village of Karajika for the support of the monks residing during the rainy season in the caves of Valûraka, which was unquestionably the name of the old place within whose bounds the caves were situated.[26] Nâsik Cave No. 10, again, was caused by him to be cut in the Triraśmi hills in Govardhana. This cave, we are told, was spacious enough to accomodate twenty Buddhist monks during the rains. Like a true liberal donor Ushavadâta had made ample provision for their comfortable maintenance. Thus for supplying food to them, he purchased a field for 4,000 Kârshâpaṇas on the north-west side of Govardhana. He also made a perpetual endowment of 3,000 Kârshâpaṇas, 2,000 of which were deposited in one weavers' guild and 1,000 in another—both of Govardhana, and at the rates of one and three-fourths per cent per mensem respectively. The first investment yielded a sum of 240 Kârshâpaṇas, of which a sum of 12 Kârshâpaṇas was made over to every one of the twenty monks for his *chîvara* or garments. From the annual interest of 90 Kârshâpaṇas, accruing from the other deposit, each monk was granted a Kuśaṇa.[27]

The Junnar cave inscription of the time of Nahapâna records the gift of a cistern and a hall by Ayama (Aryaman) of the Vatsa *gotra*, his minister (*amâtya*). It is worthy of note that this epigraph specifies the date 46 and speaks of Nahapâna as Mahâ-kshatrapa, whereas the Kârle and Nâsik records give the dates 41, 42 and 45 and call Nahapâna only a Kshatrapa.

Nahapâna struck both silver and copper coins. In point of weight, size and fabric, coins of the first class agree with the hemi-drachms of the Græco-Indian princes, Apollodotus and Menander, which, as the author of the Periplus tells us, were up to his time current in Barugaza (Broach).[28] Nahapâna's silver coins were of extreme rarity until the discovery ten years ago, of a hoard of at least 14,000 coins at Jogalṭembhi in the Nâsik district.[29] From an examination of the busts on the four specimens of Nahapâna's coins in his possession, Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji had inferred that they were struck at different ages of the king and that whereas the earliest had the face of a man 30 years old, the latest, of a man 70 years of age.[30] But the Jogalṭembhi hoard conclusively proves that we have here faces varying not only in age but in every feature.[31] The various types of the face which this hoard presents, viz., short-necked, straight-nosed, hook-nosed, low forehead and high forehead, lean face and fat face, cannot possibly represent one and the same individual even at different ages. The Rev. H. R. Scott, who has given a full account of this interesting and important find, solves the difficulty by saying that the heads represented are those of the members of Nahapâna's family, who "caused their own likenesses to be engraved on the coins whilst keeping the inscription of Nahapâna unchanged, as he was the founder of the family."[32] This does not however, meet the case, and it seems that these faces are not likenesses at all, but merely copies of Roman coins—an inference strengthened by the figures on plates accompanying Mr. Scott's article, "where the head-dress, the style of dressing the hair, the absence of moustache, and, above all, the shape of the head and features are very similar to the heads on coins of the Roman emperors of from 30 B.C. to A.D. 150"[33]

[25] Bhagwânlâl Indraji identifies Ibâ with Ambikâ, Pârâdâ with Pâr, and Karabeṇâ with Kâverî—all in South Gujarât. Damaṇa, of course, is the Damaṇagaṅgâ river, and Dâhanukâ the Ḍahâṇû creek.

[26] *EI.*, VII. 57-8.

[27] This seems to be the name for the silver coins struck by Nahapâna. See further in the text.

[28] *IA.*, VIII.

[29] *JBBRAS.*, XXII. 223 and ff.

[30] *JRAS.*, 1890, 643.

[31] *JBBRAS.*, XXII. 236.

[32] *Ibid*, 237.

[33] *JRAS.*, 1908, 551.

The obverse of Nahapâna's silver coins bears 'Head of king' just described and an inscription in the Græco-Roman characters. When only four specimens were known, this legend could not be deciphered, but with the find of thousands of his coins at Jogalṭembhi it has now become possible to read it and was first read beyond all doubt by Mr. Scott who has found it to be an almost exact transliteration of the Brâhmi inscription on the reverse. It runs thus :—

PANNIω IAHAPATAC NAHAΠANAC.

Though this legend is essentially Greek, it contains the Roman H with the value h both in his proper and tribal names.[34] The reverse of the coins has, on the left, an arrow pointing downwards, and, on the right, a thunderbolt, with a pellet in between. It bears two legends —one in Brâhmî, and the other in Kharoshṭhî characters. The first reads *Rajño Kshaharâtasa Nahapânasa*, and the second, *Rajño Chhaharatasa Nahapanasa*. Nahapâna's copper coinage is at present represented by a solitary specimen in the possession of Cunningham who found it in Ajmer. The obverse is engraved with a thunderbolt on the left and an arrow pointing downwards on the right. Of the inscription incised on it, only the letters (Na)hapâna have been preserved. On the reverse appears a tree, with large leaves, within railing. Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji also is reported to have possessed two more specimens which came from Mandasor. Nothing is, however, known about their present whereabouts.

The extent of Nahapâna's rule may be inferred from the places where his coins have been found and the localities where his son-in-law Ushavadâta made benefactions. It stretched as far north as Ajmer in Râjputânâ and included Kâṭhiâwâr, S. Gujarât, Western Mâlwâ, North Konkan from Broach to Sopârâ, and the Nâsik and Poona districts. As some of his coins have been found at Junâgaḍh, Surâshṭra or Kâṭhiâwâr must have been under his sway. In one mutilated inscription in Nâsik Cave No. 10, a charity of Ushavadâta's seems to have been made at Ujenî (Ujjain). This shows that Nahapâna's kingdom comprised at least Western Mâlwâ. There can be no doubt that it extended as far northwards as Ajmer. For both at Ajmer and Pushkar his coins have been found. Besides that is proved by a postscript to Nâsik Inscription 10 in Cave No. 10. Therein we are informed that in the rainy season he had gone in the north, at the command of his lord who can be no other than Nahapâna, to relieve the Chief of the Uttamabhadras who had been besieged by the Mâlayas. The Mâlayas fled away at the mere sound of his approach and were all made prisoners of the Uttamabhadras. Ushavadâta is represented to have thereafter repaired to the Poksharas, performed ablutions, and given three thousand cows and a village. Poksharas is obviously Pushkar, 7 miles west of Ajmer. The word actually used is *Poksharâṇi*,[35] the plural and not singular. Even to this day, not one or two but three, Pushkaras are known —*jyeshṭha*, *madhya* and *kanishṭha* all situated within a circuit of six miles. And as Ushavadâta bathed there and gave cows and a village, it shows that even so early as the 2nd century A.D., Pushkar was a centre of Brâhmanism. And the very fact that Ushavadâta here granted a village, which to be of real use must have been in the vicinity of this sacred place, shows that Nahapâna's dominions stretched as far northwards as Ajmer and Pushkar. The Mâlayas whom he defeated must, of course, be the Mâlavas,[36] who at this time were settled in the eastern part of Râjputânâ, especially in the south-east portion of the Jaipur State.

[34] *Ibid*, 1907, 1044.

[35] This has been wrongly translated "Pokshara tanks" by M. Senart (*EI.*, VIII. 79) and "Pushkara lakes" by Prof. Lüders (*List*, No. 1131). So far as I know there is only one lake at Pushkar, but three different Pushkars are known within a circuit of six miles, as stated in the text.

[36] As in the cave inscriptions of this period *v* is sometimes replaced by *y*, I have no doubt that Mâlaya equates here with Mâlava. Thus the correct form of the name of Gautamîputra Sâtakarṇi's son is Puḷumâvi, as evidenced by the Purâṇas and his coins (Rapson's *CIC.—A.Wk.*, 20-22). But in the cave inscriptions it is spelt Puḷumâyi except in one instance. That the Mâlavas were settled at this time in eastern Râjputânâ is proved by their coins (Smith's *CCIM.*, I. 161-2).

It was, therefore, quite natural for Ushavadâta to have gone to Pushkar after inflicting a defeat on the Mâlavas.

The concluding portion of Nâsik Inscription 12 speaks of Ushavadâta having given to gods and Brâhmaṇs a gift of 70,000 Kârshâpaṇas, the value of two thousand Suvarṇas, counting 35 Kârshâpaṇas for one Suvarṇa. The reference here, as Prof. Rapson rightly says, must surely be to the contemporary gold currency of the Kushanas, which we must, therefore, suppose to have been prevalent in Nahapâna's kingdom.[37] Neither the Indo-Bactrian princes nor the Indo-Scythian kings before the Kushanas are known to have struck gold coinage, which was for the first time introduced by Kadphises II., the second of the Kushana sovereigns. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Nahapâna was a viceroy of Kadphises II. There was yet another type of coins current in these parts but introduced by Nahapâna, which seems to have an intimate connection with the name of the Kushana family and to show that he was a subordinate of another Kushana ruler. Nâsik Inscription 12 which speaks of Suvarṇas also makes mention, as stated above, of Kuśaṇas, which were to be given to the Buddhist mendicants occupying Ushavadâta's cave. Ushavadâta deposited a sum of 1,000 Kârshâpaṇas at the monthly rate of ¾ per cent. and yielding therefore an annual interest of 90 Kârshâpaṇas. This amount of 90 Kârshâpaṇas, we are told, was the *Kuśaṇa-mûla*, *i.e.*, the value of Kuśaṇas. The word Kuśaṇa has very much exercised all the editors of the Nâsik cave inscriptions. M. Senart, however, has clearly shown that it must correspond with the word *paḍiko* in the expression *Chivarika solasaka* (sometimes *bârasaka*) *paḍiko cha mâse utukâle* and other similar phrases which occur in the Kaṇherî inscriptions.[38] As the words *Chivarika bârasaka* of this expression are actually found in the Nâsik record, the words *Kuśaṇa-mûla* which immediately follow in it must, as correctly pointed out by M. Senart, be taken to correspond with *paḍiko cha mâse utukâle* of the Kaṇherî inscriptions. Unfortunately, however, he takes it to mean "a monthly stipend, assigned to every monk during a certain period of the year, and probably to be applied to his food." This does not appear to me to be quite in order, because, as the last postcript of Nasik Inscription 10 informs us, Ushavadâta had already provided for the boarding of the monks by assigning a field. It seems more natural, therefore, to take *Kuśaṇa*, like *Paḍika* (=*Pratika*), as denoting a specific coin. And to me the name appears to have been given to the silver coinage of Nahapâna, because he issued it for his overlord who must have been known as Kuśaṇa, *i.e.*, Kushana. We have instances of coins named variously after the kings who struck them. Thus we have Vigrahapâla-drammas and Ajayapâla-drammas, no doubt, called after the proper names of the kings.[39] Coins have also been named after the epithets or titles of kings. Thus Śrimad-Âdivarâha-drammas have been so styled after the epithet Âdivarâha of Bhoja I. of the Imperial Pratîhâra dynasty. These coins are also called Śrimad-Âdivarâhas without the addition of the word *dramma*. It is thus not unreasonable to suppose that Kuśaṇa denotes the coins issued by Nahapâna for his suzerain who must have been commonly called simply Kushana. Was there any Kushana king who was also known by the mere name Kushana? Certainly this must be the Kushana sovereign referred to in the Taxila scroll inscription of the year 136.[40] It is worthy of note that he is here simply styled Kushana with the titles *Mahârâja Râjâtirâja Devaputra* without any specification of his proper name. I have elsewhere shown that he can be no other than Kujula Kadphises, or Kadphises I. as he is also known.[41] It thus seems that Nahapâna was a viceroy not only of Kadphises II. but also of Kadphises I. Against this it might perhaps be argued that Kadphises I. flourished about the beginning of the fourth quarter of the first century A.D., whereas Nahapâna's dates 41, 42, 45 and 46, which are unanimously taken to be years of the Śaka era and thus

[37] *CIC.—AMk.*, Intro. clxxxv. [38] *EI.*, VIII. 83. [39] *Ibid*, I. 169.
[40] *JRAS.*, 1914, 976; *AST.—AR.*, 1912-13. [41] *IA.*, XLV. 121-2.

range between A.D. 119 to A.D. 124 place him about the first quarter of the second century. It will, however, be shown shortly that Nahapâna was ruling as early as A.D. 85 and that consequently he was a contemporary of Kadphises I. also. Again, the principal characteristic of Nahapâna's coins is the imitation of the Roman head on the obverse, as stated above. This is exactly the characteristic of one type of Kadphises I's coins, in the head of whose obverse numismatists recognise the likeness of a Roman emperor though they differ in regard to the identification of the exact original.[42] And what can be more natural than that Nahapâna, striking coins as viceroy of Kadphises I., should adopt the special features of his sovereign's money? The word Kuśaṇa, therefore, indicates the currency started by Nahapâna as subordinate of the Kushana ruler Kadphises I., and the monks residing in Ushavadâta's cave were to be given each a Kuśaṇa, *i.e.* Nahapâna's silver coin, for every month of the rainy season, just as the monks living in the Kaṇherî caves received each a Paḍika, *i.e.*, one Kârshâpaṇa, for every month of summer or the rainy season.

It will thus be seen that Nahapâna was a Kshatrapa of both Kadphises I. and Kadphises II. It is not necessary to suppose that Kadphises I. himself led an army and conquered Râjputânâ, Central India and Gujarât. It is possible that he may have sent Nahapâna to subjugate these provinces, of which the latter was afterwards made a Satrap. The name Nahapâna is of Zend-Persian origin, and he is,[43] therefore, regarded as a Pahlava or Parthian. This is not at all impossible. His son-in-law, Ushavadâta, was a Śaka, and it is, therefore, quite natural to expect Nahapâna to belong to a different clan, as was required by the matrimonial connection subsisting between them. And as Pahlavas at this period are constantly associated with Śakas not only in Sanskrit works but also in inscriptions, and as the name Nahapâna is Iranian, it is very likely that he was a Parthian. That he came from the north is also indicated by the use of the Kharoshṭhî alphabet on his coins. The proper home of this script is Eastern Afghânistân and Northern Punjâb though its use extended as far south-west as at Bhâwalpur near Multân, as far south as Mathurâ, and as far south-east as Kângṛâ, in which regions it is generally found side by side with the Brâhmî alphabet. Not a single inscription has been discovered in Kharoshṭhî in Râjputânâ, Central India, Gujarât or the Dekkan, where Brâhmî alone was used. And the very fact that Kharoshṭhî occupies an equally important place with Brâhmî in the coin legends of Nahapâna shows that he came from a province where Kharoshṭhî alone was prevalent. It also shows that Nahapâna was not a mere adventurer who came southwards to carve out a kingdom for himself. The employment of Kharoshṭhî on his coins, in the provinces where Brâhmî alone was understood, shows that it was a script of his court and that he came from the north along with several scribes knowing Kharoshṭhî. In this connection it will be interesting to note that a Nâsik inscription[44] speaks of a scribe called Vudhika who was a Śaka and a resident of Daśapura, Nahapâna's capital. It seems tempting to suppose that he was probably one of the scribes who accompanied Nahapâna, when the latter was sent south by his Kushana overlord for the subjugation of territory.

The author of the *Periplus* in chapter 41 of his book informs us that next after Barake (Dwârkâ) follows the gulf of Barygaza (gulf of Cambay) and the sea-board of the region called Ariake being the beginning of the kingdom of Mambaros (or Nambanus) and of all India. The capital of the kingdom was Minnagara, whence much cotton was brought down to Barugaza (Broach). Pandit Bhâgwanlâl Indraji has rightly corrected Ariake into Αβαρατικη, the Prakrit form of Aparântikâ, an old name of the western sea-board of India. M. Boyer had more than fifteen years ago shown cogent reasons for identifying Nambanus

[42] Prof. Rapson recognises in it a likeness of Augustus (*IC.*, 1897, § 15, 66), and Mr. V. A. Smith of Augustus or Tiberius (*EHI.* 236; *CCIM.* I. 66) and also of Caius and Lucius, grandsons of Augustus (*JRAS.*, 1903, p. 30, n. 1).

[43] *JRAS.*, 1906, 215.

[44] *EI.*, VIII. 95-6.

with Nahapâna. It was, however, left to Dr. Fleet to explain satisfactorily how the name Nahapâna could partly through the copyist's confusion and partly through phonetic influence be easily transformed into Mambanos or Nambanos.[45] The late Mr. McCrindle has adduced strong reasons to hold that the *Periplus* was written between A.D. 80—89, and no scholar of repute has called this date in question. Nahapâna was thus alive *circa* A.D. 85, long before A.D. 124 which is the last known date for him. The capital of Nahapâna's territory, according to the *Periplus*, was Minnagara. The work also mentions another Minnagara, but this was the capital of "Scythia" and was situated in the delta of the Indus in Sind. The name has been taken to be a hybrid word meaning "a city of the Mins, the Scythians." Nahapâna's Minnagara has been identified by McCrindle with Indore,[46] by Pandit Bhagwânlâl with Junâgadh,[47] by Mr. Schoff with Nagarî north of Chitorgadh in Râjputânâ,[48] and by Dr. Fleet with Dohad in the Pañch Mahâls district, Bombay Presidency.[49] It deserves to be noticed that Ptolemy, the Greek geographer, who wrote shortly after A.D. 150, refers to both these cities, and, what is more interesting, specifies both the latitude and the longitude of these as of other places. In regard to the inland Minnagara which was, no doubt, the capital of Nahapâna, he gives 115′ 10° and 19′ 30° as its latitude and longitude, which for Barugaza are 113′ 15° and 17′ 20°.[50] Minnagara was thus nearly 2′ east and 2′ north of Barugaza, which, we know for certain, is Broach. The only old place which fulfils these conditions is Mandasor, the ancient Daśapura. Daśapura certainly was a place of importance in Nahapâna's time as it is mentioned in one of Ushavadâta's inscriptions along with such big cities as Śorpâraga, Govardhana and Bharukachha. Besides, it seems at this time to have been inhabited by some Śakas, as we see from a Nâsik cave inscription.[51] I have often thought that it was impossible for Ushavadâta not to have made any benefactions at the capital town of Nahapâna and that consequently one of these four cities must have been his capital. But Ptolemy's geography no longer leaves this point in doubt.

As Daśapura was the capital of Nahapâna's kindgom, the other three cities, viz., Śorpâraga, Govardhana and Bharukachha, must have been each the head-quarters of a district. Govardhana certainly was the principal town of an *âhâra* or district, as we learn from other Nâsik cave inscriptions of this period.[52] This Govardhana is the large modern village of Govardhan-Gaṅgâpur, on the right bank of the Godâvarî and six miles west of Nâsik. We have seen that a Junnar cave epigraph mentions an *amâtya* of Nahapâna called Ayama (Aryaman). *Amâtya*, of course, has been used in inscriptions to signify the head officer of a territorial division. Thus Junnar seems to have been the head-quarters of the Mâmala district which is mentioned in a Kârle inscription and which has been identified with Mâvaḷ. Nâsik inscription 14(a), as we have seen above, makes mention of Ujenî (Ujjayinî), which, no doubt, was included in Nahapâna's dominions and must have been the head-quarters of a division called Avanti. There was yet another district called Kâpur-âhâra which is also referred to in one of Ushavadâta's inscriptions. It was at Chikhalapadra in this division that he granted 8,000 cocoanut trees. From the mention of the cocoanuts Chikhalapadra seems to have been on the coast and most probably is Chikhalî, the principal town of a tâluka in the Surat district, as suggested by Pandit Bhâgwanlâl Indraji. Kâpura is mentioned as the name of both the district and its head-quarters on a copper-plate grant of the Traikûṭaka king Dahrasena found at Pârḍî in the Surat Collectorate. Kâpura thus appears to correspond to the modern Surat district and was situated between the Śorpâraga and Bharukachha districts.

(To be continued.)

[45] *JRAS.*, 1907, p. 1043, n. 2. [46] *IA.*, CIII. 140. [47] *B. G.*, VIII. 487. [48] *Periplus*, p. 180.
[49] *JRAS.*, 1912, 788. [50] *IA.*, XIII, 359. [51] *EI*, VIII. 95-6.

[52] See, for example, Nâsik Cave Inscriptions Nos. 4 & 5, where Govardhana is mentioned as a place where an *amâtya* was stationed.

VIVÊKAPATRAMÂLÂ.[1]

BY T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A. ; TRIVANDRAM.

IN my article on the Arivilimangalam plates of Śrînaṅgarâya II., contributed to the *Epigrapia Indica*, Vol. XII, an attempt was made to identify certain members of the family of the document (*śâsana*) writers of the later Vijayanagara dynasties with certain poets of Mullandram. Since writing this article more materials have been accumulated, which enable me to review the situation in greater detail.

There are no less than fifty-five copper-plate documents belonging to a period intervening the reigns of Harihara II to Raṅga VI. in which the names of the following persons, the *composers* of the documents, are mentioned : namely, Sabhâpati, son of Abhirâma, his sons Svayambhu, Kâmakôṭi or Kâmâkshi and Gaṇapârya ; his grandsons Râjanâtha by Svayambhu : Kṛishṇakavi and Râmakavi by Kâmakôṭi and Kâmaya by Gaṇapârya ; Kâmaya's son was Sômanâtha. Then again the engravers of the *śâsanas*, are said to have been Muddaṇa, Vîraṇa I., Muddaṇa II., Vîraṇâ II., Mallaṇa II,. Vîraṇa III., Appaṇa, Gaṇapârya, Viraṇa IV., Viraṇa V., Kâmaya, Achyuta and Sômanâtha. The following table gives the details regarding the kings, the composers and engravers of their documents and other information :—

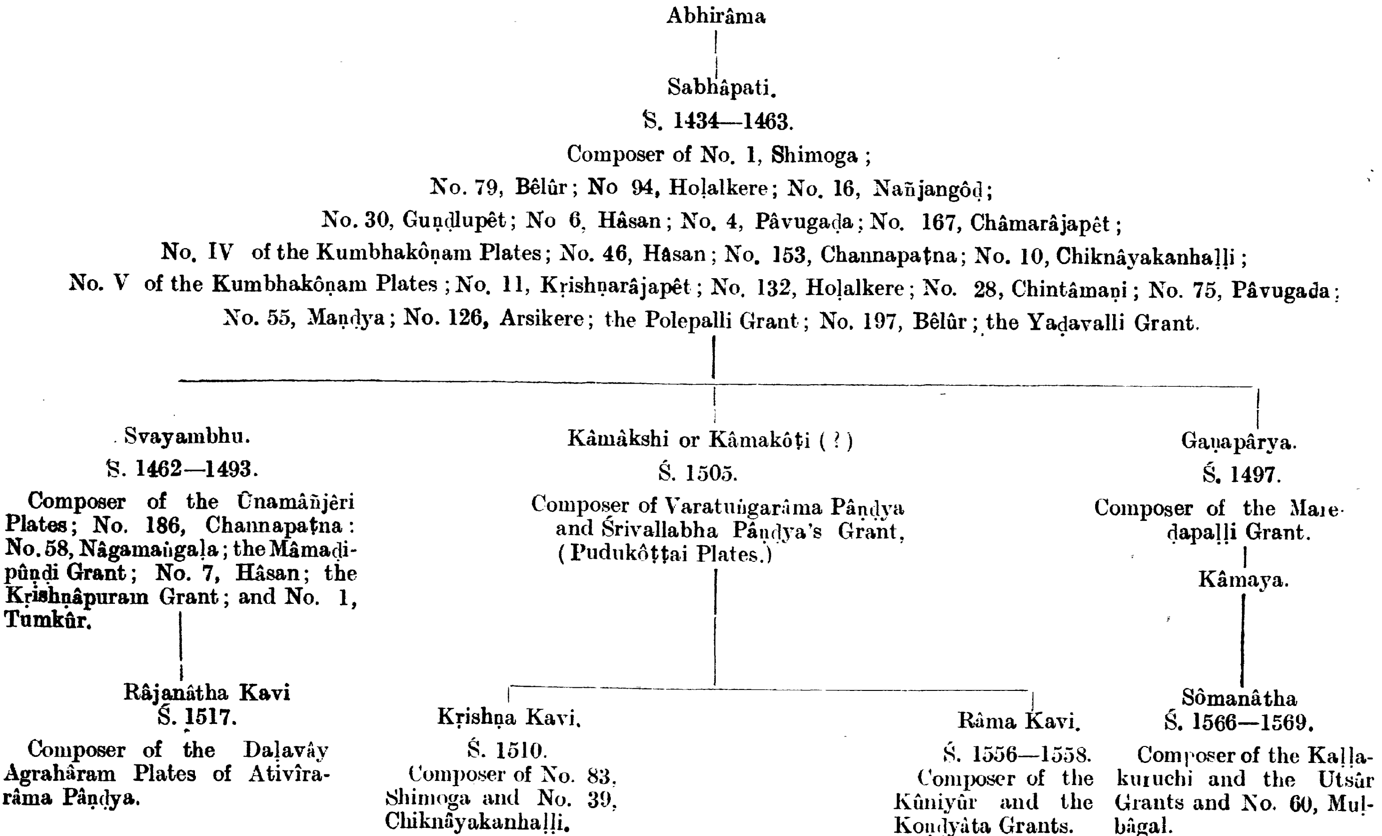
Serial No.	Date.	Name of the King.	Composer.	Engraver.	Reference.
1	S. 130.	Harihara I.	Mallaṇârâdhya.	Nâgidêva.	Tiptûr, No. 9.
2	S. 1316.	Bukka II.	Mallaṇârâdhya, son of Kôṭîśvarârâdhya of the Âtrêyagôtra and Yajuśśâkhâ.	Nâgidêva.	Goribidnûr, No. 46.
3	S. 1318.	Harihara II.	Muddaṇâchârya.	......	Hâsan, No. 86.
4	S. 1319.	Do.	......	Nâgidêva.	T. Narsi, No. 134.
5	S. 1348.	Prauḍhadêvarâya.	......	Vîraṇâchârya, son of Muddaṇâchârya.	Tumkûr, No. 11.
6	S. 1351.	Dêvarâya II.	......	Muddana, son of Viraṇṇa (?)	Liṅgampâḍu Grant.
7	S. 1386.	Im. Prauḍhadêvarâya.	Mallaṇa, son of Kâmaṇa of the Bhâradvâjagôtra and Rikśâkhâ (?).	Vîraṇa, son of Muddaṇa.	Nagar, No. 69.
8	S. 1386.	Mallikârjuna.	......	Do.	Tîrthahaḷḷi, No. 206.
9	S. 1396.	Virûpâksha.	......	Mallaṇa, son of Vîraṇa.	Maḷavaḷḷi No. 121.
10	S. 139.	Mallikârjuna.	....	Vîraṇa son of Muddaṇa.	Sriraṅgapatna, No. 11.
11	S. 1429.	Vîra Nârasiṁha.	......	Mallaṇa (son of Vîraṇa).	Nagar, No. 64.
12	S. 1429.	Do.	......	Vîraṇa, son of Mallaṇa.	Kumbhakôṇam Plates.
13	Do.	Do.	......	Do.	Do.
14	S. 1433.	Kṛishṇadêvarâya.	Sabhâpati.	Do.	Bêlûr, No. 79.

[1] This is sometimes known also as the *Vibhâga-patra-mâlâ*.

Serial No.	Date.	Name of the King.	Composer.	Engraver.	Reference.
15	S. 1433.	Krishṇadêvarâya.	Sabhâpati.	Mallaṇa, son of Vîraṇa (?).	Holalkere, No. 94.
16	S. 1434.	Do.	Do.	Vîraṇa, son of Mallaṇa.	Shimoga, No. 1.
17	S. 1437.	Do.	Do.	Vîraṇâchârya, son of Mallaṇa.	Nañjangôḍ, No. 16.
18	S. 1437.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Gaṇḍlupêṭ, No. 30.
19	S. 1438.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Hâsan, No. 6.
20	S. 1438.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Pâvugaḍa, No. 4.
21	S. 1444.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Châmarâyapaṭna No. 167.
22	S. 1444.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kumbhakôṇam Plates, No. IV.
23	S. 1445.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Channapaṭna, No. 153.
24	S. 1446.	Do.	Do.	Appaṇâchârya, son of Vîraṇâchâri.	Hâsan, No. 46.
25	S. 1447.	Do.	Do.	Vîraṇa, son of Mallaṇa.	Chiknâyakanhalli, No. 10.
26	S. 1450.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kumbhakôṇam Plates, No. V.
27	S. 1453.	Achyutadêvarâya.	Do.	Do.	Krishṇarâjpêṭ, No. 11.
28	S. 1455.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Holalkere, No. 132.
29	S. 1455.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Pâvugaḍa, No. 75.
30	S. 1456.	Do.	Do.	Viraṇa, son of Mallaṇa.	Maṇḍya, No. 55.
31	S. 1456.	Do.	Do.	Vîraṇa, son of Vîraṇa.	Arsikere, No. 126.
32	S. 1458.	Do.	Do.	Vîraṇa, son of Vîraṇa.	Chintâmaṇi, No. 28.
33	S. 1458.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Polepalli Grant.
34	S. 1461.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Bêlûr, No. 197.
35	S. 1462.	Do.	Svayambhu, son of Sabhâpati; of Sâvarṇya gôtra.	......	Ûṇamâñjêr Plates. Ep. Ind., Vol. III

Serial No.	Date.	Name of the King.	Composer.	Engraver.	Reference.
36	Ś. 1463.	Achyutadêvarâya	Sabhâpati.	Viraṇâchârya.	Yaḍavali Grant.
37	Ś. 1467.	Sadâśiva-dêvarâya.	Do.	Do.	Nâgamangaḷa, No. 58.
38	Ś. 1470.	Do.	Svayambhu, son of Sabhâpati.	Vîraṇa, son of Vîraṇa.	Channapaṭna, No. 186.
39	Ś. 1471.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Mâmaḍipûṇḍi Grant.
40	Ś. 1483.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Hâsan, No. 7.
41	Ś. 1489.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Krishṇâpuram Grant.
42	Ś. 1493.	Tirumalarâya.	Do.	Vîraṇa, son of Gaṇapârya.	Tumkûr, No. 1.
43	Ś. 1497	Śrîraṅga II.	Gaṇapârya, son of Sabhâpati.	......	Mareḍapalli Grant.
44	Ś. 1504.	Varatuṅga Paṇḍya.	......	Nârâyaṇa ..	*Trav. Arch. Series*, p. 124.
45	Ś. 1505.	Varatuṅga and Śrîvallabha.	Kamâkshi, son of Sabhâpati, and grandson of Abhirâma.	Nârâyaṇa, son of Pûrandara.	Do. p. 81.
46	Ś. 1510.	Vêṅkaṭapatirâya.	Krishṇakavi, son of Kâmakôṭi, and grandson of Sabhâpati.	Vîraṇa, son of Gaṇapârya.	Shimoga, No. 83.
47	Ś. 1511.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Chiknâyakanhaḷḷi, No. 39.
48	Ś. 1517.	Ativirarâma Pâṇḍya.	Râjanâthakavi, son of Svayambhu.	Purandara, the Rathakâra.	*Trav. Arch. Series*, p. 142.
49	Ś. 1524.	Vêṅkaṭa I.	Chidambarakavi, sister's son of Śivasûrya, king of poets.	Kâmayârya son of Gaṇapârya, and brother of Vîraṇa.	Maṅgalampâḍu Grant.
50	Ś. 1556.	Vêṅkaṭa II.	Râmakavi, son of Kâmakôṭi, and grandson of Sabhâpati.	Achyuta, son of Gaṇapârya, and grandson of Vîraṇa.	Kûṇiyûr Grant.
51	Ś. 1558.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Koṇḍyâta Grant.
52	Ś. 1566.	Raṅga II.	....	Sômanâtha, son of Kamaya, and grandson of Gaṇapârya.	Kaḷḷakurichi Grant.
53	Ś. 1569.	Raṅga VI.	Râmakavi, son of Kâmakôṭi and grandson of Sabhâpati.	Sômanâtha, son of Kâmaya and grandson of Gaṇapârya.	Utsûr Grant.
54	Ś. 1569.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Muḷbâgal, No. 60.

From the above tabular statement we may frame the following pedigree of the *śâsanam* Composers of the Vijayanagara Empire :—



And that of the *śâsanam* engravers thus :—

Genealogy of the Engravers of the Vijayanagara Grants.

[Muddaṇa I.]

1. Vîraṇâchârya I. Ś. 1348. Engraver of No. 11, Tumkûr Tk. *Ep. Carn.*

2. Muddaṇa II. Ś. 1351. Engraver of the Liṅgampâḍu Grant. B and V's. *Nellore Inscriptions.*

3. Vîraṇa II. Ś. 1348—139 Engraver of No. 69, Nagar Tk. and No. 206, Tîrthahaḷḷi. *Ep. Carn.*

Children of 3:

4. Mallaṇa I. Ś. 1396—1435. Engraver of No. 121, Maḷavaḷḷi and No. 64, Nagar Tk. *Ep. Carn.*

5. Vîraṇa IV. Ś. 1429—1456. Engraver of Nos. 2 and 3 of the Kumbhakôṇam Plates; No. 1, Shimoga; No. 79, Bêlûr; No. 16, Nañjangôḍ; No. 30, Guṇḍlupêt; No. 6, Hâsan; No. Pâvugaḍa; No. 167, Châmarâjapaṭna and No. 4, Kumbhakôṇam Plates; No 153, Channapaṭna : No. 10, Chiknâyakanhaḷḷi; No. 5 of the Kumbhakôṇam Plates; No. 11. Kṛishṇarâjapêṭ; No. 132, Hoḷalkere; No. 55, Maṇḍya.

7. Vîraṇa III. Ś. 1456—1458. Engraver of No. 28, Chintâmaṇi; No. 126, Arsikere; the Polepalli Grant; No. 197, Bêlûr; No. 186, Channapaṭna; No. 58, Nâgamaṅgala; the Mâmaḍipûṇḍi Grant; No. 7, Hâsan; and the Kṛishṇapuram Grant.

6. Appaṇâchârya ? Ś. 1446. Engraver of No. 46, Hâsan.

Gaṇapârya.

Children of Gaṇapârya:

Vîraṇa V. Ś. 1493—1510. Engraver of No. 1, Tumkûr and No. 83, Shimoga.

Kâmaya. Ś. 1524 Engraver of Maṅgalampâḍu Grant.

Sômanâtha. Ś. 1566—1569. Engraver of the Kaiḷakuruchi and the Utsûr Grants and No. 60, Mulbâgal.

Achyuta. Ś. 1555—1558. Engraver of the Kûṇiyûr Grant and Koṇḍyâta Grant.

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

VAISHṆAVA WORSHIP AND BUDDHISM.

THE date assigned by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and other scholars to the rise of the Vaishṇava cult is too well known to be quoted here. I want to draw attention to a piece of evidence which carries one aspect of Vaishṇava cult to a period not later than 700—600 B. C. This was the worship of Trivikrama Vishṇu, curiously enough the form of worship was the worship of foot-prints.

The worship was current even before Yâska and was alluded to by a predecessor of his. That predecessor was Aurṇavâbha, who was probably identical with the Teacher of that name in the *Bṛihadâraṇyaka Upanishad*. Aurṇavâbha is cited in several places by Yâska who gives his *aitihâsika* or legendary and historical interpretations of the *Ṛigveda* hymns.

Commenting on the wellknown Ṛichâ इदं विष्णुर्विचक्रमे त्रेधा निदधे पदम्, Yâska in his *Nirukta* (Daivata, 6·3·19) quotes Śâkapûṇi first, who explains that Vishṇu crosses 'all this' with three steps placing them on the earth, on the *antariksha* (horizon) and on the sky. (यदिदं किं च तद्विक्रमते विष्णुस्त्रिधा निधत्ते पदं त्रेधाभावाय पृथिव्यामन्तरिक्षे दिवीति शाकपूणिः।) Then he cites Aurṇavâbha who takes the verse in the sense that Vishṇu literally and physically crossed in the past (चक्रमे) in the manner described by Śâkapûṇi, stepping over the earth, horizon and sky, and he says "in ascending (he stopped) at the *Vishṇu-pada* on the Gaya Peak"[1]—

समारोहणे विष्णुपदे गयशिरसीत्यौर्णवाभः।

Aurṇavâbha is referring to the first step *prithivyâm* and is giving the Aitihâsikas' view current in his time by referring to the "Vishṇu-pada" at Gayâ-Hill from which place, they believed, Vishṇu actually went up. The "Vishṇu-pada" at Gayâ-Hill is still worshipped and was being worshipped in the days of and before the *Vâyu-Purâṇa* (600 A. D.).

The passage is not only important for the history of the Vaishṇava cult, but throws light also on the religious history of early Buddhism. The custom of worshipping foot-prints, it shows, had been already an old institution before the time of the Buddha. It probably originated in this Vedic legend of Vishṇu's stepping over the earth.[2] His supposed foot-prints (Vishṇu-pada) were worshipped by the Aitihâsikas and those who believed with them.

The passage also shows that Gayâ had long become a sacred place before the Buddha went there to do his meditation.[3] And it was a sacred place of the orthodox people who derived their cult from the *Ṛigveda*.

I take this opportunity of pointing out that the identification of the Trivikrama-Vâmana Vishṇu with Vâsudeva was complete before the *Baudhâyana-dharma-Sûtras* (see II. 5. 9. 10). Also before the *Baudhâyana-dharma-Sûtras* child-Kṛishṇa (Dâmodara) and the cowherd-Kṛishṇa (Govinda) were known deities (*ibid.*)[4] This disposes off the view held by Indian and European scholars that the Kṛishṇa worship in the child-form is post-Christ. The accepted date of the *Baudhâyana-dharma-Sûtras* is "before 400 B.C." (Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 259.)

My own view which will appear in my *Tagore Lectures* is that the date is over-estimated by two centuries. In any case the cowherd and the child-god Kṛishṇa was worshipped here before Christ was born.

K. P. JAYASWAL.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

11. Company's officers obliged to go through the ranks.

13 *December* 1689. *Letter from Elihu Yale and Council at Fort St. George to John Nicks and Council at Conimere.* We commend Mr. Kings marsiall Inclinations, but first he must well understand the duty of a Sentinall before he climes to an officer as those Gentlemen here did [whom] the Governour advanced in that Imploy, who served severall months as reformadoe [volunteers], duely performeing there duty, which when Mr. King has well discharged the Governour will encourage him to his Meritts, but in this you must also have a regard not to discourage our officers whose only hopes is there due succession and preferment which ought duly to be observed to all that deserve. *Records of Fort St. George, Letters from Fort St. George*, 1689, p. 67.

R. C. T.

[1] For *Gayâ-Peak* in the Jatakas, see J. I. 142.

[2] The orthodox worship of foot-prints to-day is confined to Vishṇu-pada (Vishṇu's foot-prints) only.

[3] Apparently he went there because it was a sacred place.

[4] In the *Ânandâśrama* edition the twelve names Keśava, etc., are given separately. But see Bühler, *S.B.E.* XIV. The identity is established by the *Vaikhânasa-dharma-Sûtra* (lately published) which gives the *pratika* "Keśava" of the Baudhâyana *mantra* and calls them 'the twelve names'. (The date of the *Vaikhânasa* in the present form is *cir.* 200 B.C. Its earlier shape which can be easily detected goes back before the Buddha's time and Pâṇini. It is quoted by Gautama and Baudhâyana and the quoted *sûtras* are to be found in the present *Vaikhânasa*. I discuss its date and importance in my *Tagore Lectures*. The MS. known to European scholars was a later book than the present one.

AUSTRIA'S COMMERCIAL VENTURE IN INDIA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE, BT.

(*Continued from p.* 59.)

IV.—The Triestine Society of 1782.

Letter from Robert Ritchie to Peter Michell,[18] *dated Venice, 21 February* 1783.[19]

I NOW transmit the Prospectus of Mr Bolt's scheme, and should have done it some time ago had I seen any probability of his finding subscribers for the sum wanted; he seems, however, to have some chance now of being able to send out his ship one way or other, though I doubt much whether the subscription will be really, or only nominally, full. The scheme is printed in Italian, which I have translated into English, because some of the Gentlemen who may have the curiosity to peruse it, perhaps do not understand that language.

Convention relative to the expedition of the Ship "Cobenzel" by the Trieste Society from Trieste to the East Indies and China, and back to Trieste.[20]

It is universally known that the underwritten Lieutenant Colonel William Bolts obtained from the Empress Queen Maria Teresa of glorious memory [21] a Commission or Patent, with very extensive privileges, to establish a direct Commerce with the East Indies, dated the 5th of June 1775.

It is equally notorious that the trials made by him with several ships sent out on that voyage, in company with other persons, yielded on their return, considerable profits, insomuch that, under his co-direction, a Company was formed with a Capital of two millions of florins, divided in Actions (shares) among her Imperial Majesty's subjects in the Low Countries.

It is flattering to him to have been, in this manner, the founder and restorer of this important and lucrative Commerce after it had been abandoned for half an age, and it will give him still greater satisfaction if he can succeed in animating the subjects of these hereditary States with trust and confidence with regard to this trade. To which end he offers the following proposals.

1. The abovewritten Mr Bolts, jointly with the underwritten Codirectors, and for account of the Trieste Society, will set out and dispatch for the East Indies and China, by the ordinary way of the Cape of Good Hope the new Imperial Ship called *Cobenzel*, of about 600 tons burden, now in this port of Trieste, furnished with experienced Officers, and commanded by Captain John Joseph Bauer, a subject of the Emperour, [Joseph II], and this ship will sail, at the farthest, within the month of March next.

2. Although the above ship, including her rigging, furniture, arms, &c., actually in readiness, cost Mr Bolts more than the sum of 130,000 florins, yet, to the Society now proposed, the ship and furniture shall be valued only at 110,000 florins; and in order to facilitate the ballancing of accounts, he obliges himself to take back the ship, on her

18 Secretary to the East India Company, 1768-1783.

19 *Miscellaneous Letters Received*, vol. 72, No. 92.

20 *Miscellaneous Letters Received*, vol. 72, No. 94.

21 Maria Teresa, Empress of Austria, died 29 Nov. 1780.

return to Trieste, for two thirds of the value she shall cost the Company when ready to sail, in the condition she may return from sea, with the rigging, furniture, arms, &c., belonging to her, so as they then happen to be, without pretence to any deduction for whatever accident may happen, which he expressly renounces by these presents.

3. This projected voyage, including the ship and cargo, a part whereof is already provided, as is well known, and a part not, requires a fund of four hundred thousand florins. This fund is to be divided into a hundred actions or shares, of four thousand florins each, and every proprietor is at liberty to purchase as many shares as he thinks proper, till the whole hundred are completed, and also a half, fourth, or eighth of a share, so that a greater number may partake of the profits which this foreign trade offers.

4. Mr Bolts being convinced by experience and a long stay in India of the solidity of this undertaking, obliges himself to take for his own account fourteen shares, amounting to the sum of fifty six thousand current florins of Vienna.

5. As he has the *jus* and privilege for another similar voyage to India, therefore, in order to give the concerned in the present Adventure a greater prospect of gain, he promises and obliges himself that those among them who are unwilling to be interested in that voyage shall have the preference as far as the half of the sums they have subscribed to this, on condition that, thirty days after advertisement, they shall declare whether they chuse to be concerned in that separate adventure and how much.

6. To convince the Adventurers of the solidity of this enterprize, he obliges himself to warrant, and hereby does warrant, ten per cent. per annum as certain profit, from the day the ship *Cobenzel* sails to her safe return, to each of the adventurers on the capital respectively advanced, and five per cent. from the day of disbursement till the day the ship sails, and from the day of her return till the final liquidation of the respective quotas.

7. All charges of whatever kind being deducted, as also the abovementioned ten and five per cents., the next profit of the voyage is to be divided into two equal parts, one of which to be subdivided among the adventurers according to their respective shares, and the other half becomes the property of Mr Bolts, in consideration of his having formed the project and ceded his privilege, and also by way of premium for his guarantee of a certain gain to each adventurer of ten and five per cent. as above.

8. Furthermore, the said Mr Bolts obliges himself not to withdraw or sell, cede or alienate his interest of fifty six thousand florins till all the adventurers are fully satisfied, not only in regard to their capital, but likewise the profit warranted or insured of ten and five per Cent., in conformity to the 6th article, and also the surplus that may fall to their respective shares on their half of the next gain, after all the charges are deducted.

9. To the end that the business of the projected expedition may be managed with good order and exactness, and in order to give a greater and more general faith and trust in the concerned, Messrs. James de Gabbiati, John Adam Wagner, and John Rossetti are appointed Directors conjointly with the said Mr Bolts, and it is hereby expressly stipulated that, without the consent of the Codirectors, neither he, nor in his absence, his Agent, Mr Edward Watts, shall assume the management of any business whatever relative to, connected with, or dependent on the said adventure.

10. In consequence, however, of the foregoing obligation, it shall be incumbent on the Codirectors jointly with Mr Bolts, to prepare and draw up the publick or private advertisements to the Adventurers, to collect the money arising from the sale of the actions, to realize and verify the fourteen shares taken by Mr Bolts; to provide the goods required for the voyage · to give the needful instructions to the Captain, Supercargo, and other officers of the said ship ; to get insurance done, not only on the capital, but also on an expected or imaginary gain, as is usual in maritime trade ; to sign letters of correspondence, and whatever else is requisite in the execution of this undertaking ; and in like manner, after the return of the ship, to take care that the merchandize be landed, sold, the produce got into Cash, charges paid, the respective dividends made, and whatever else may be necessary or convenient for the general interest of the Society.

The money chest shall be kept under four keys, whereof Mr Bolts or his Agent shall have the custody of one, and one shall remain in the hands of each of the other three Directors. In this chest shall be lodged not only the money received or to be received for Actions, but also all the documents relative to the expedition, such as the bills of lading signed by the Captain, the policies of insurance, and every voucher concerning the voyage out and home.

The books shall be kept by Mr Edward Watts, but under the constant inspection of the Codirectors, who jointly with Mr Bolts, shall, in due time, get insurance done on the cargo out and home, and likewise on an imaginary or hoped for profit, so as, in case of a misfortune, which God forbid, the capital and interest of all the Adventurers may be insured.

In like manner, they shall jointly give the requisite instructions to the Captain, Supercargo and Officers, that, in case of any fortunate circumstance, particularly in Asia, on the opportunity of this ships return to Europe, if a certain profit should be offered independent of the fund of this Society, all such transactions may be done which are usual in these parts, and from which a sure profit results, but not otherwise ; and these profits, independent of the Company's funds, shall be divided, that is, three fourths to Mr Bolts, and one fourth to the Adventurers, the commission of the Direction, as in the following article, deducted.

In recompense for the pains and care of all the four Directors, they shall be allowed, by way of commission and premium, two and a half per cent. on the whole amount of the expedition outward, and two and a half per cent. on the sales of the homeward cargo, after the ships return, that is, two fifths to Mr Bolts, and three fifths for the other three Directors.

On the safe return of the ship, with all convenient speed in regard to the interest of the Company, the whole cargo shall be sold at publick sale , and when the accounts are made up, all the charges are to be paid, and the ten per cent. and respective five per cent. to the Adventurers, the commission to the Directors, premiums of insurance, and whatever else falls to the charge of the common concern ; and the remaining profit, hoped for, shall be decided according to the seventh article.

In case of loss, the funds insured are to be recovered and brought into cash, and the capital, interest, and hoped for gain that have been insured are to be paid to the Adventurers in the manner above mentioned ; and every thing is to proceed in a clear orderly manner for the satisfaction of the concerned, who shall at all times have free access to see the accounts and vouchers.

All the Adventurers, excepting the Directors, are at liberty to sell their shares, giving notice to the Directors for the registry; but the Directors shall not be responsible for the eventuality of this expedition, whether fortunate or not, having done their duty as indicated above.

Whoever chuses to accede to this Convention and social contract will be pleased to sign their names, and note the number of actions they desire to take, with an obligation to accept the bills at usance which the Directors shall draw for the value of the purchase as soon as the whole number of one hundred actions is completed.

Trieste, 17th December 1782.

We underwritten, elected and appointed for managing the affairs relative to the Association called the Trieste Society for the expedition of the Imperial ship *Cobenzel*, in conformity to the foregoing printed plan, declare that the subscriptions in Trieste till this day amount to the sum of 140,000 florins, and so soon as the subscriptions required are completed, the names and respective sums of all the Adventurers shall be published.

Trieste, the 20th December 1782.

(Signed) GUGLIELMO BOLTS,
GIACOMO DE GABBIATI
GIAN ADAMO VAGNER
GEO : ROSSETTI

Note on the Prospectus of the Triestine Company.

The foregoing prospectus is very interesting as showing the methods of the Austrian Company, known to the English as the Triestine Society (Société Impériale Asiatique de Trieste) in raising funds for its voyages. Apparently the Society raised a separate subscription for each voyage, which was liquidated on its completion.

Put into modern commercial parlance and divested of its "wrapping," the scheme developed in the prospectus is illuminating, as it tells us how funds for ventures were raised in the 18th century in Europe; and it shows incidentally that the Company promoters of that time were as "smart" as the most modern of their tribe.

On 20 December 1782, Bolts, in the name of the Triestine Society, promoted a special issue of shares for the voyage of the ship *Cobenzel* to India, China and the East, and back. The Directors were to be himself, as Managing Director, and three others. He was also to be the promoter.

The share capital was to be 400,000 florins (say £40,000, taking the Austrian florin at 2s. to be divided as to 260,000 florins into 520 20% preference shares of 500 florins each, held by the subscribers, and as to 140,000 florins into 35 unsaleable fully paid ordinary shares of 4,000 florins each, held by the Directors in the proportion of 14 by the promoter and 7 each by the other Directors. The preference shares were to receive on the promoter's guarantee 5% from the date of subscription to the date of sailing, 10% during the voyage, and 5% from the date of return to the date of final liquidation. These dividends were subject to all the charges of the venture, including the Directors' remuneration.

The Directors' remuneration was to be 2½% on all sales during the voyage and 2½% on all sales after the ship's return, payable in the proportion of ½ to the promoter

and ⅛ each to the other Directors.[22] The balance of the net profits on the voyage, which were to include the value of the ship taken at ⅜ of the total capital (*i.e.*, at 266,000 florins), and the guarantee of the promoter, was to be divided, half to the promoter and half to the shareholders. The ship was to be insured by the Society, and in case of loss the insurance money was to be available for dividend. Any incidental profits, *i.e.*, any made during the voyage by trading in goods not included in the original cargo, were to be divided, ¾ to the promoter and ¼ to the shareholders.

The objects of the issue were to purchase the ship *Cobenzel* of 600 tons, valued at 130,000 florins, but sold to the Society by the promoter for 110,000 florins for the purposes of the issue, and to equip her and take her on a voyage to India, China and the East and back, the total cost of the scheme being estimated at 400,000 florins. The outward trade cargo was to consist of copper, gunpowder, iron, cloths and wine, and also porcelain, cannon, etc., as presents for Haidar Ali of Mysore and other Indian potenates; and the homeward cargo was to be pepper. It was stated in the prospectus that the promoter's previous voyage for the Society to the East had been very profitable.

The subscription to the issue was opened on 20 December 1782, the capital was fully subscribed by 23 June 1783, and the ship had commenced her voyage before 29 September 1783, but I have not been able to trace her arrival in the East. The promoter reserved the right to undertake arrangements for a similar voyage for the Society immediately on completion of those for the present one, and he set to work to raise funds for another venture to the East as soon as the *Cobenzel* had started on her voyage.

It will be seen from the foregoing statement that what Bolts did was this. He guaranteed his subscribers nominally 20%, but in reality only 5% [23] on the capital they put up, 260,000 florins, risking thus 13,000 florins[24]; but he sold his ship to them for 110,000 florins in cash, so he made them pay handsomely for his guarantee. He also guaranteed to buy the ship nominally for 266,000 florins on her return, but the shareholders were to have her insured; and so if she was lost on the voyage he not only risked nothing, but got his share of the insurance money as owner of 14% of the total capital.[25] If the ship returned safely, his share of the profit would cover the risk, as it would necessarily be great.[26]

Thus he got 56,000 florins worth of shares (14% of the total capital as above noted) for nothing[27]; half the gross profit beyond 20% as the shareholders paid all the charges of the venture including his remuneration; three-fourths of any trading profit (beyond those on the proceeds of the outward and homeward cargo) made during the voyage; and one per cent. (⅖ of 2½%) on all sales of both the outward and homeward cargo which were always very high in those days.

It was these considerations that apparently made business men of the day accept his guarantee, as at that time he was practically bankrupt, the voyage of the *Joseph and Theresa* not being the success he would appear to have made it out to be. It is probable that he

[22] *I.e.*, 1% to the promoter and ½% to each of the other Directors.

[23] That is until the return of the ship the only dividend payable on the prospectus was 5% for the time before the ship started.

[24] This was the outside risk, as the 5% it represented was only payable after deduction of "expenses."

[25] By the prospectus the insurance money was specially earmarked as available for dividend.

[26] The value of the ship was also to be available for dividend.

[27] His total outside risk was 56,000 florins for shares and 13,000 florins as guaranteed dividend against 110,000 florins, the price of his ship paid him by the shareholders.

had to give away a large share of his advantages in the prospectus to them for assistance in floating the issue, in a manner well known to the modern Company-promoter.

The object of giving Bolts three colleagues in the direction of the Society's venture was obviously to protect the shareholders, but they had individually so subordinate an interest in the concern that their control must have been shadowy.

One result of this story is to bring home to the present-day reader, with convincing clearness, what it meant to European merchants, even in the late 18th century, when "their ships came home."

Letter from Mr Nathaniel Green, Consul, to Mr Secretary Fox,[28] *dated Trieste, 9 May* 1783.[29]

Mr. Bolts is now at Vienna, solliciting Credit for the Value of One Hundred Thousand Florins in Copper and Gunpowder for the Cargo of the Ship *Cobentzel*, which is to be fitted out here for Bengal and China so soon as the Actions are all engaged, if the Disputes among Mr Bolts's Creditors do not throw Obstacles in the Way. This Expedition proposed (according to all Appearance) by Mr Bolts to amuse his Creditors, is to be carried on under the Firm &c. of La Societa Triestina. Mr Bolts and three Merchants of this Place are the Managers, and they hope, not only to send out this Ship, but also to find Funds in the same Way, that [is,] by Shares or Actions, for sending out another immediately afterwards. All this affair is totally separate from those of the Antwerp Company to whom Mr Bolts has ceded his Octroi or exclusive Privilege for the East India Trade, which began in 1775 and its term will expire in 1785. Mr Bolts, however, notwithstanding his present very critical situation and his extensive Engagements, still contemplates his favourite Project of a Voyage to the North West Coast of America and round the Globe, for which intent he retains yet in his Service the People he first engaged to assist in that Enterprize, *vizt.*

Mr Gilpin, Astronomer, who went the last Voyage with Captain Cook.[30]

[G.] Dixon, Armourer in the same.

[Wm.] Walker, Joyners Mate Do. and

[H.] Zimmerman, Mariner Do. This last is a Native of Spiers in the Palatinate and is the Man who has published in German a Relation of Captain Cooke's last Voyage.[31]

Thus Mr Bolts's projects may produce two trading Companies instead of one, besides setting something of the same kind a going in Leghorn, from whence a Ship lately sailed under Tuscan Colours for East India, though perhaps its Voyage may terminate at the Isle of France, and Mr Sherriman, late of Madras, is now solliciting the Grand Duke for his Protection of another Ship for the Coast of Coromandel. There is some Ground to

[28] Charles James Fox (1749-1806), Joint Secretary of State with Lord North, April—Dec. 1783.

[29] *Miscellaneous Letters Received*, vol. 73, No. 189.

[30] Mr. Edward Heawood informs me that in Kitson's *Life of Captain James Cook* the name of G. Gilpin appears in the list of officers and men who went with Cook on his second (not last) voyage, 1772-1775. Gilpin's name figures among the supernumeraries as "servant" to the Astronomer on the *Resolution*, and he probably acted as assistant.

[31] G. Dixon, Wm. Walker and Heinrich Zimmermann were all members of the crew of the *Discovery* in Cook's last voyage. Zimmermann's account, entitled *Reise um die Welt mit Capit. Cook*, was published at Gottingen in 1781. A second ed. was published at Mannheim in 1782. In a note to the 1st ed. the author is said to have been a quartermaster in the *Discovery*, but in Kitson's list (see previous note) he is styled coxswain. I am indebted to Mr. B. G. Corney for this information.

believe that all East India Speculations would soon be laid aside in this Country if they were not supported by the Assistance of Englishmen and other Foreigners, and the Facility they find of fitting out Ships from English and other Foreign Ports. Next week I shall have the Honor to transmit some Notes on the Account which Mr Bolts has lately presented to his Creditors on his stopping Payment.

P. S.—Some Presents for Hyder Ally [Haidar Ali] are getting ready at Vienna, of what kind I know not, but believe the bulk small.

Letter from Mr Green, Consul at Trieste, to Mr Secretary Fox, dated 23 *June* 1783.[32]

The Subscription of florins 400,000 for the Expedition of the Ship *Cobentzel* for Bengal and China for Account of Mr Bolts and the Triestine Society as it is called (not the Imperial Asiatic Company) is now full, and the Ship is to be fitted out in all haste. Hyder Ally has given Commission for 150 Tons of Iron which is to go in this Ship. A messenger is to be dispatched by the Way over land to the Coast of Malabar. A Manufacturer named Martin, at or near Marseilles, gives Mr B. credit for a large Quantity of Cloth for this Voyage; a Person at Madeira offers him 200 Pipes of Wine for half ready Money and half credit at Thirty Months. Mr Berthon of Lisbon writes to him that if he cannot immediately succeed in his Project here, He may find better Friends at Lisbon.

Letter from Consul Green to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Trieste, 11 *July* 1783.[33]

Mr Bolts Ship, the *Cobentzel*, is to sail about the end of August for the Coast of Malabar, from whence she is to go to China. A Messenger will set out in a few days with Dispatches for Mangalore, where he is to wait the arrival of the Ship.

The great Ship building at Fiume for the Imperial India Company[34] will not be ready for Sea till December next.

Letter from Consul Green to Mr Secretary Fox, dated Trieste, 25 *July* 1783.[35]

The Ship *Cobentzel* is to carry the Presents from His Imperial Majesty to Hyder Ally, Part of which I am told will consist in some Porcelaine of Vienna and some Brass Cannon. The Present which Mr Bolts brought from Hyder for the late Empress was Shauls and Diamonds, supposed to be worth about Thirty Thousand Florins. The Company hopes by the Favor of Hyder to be able to procure a Cargo of Pepper on the Coast, to bring home which, a Ship is to be bought there.

Letter from Consul Green to Mr Secretary Fox, dated Trieste, 18 *August* 1783.[36]

Two Days ago a gentleman named Campbell set out from hence with Dispatches from Mr Bolts and the new Association called the Triestine Society, for Hyder Ally and for some Correspondents at Bombay. Their Ship, *Cobentzel*, will be ready to sail from hence in about three Weeks. She is to touch at Marseilles to receive a Quantity of Broadcloth, at Madeira for a large Quantity of Wine, and, I believe, also at Cadiz for some other Articles. It is pretended that She will be at Mangalore in the Month of May next, but I am told by some who understand the Nature of the Voyage and the Course of the Seasons that She cannot arrive on the Coast of Malabar till some Months later. Some

32 *Miscellaneous Letters Received*, vol. 73, No. 12.
33 *Miscellaneous Letters Received*, vol. 73, No. 54.
34 See *infra* letter of 29 Sept. 1783.
35 *Miscellaneous Letters Received*, vol. 73, No. 72.
36 *Miscellaneous Letters Received*, vol. 73, No. 121.

Englishmen who are Officers on board are very much dissatisfied with Mr B. who refuses to pay them, as he promised when his Affairs were in disorder, and he engaged them to wait till this period. Some others whom he had also brought here to serve in his Expedition to the North West of America by the Way of Cape Hoorn are now also in Dispute with him for their Pay and Discharge, both of which he refuses, and pretends he shall yet be able to put this Project in execution. This may be very uncertain, and I believe that he himself sees that this Country is not well adapted to his views nor can give hopes of Success to them. I know also that he has entered into Correspondence with Naples and hopes to be furnished with a Ship there and that Court will take some part in the Affair. He has also lately treated for an English Ship which is now here and offered £6,000 Sterling for the Voyage, but could not persuade the Captain to undertake it.

Letter from Consul Green to Mr Secretary Fox,
dated Trieste, 29 *September* 1783.[37]

The Triestine Society have at length sent away their Ship *Cobentzel* for the Coast of Malabar and China. The Captain is Mr John Joseph Bauer, an Hungarian, Chief Mate Mr. Lindsay, Second Mr Moore, and Third Mr Smith, which three with two Petty Officers have made themselves Austrian Subjects. The Society is now in Treaty for another Ship for a second Expedition, conformable to the Privilege which Mr Bolts has reserved to himself in the Agreement with the Imperial Asiatick Company when he gave up the Octroy [38] to them.

Some Projects are in Contemplation for re-establishing the Course of India Trade by the Way of Suez, Cairo, &c. Some Proposals of such Tendency have been made both from hence and from some Englishman in India, to people of consideration in Egypt, who have given a very encouraging Answer.

Additional Paper on Austrian Trade in the East.

Unsigned Letter from Brussels, dated 11 *April* 1788, *containing the general Tenor of the Instructions intended to be sent by the Emperor to the Consuls General in India.*[39]

The Viscount de Walckiers[40] has just now called on me to desire me to tell you that he cannot keep his promise of sending you to-day the heads of the instructions intended to be given by the Emperor to the Consuls General appointed in India, because the form and words of those instructions are not yet finally settled, and besides, their expedition in due form depends on other regulations now about to be taken to prevent effectually the abuse of the Imperial flag in India.

You know his only view in proposing to send you the copy or substance of the Instructions was that you might find some means of learning whether they are such as may be in all respects perfectly consonant with the wishes of those at the head of India affairs on your side of the water, in order that any alterations they think proper to hint might be made in them. Perhaps a general idea of them may answer that purpose which a few words will convey to you.

[37] *Miscellaneous Letters Received*, vol. 73, No. 169.

[38] This word is used in its now obsolete meaning of commercial privilege, exclusive right of trade.

[39] *Home Series, Miscellaneous*, vol. 74.

[40] Joseph Walcher, born 1718 at Lentz, was Director of Navigation on the Danube and later a member of the Austrian Government.

They are directed to conform, as far as circumstances will admit of, to the existing maritime Regulations of the late Empress for Trieste and to those adopted in this Country—To take cognizance of all Ships which come within their district under the Imperial Flag—To cause the Captains and Officers [to] produce their Passports and requisite authority for carrying that Flag—To keep proper accounts and Registers of the whole, granting their certificate of such papers having been only produced and in the proper form, and they are to request of the Governors, &c. in India to pay no respect to the assumed Flag of such Ships as are not provided with such Passports and comply with these forms. And also upon the certainty of illegal proceedings of this nature, they are to ask the protection and assistance of all Governors &c. that they may be enabled to deal with such subjects unauthorized, according to the aforementioned regulations now making. And if those assuming the Emperor's Flag are not Imperial Subjects the Consuls or their Deputies or Vice Consuls are to give any public declarations or certificates of it which may be necessary to enable them in whose ports they are to seize them or deal with them as they please, renouncing all claims on that account on the part of the Emperor.

They are, on the other hand, to protect, as far as in their power, and endeavour to obtain protection from those in power, in favour of all Imperial Ships and Subjects duly authorized by His Majesty to trade beyond the Cape of Good Hope, to call them before them, hear and determine their disputes and differences among themselves, take depositions, grant certificates valid in Law here, give sentences to be executed subject to appeal here, and in short, to act in general as other Imperial Consuls do in foreign Countries, but always with the concurrence, where needful, and under the protection of the Governor &c. in whose Presidencies or Districts the Circumstances occur. They are to make proper Reports to the Emperor of their proceedings and in general to maintain, as far as in their power, good order and tranquillity among his subjects who trade to India or are there properly authorized—to encourage this trade and obtain for them such indulgences and favours as they may stand in need of, but to take care those placed thus under their authority commit no offence against the laws in the places they frequent, and should that happen, to assist as far as in their power in bringing them to justice and obliging them to make proper reparation.

You may look upon these as the chief principles and substance of the Instructions to be given to the Consuls General, and the Viscount de Walckiers would be glad you could learn whether any stronger restrictions or injunctions ought to be added for the satisfaction of the British Government or the East India Company. In that case, it will only require a hint from him to have it done, for Government here are determined to put a stop to all the abuses which have of late been committed under the Imperial Flag.

Our friend the Viscount is also very anxious to know if the orders are given for admitting those Consuls, especially the one in Bengal. I wish you could learn something about this and write to him, if you do not pay us a visit in your way to Paris, but we firmly expect to see you.

[THE END.]

VIVÊKAPATRAMÂLÂ.

BY T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A.; TRIVANDRAM.

(*Continued from p.* 83.)

THE *Vibhâgapatramâlâ*, a manuscript hitherto unpublished, whose existence was brought to my knowledge by Mr. Raṅgasvâmi Sarasvati, B.A., and which is a very late production, gives some account of the poets of the village of Muḷḷaṇḍram. It gives us some glimpses into the lives of a few of them, more especially, of Aruṇagirinâtha (otherwise known also as Sôṇâdrinâtha, &c.) and his son Râjanâtha Kavi. It is stated therein that a Chôḷa king who went on a pilgrimage to Benares (Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Râjêndra Chôḷadêva I. is evidently referred to here) was met there by a number of learned men of the village of Mandâra. This king being pleased with the erudition and character of these people took them with him to his dominions for the purpose of erecting temples for Śiva and settled them in the Kâñchimaṇḍala. They were eight in number and belonged to eight different *gôtras*; their names and *gôtras* are as follows :—

1.	Prâsâdavallabha	Kâśyapagôtra.
2.	Bhâskarakavi	Gautamagôtra.
3.	Râjanâthakavi	Sâvarṇyagôtra.
4.	Subrahmaṇyakavi	Śâṇḍilyagôtra.
5.	Jaṭâdharêśa Dîkshita	Śrîvatsagôtra.
6.	Nîlakaṇṭhakavi	Bhâradvâjagôtra.
7.	Sômanâtha Dîkshita	Gôtama (Sâmaga) gôtra, and
8.	Mallikârjunabhaṭṭa	Saṅkṛitigôtra.

After some time, the Chôḷa king granted them an *agrahâra* worth 450 *nishkas* of gold, which was named Mettaippâḍi (translated in Saṅskṛit as Talpagiri) and which was divided into ten shares, of which eight were given to the abovenamed eight *brâhmaṇas* and two to the god of the local temple. In this village which was also known as the Râjanâthapura (perhaps after one of the donees, No. 3 of the above list), Râjanâtha built a temple for Śiva and set up in it a *liṅga* which he called Râjanâthêśvara. The hill situated on the east of their village was called the Mettaippâḍimalai.

The first of the donees, Prâsâdavallabha Dîkshita, had, by the grace of the god of Chidambaram (Puṇḍarîkapura), a son named Sabhâpati. The kings of the Chêra, the Chôḷa and the Pâṇḍya countries became his disciples; whenever Sabhâpati went out, a drum (*ḍhakkâ*) mounted on an elephant used to be sounded to announce the advent of the illustrious poet. Hence he was better known as Ḍhakkâ Sabhâpati. The great grandson of Ḍhakkâ Sabhâpati was Bhâskarârya, the author of the *Prasannakâvya*. In this family was born the poet Tyâgarâja who set up a pillar of victory in the Kâmakôṭîśvara pîṭha (*i. e.*, the Śaṅkarâchârya *maṭha* which is at present situated in Kumbhakôṇam). Tyâgarâja had two sons named Svayambhu and Gurusvâmi.

The contemporaries of Svayambhu in the other families were :—

Dakshiṇâmûrti Yajvâ and Bhâskara Dîkshita of the family of Bhâskara Dîkshita of the Gautamagôtra; Vidyâpatimakhi, Divâkarakavi and Sûryabhaṭṭa of the family of the Râjanâthakavi of the Sâvarṇyagôtra; Gurumûrtikavi and Śivasûryamakhi of the family of Subrahmaṇyakavi of the Śâṇḍilyagôtra; Śivasûryamakhi, Subrahmaṇyamakhi, Râmaliṅgamakhi and Râmachandra of the family of Jaṭâdharêśa Dîkshita of the Śrîvatsagôtra; Śaṅkarayajvâ, Nîlakaṇṭhamakhi, Yajñanârâyaṇa and Anantakavi of the family of Nîlakaṇṭhakavi of the Bhâradvâjagôtra; Râjanâthakavi and Vêṅkaṭakavi of the Gôtamagôtra;

and Dêvarâma. . . of the family of Mallikârjunabhaṭṭa of the Saṅkṛitigôtra; thus the original eight families consisted, in the time of Svayambhu, of twenty-one households.

Svayambhu had a son named Sabhâpati, and Gurusvâmi had a daughter named Abhirâmâmbikâ and a son called Sômanâtha, who were born twins. Abhirâmâmbikâ was married to Râjanâtha of the Gôtamagôtra; she attained her age in her 13th year, and in the Kali year 4400 expired (A.D. . . . .) gave birth to a son named Sôṇadhara (or Aruṇagiri).

Of the twenty-one householders mentioned above seven left their native village Mettaippâḍi and began to reside in the village of Attiyûr granted by Bukkarâya as an *agrahâra* to Brâhmaṇas. The king Bukka is described in the manuscript as one who had received the grace of the sage Vidyâraṇya, who was the giver of all desired objects and who was the establisher of several temples for Vishṇu and Śiva. These seven people employed a Karnâṭaka *brâhmaṇa* and his brother as the *Pañchâṅgi* and accountant respectively on a fixed pay and another *brâhmaṇa* for doing *pûjâ* in the local temple These ten families lived in Attiyûr cultivating their knowledge of *Vêdânta* and other *śâstras*. They had friends in the adjacent village of Puttûr founded by the Chôla kings.

Śôṇâdrinâtha (Aruṇagirinâtha) was sent to a teacher to learn all *śâstras*. While studying, his father who was anxious to have his son married, died. The boy was taken under his charge by his uncle Sômanâtha, for, his mother Abhirâmâmbikâ committed *sati* with her deceased husband. After some time had passed, Aruṇagirinâtha found the wife of his uncle not at all kind to him; her ill-treatment made him run away from his uncle's house. All along Sômanâtha was ignorant of the fact that his nephew was not accorded proper treatment by his wife and when he found the boy missing he set about searching for him. Three days after he found him on the river bank, his lips tinged red with betel. When questioned about the matter, he explained that feeling tired he slept away the previous night in the Śaiva temple in Puttûr (Navâgrahâra), meditating upon Vidyâpati, the god of that temple. He then dreamt that a person whose head was ornamented with the crescent moon, whose arms were adorned with bracelets of snakes, and who was accompanied by a number of children and four disciples approached him and spat in his mouth the betel he was chewing. Seeing that his lips were coloured red he got up to wash them in the river and therefore he happened to be then by the side of the river. Forthwith he burst into poetic effusion and ever since became a famous versifier and by his divine gift he attracted the attention of the then newly-crowned king Prauḍhadêvarâya Mahârâya and became a very intimate friend and companion of the king. He married Yajñâmbikâ, a girl belonging to the Sâvarṇyagôtra.

There was a pretty garden belonging to the crown, situated on the south of the village of Mettaippâḍi (Talpagrâma), on the east of Attiyûr (Audumbarapura) and on the north-west of Puttûr (Navagrâma); the officer who was in charge of this garden was named Nilagiri. Once when Rukmiṇi, the queen of Prauḍhadêvarâya saw this garden she liked it so well that she desired to possess it and the king immediately made over this property to her.

The cows of the Brâhmaṇa villages near by used to enter the garden and destroy the valuable plants. Nîlagiri protested against the straying cattle, but the *brâhmaṇas* paid no heed to his protestations. Then he detained the cattle and declined to liberate them: among those thus penned there were some cows belonging to Śôṇâdri (Aruagṇiri). Incensed at the insolence of Nîlagiri, Śôṇâdri appealed to the king not simply to order Nîlagiri to liberate the cows, but to grant him the garden so that he might build an *agrahâra* on its site. The king, however, declined to interfere with the estate of his queen. Śôṇâdri then left the kingdom of Prauḍhadêvarâya, it is stated, and proceeded to that of the Suratrâṇa (Sultan) where by the cleverness of his composition he got access to his presence and pleased him very much. The court poet by name Anapâya, surnamed Kavimalla, came out with his characteristic drum, *diṇḍima*, beating, to meet Aruṇagiri in an intellectual wrangle; it was resolved that if Kavimalla was defeated by Śôṇâdri he should deliver all his distinctions to

the latter. Unfortunately for him, he was overcome by Śôṇâdri and lost his title and distinctions. The Sultan then decorated him with the distinguishing appellation of "Vidyâ-ḍiṇḍima Śôṇaśaila Kavi" and detained him for some time with himself. On one occasion Aruṇagiri so pleased the Sultan with his poetic talent that the latter conferred upon him the title of 'Ḍiṇḍima-sârvabhaûma-kavi.' Aruṇagiri rendered the story of Râma into a *kâvya* and a *nâṭaka* and wrote also several works on *śâstras*. Having thus distinguished himself in the court of the Sultan and having pleased him, Aruṇagiri got a note of the Sultan ordering Prauḍhadêvarâya to grant the queen's garden near Puttûr to Aruṇagiri (!). Prauḍhadêvarâya, it is said, quietly gave away to Aruṇagiri the garden belonging to his queen. Aruṇagiri then ordered an *agrahâra* to be built there on the bank of the river Kuṭila; in the middle of which was constructed a temple for Śiva under the name of Sabhâpati and on the south-east corner another for Vishṇu. This new village received five different names, namely, Prauḍhadêva-râyapuram, Sârvabhaumapuram, Ḍiṇḍimâlayam, Trimaṇḍalam and Mûlâṇḍam.

Though Ḍiṇḍimakavisârvabhauma often caused panic in the minds of great poets, he never interfered with the lesser ones.

The above is an abstract of the contents of the *Vibhâgapatramâlâ*. From this we see that the so-called "deed of division" is nothing more than a panegyric on Ḍiṇḍimakavi-Sârvabhauma Aruṇagirinâtha. The genealogy of this person as gathered from the manuscript may be tabulated thus:—

Prasâdavallabha Dîkshita of the Kâśyapagôtra.

|

Ḍhakkâ Sabhâpati.

|

Son

|

Grandson

|

Bhâskarârya
Author of *Prasannakâvya*.

|

Tyâgarâja,
who set up a pillar of victory in the Kâmakôṭîśvara Pîṭha.

- Svayambhu
  - Sabhâpati
- Gurusvâmî
  - Sômanâtha
  - Abhirâmâmbikâ × Râjanâthâ of the Gôtamagôtra.
    - Aruṇagiri × Yajñâmbikâ of the Sâvarnya-gôtra.
      (*alias* Śôṇâdri, ...) received the grace of Śiva in becoming a poet; contemporary of Prauḍhadêvarâya; rendered the story of Râma into a *kâvya* and also a *nâṭaka*; obtained the *birudas* of Ḍiṇḍimakavisârvabhauma; defeated Anapâya, *alias* Kavimalla.

The members of the family of Svayambhu have left behind certain poetical works of theirs which also yield incidentally some information about them and their ancestors. The *Subhadrâ-Dhanañjaya-nâṭaka*, a Saṁskṛit play by Râmakavi yields the following genealogy :—

Râjanâtha
|
Svayambhuguru × Daughter
|
Râmakavi,
Author of the *Subhadrâ-Dhanañjaya Nâṭaka.*

It is stated in this work that the author was a native of Mulâṇḍam in the Tuṇḍîra-maṇḍala and that he belonged to the Kâśyapagôtra. His ancestors were worshippers of Siva, and were called by the distinguishing title Aghôraśivâchârya : these were held in great respect by Sârvabhaumakavi and others.

Again in another work, the *Sômavallî-yôgânanda prahasana*, its author Aruṇagiri gives his genealogy as follows : —

Diṇḍimakavi, the opponent of Nâgaṇakavi, the court poet of the Baḷḷâlas
|
Sabhâpati — Abhirâmanâyikâ md., Râjanâthadêsika (son of Kaviprabhu of the Sâmavêda)
|
Aruṇagiri
(Author of the *Sômavallî-yôgânanda prahasana*).

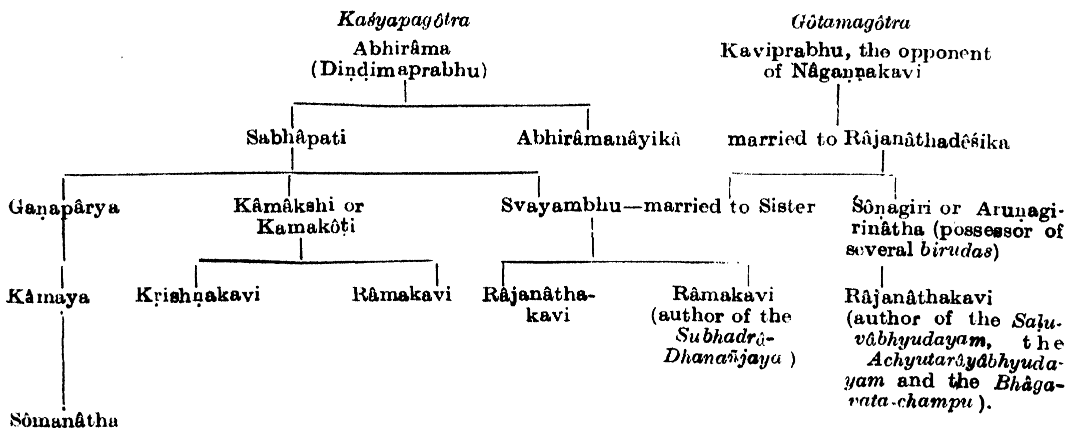
The *Bhâgavata-champu* is another work written by Râjanâthakavi, son of Śôṇagirinâtha.

The two *kâvyas*, the *Sâḷuvâbhyudayam* and the *Achyutarâyâbhyudayam*, sung in praise of the deeds of valour of the Vijayanagara kings Sâḷuva Narasiṁha and Achyutarâya are claimed to have been composed by a poet called Râjanâtha. In the former work the poet Râjanâtha states that he was the son of Śôṇâdrinâtha ; therein we see him bear a long string of *birudas*, rather high-sounding in their purport ; they are:

1. Diṇḍima-kavi Sârvabhauma, Diṇḍimakavi Râjanâtha.
2. Chêra-chôḷa-Pâṇḍya-prathamârâdhya Hṛidayaśivâbhikhya Diṇḍimakavi-sârva-bhauma-biruda Śôṇâdrinâthâtmaja Râjanâtha.
3. Daśarûpa-Nârâyaṇa-biruda-maṇḍana Diṇḍima.
4. Rasika-kavitâsâmrâjya-Lakshmîpati.
5. Navanâṭâka-bharatâchârya.
6. Kavimalla-galla-tâḍana-paṭu.
7. Pratibhaṭa-kavi-kuñjara-pañchânana.
8. Bindûdaka-kavi-prapitâmaha.
9. Kavisârvabhaumâbdhi târâpati.
10. Chatur-vṛitti-Sârvabhauma.
11. Dvâdaśa-dêśya-vṛitti-pâradṛiśva.
12. Ashṭabhâshâ-paramêśvara.
13. Abhinava-nâṭaka-Bhavabhûti.
14. Maghâdyati-varti-chitraprabandha-paramêśvara.
15. Ashṭadigvijaya-paṭahîkṛita-biruda Diṇḍimâḍambara.
16. Shaḍdarsana Shaṇmukha.

17. Saiva-śâstra-jîvâtu, and
18. Akhilavêda-sâgara-sâmyâtrika.

Of these a very large number of the *birudas* qualify Aruṇagiri or Sônâdrinâtha than glorify his son ; the son born of the merits of such a great man as Aruṇagirîśa who bore almost all the foregoing *birudas*, was Râjanâthakavi, the author of the *Sâḷuvâbhyudayam*. But in the *Achyutarâyâbhyudayam* not even the name of the father of the poet is given ; one thing, however, is certain, namely, that the author of the *Achyutarâyâbhyudayam* and the *Bhâgavata Champu* are identical, as will be observed from the introductory verses in both, extracts of which are given in the appendix ; the authors of these two poems were the contemporaries of Achyutadêvarâya. The verse beginning with *dhammilla-śaivâladhara* is found, without the least change, in both poems. From the facts detailed above some feel inclined to dissociate the two Râjanâthas, the authors of the *Sâluvâbhyudayam* and of the *Achyutarâyâbhyudayam* and treat them as two different persons ; there is also apparently some ground for their doing so, because, the one deals with the history of a king who lived at least 25 years earlier than the king whose exploits are recorded in the second poem. It might also be stated that it cannot be that the title-less Râjanâtha (the grandfather of the highly-sounding-titled Râjanâtha, whose father's name even is not mentioned), was the author of the *kâvya* dealing with a *later* king and his grandson, the composer of the *kâvya* dealing with the history of the *earlier* king. One gets out of this difficulty, if one admits that the author of the *Saḷuvâbhyudayam*, the *Achyutarâyâbhyudayam* and the *Bhâgavata-champu* was one and the same person, Râjanâtha, the son of Aruṇagiri. If this conclusion is admitted, as it must be, the genealogy of the poets of Muḷḷaṇḍram could be shown as related to that of the *śâsana* writers of the Vijayanagara kings thus :—



The identification of the *śâsana* writers of the kings of Vijayanagara with the poets of Muḷḷaṇḍram is based upon the following considerations :

(i) The poets of Muḷḷaṇḍram and the *śâsana* writers of the Vijayanagara kings bear the same names.

(ii) They both have written the eulogies of the kings of Vijayanagara.

(iii) They both were the protégés of the Vijayanagara kings and possibly because,

(iv) as the poets, according to the *Vivêkapatramâlâ* were the followers of the Śrîkaṇṭhâgama and bore the high-sounding title *Aghôraśivâchâryas*, were able to induce the family *guru* of the Vijayanagara kings, Kṛiyâśakti Paṇḍita to exert his influence with the kings to procure for them the hereditary position (*mirâśi*) of the *śâsana* writers of the kings.

The above are the only reasons which induced me to take the poets as identical with the *śâsana* writers. How far this identification is tenable it is too much to say at present. Future research alone should bear out or contradict this identity.

As regards certain facts mentioned in the *Vivêkapatramâlâ*, a few words of explanation are necessary. First, it is stated that the ancestors of the poets of Mullaṇḍram were originally the inhabitants on the banks of the Ganges and that when a Chôḷa king went on a pilgrimage to Benares, he met those learned men and took them with him and settled them in Toṇḍaināḍu. If the statement is true, the Chôḷa king is, as has been already remarked, Râjêndrachôḷadêva I. who conquered all the countries as far north as the Ganges and as a consequence was better known as Gaṅgaikoṇḍachôla. It was after his name the city of Gaṅgaikoṇḍachôḷapuram and the superb temple in its centre were constructed and the former made the capital by that king. This fact of his having brought some Śaiva Brâhmaṇas of the Âgamânta school on his way from the banks of the Ganges is also referred to in his work the commentary on the Siddhânta-Sârâvaḷi of Trilôchanaśivâchârya by Anantaśivâchârya. And we know from the inscriptions of Râjarâja I. and his son Râjêndrachôḷadêva I. that they preferred the Brâhmaṇas of Lâṭa, Gauḍa, &c., countries to be *maṭhâdhipatis* and *pûjâris* in temples Thus there is some truth in the statement made in the *Vivêkapatramâlâ*.

The next fact stated therein is that the original immigrants into the Toṇḍainâḍu were the followers of the Śrîkaṇṭhâgama. The present inhabitants of the village of Muḷḷaṇḍram who trace their descent from the poets mentioned in the *Vivêkapatramâlâ* now assert that they are not Âgamântins but Vêdântins belonging to the Vaḍama sect. One of them is to-day the *guru* of the oilmonger caste (*Vâṇiyan*). It is very hard to believe how they could have become Vaḍamas if they trace their lineage from persons who once bore the title of Aghôraśivâchâryas.

Again Muḷḷaṇḍram is stated to have been the native village of Diṇḍimakavi and that it also bore the name Prauḍhadêvarâyapuram. An inscription (No. 396 of the Madras Epigraphist's Collection for 1911) found in Muḷḷaṇḍram "records that the Mahâjanas of Prauḍhadêvarâyapuram *alias* Agaram-Muḷḷaṇḍram including the poet Diṇḍimakavi, assigned house sites to certain stone-masons in the Kaṇmâḷatteru. This charter was engraved on the temple of Tândôṇrîśvaram-uḍaiyâr." This is dated in the cyclic year Raudra. Another record belonging to the same place (No. 397 of 1911) dated Ś. 1472, Sâdhâraṇa records "Gift of land by a Brâhmaṇa lady to the shrine of Aṇṇâmalainâtha built by her, in the temple of Svayambhunâtha for the merit of herself and her husband Kumârar Diṇḍimar Aṇṇâmalainâthar." If Ś. 1472 was Sâdhâraṇa, Raudra adjoining Sâdhâraṇa will be the Śaka years 1423 or 1483, the earlier perhaps being more probable. From these two inscriptions we learn that the ages of the Kavi Diṇḍima and perhaps of his son Kumârar Diṇḍimar Aṇṇâmalainâthar were about the middle of the 15th century of the Śaka era which falls in the reign of the Vijayanagara king Achyutadêvarâya—a fact which clearly shows that the author or authors of the *Sâluvâbhyudayam*, the *Achyutarâyâbhyudayam* and the *Bhâgavata-champu* should necessarily have lived only in the reign of Achyutadêvarâya and not before. The inscriptions further inform us that another name of the village Muḷḷaṇḍram was Prauḍhadêvarâyapuram, as mentioned in the *Vivêkapatramâlâ*.

According to the *Vêdântadêśika Vaibhavaprakâśikâ* of Doḍḍayâchârya of Chôḷaśiṅgapuram, Vêdântadêśika, the great Viśishtâdvaita Âchârya, the founder of the Vaḍagalai sect of the Srîvaishṇavas, is said to have had a philosophical wrangle with a Ḍiṇḍima-Sârvabhauma Kavi.[2] This Ḍiṇḍima-Sârvabhauma Kavi is herein said to be the author of a work called *Râghavâbhyudayam* and that to excel this composition Vêdântadêśika is said to have written *Yâdavâbhyudayam*. We know from other sources that Vêdântadêśika lived for over a hundred years from S. 1191-1293 (=A.D. 1269-1371). Therefore the opponent of the Srîvaishṇavâchârya must be an ancestor of Aruṇagirinâtha (in his mother's side).

Again, Nainârâchârya, the son of Vêdântadêśika, a contemporary, like his father, of Sarvajñasiṁha Nâyaka, is reported to have defeated in a philosophical discussion a poet of the court of the prince abovenamed, known by the appellation of Sâkalya-Malla. This must be the Kavimalla who was overcome by Ḍiṇḍimakavi Aruṇagirinâtha, as evidenced by one of his titles, Kavimalla-galla-tâḍana-paṭu.

The *Vivêkapatramâlâ* contains an absurd statement that Aruṇagirinâtha, incensed by the conduct of the keeper of the queen's garden near Mettaippâḍi, complained against him to the king Prauḍhadêvarâya and requested him to present him with the garden, so that he might construct there an *agrahâra*, that Prauḍhadêvarâya refused to give it and that thereupon Aruṇagiri went to the Sultan of Delhi and got an order from the latter to Prauḍhadêvarâya to cede the garden in favour of the poet. Even supposing that the Sultan of Delhi is a mistake for the Sultan of one of the five kingdoms into which the Bahmani kingdom broke, we fail to understand what right the Sultan had to issue an order to be obeyed by Prauḍhadêvarâya and how the Vijayanagara king endured the conduct of this most disloyal and dangerous poet and settled him down in the midst of his loyal subjects. But the village of Muḷḷaṇḍram is actually called Prauḍhadêvarayapuram, a fact which clearly bears out the fact that it was made an *agrahâra* by Prauḍhadêvarâya. Perhaps it might be argued that after all, it might be that the king first felt some difficulty in conferring his queen's garden to the Brâhmaṇ poet, but later on was pleased by his conduct and his learning to grant it to Aruṇagirinâtha. But this supposition cannot be upheld, because the age of Aruṇagiri is far behind that of Prauḍhadêvarâya and therefore the one cannot be the donee and the other the donor.

From all these petty contradictions and absurdities contained in the *Vivêkapatramâlâ* we can assert without fear of contradiction that the work is not one written in the life-time of Aruṇagirinâtha but long after it, the chief source of information being the traditions current in the village of Muḷḷaṇḍram at the time of its composition.

A number of places, etc., occur in the *Vivêkapatramâlâ*; they are Rajanâthapura, otherwise known as Talpagiri, the Talpagiri hill near the *agarhâra* of that name, Audumbarapura and Navâgrahâra (N. grâma). These are absurd literal translations of the Tamiḻ names Mettaippâḍi, Attiyûr and Puttûr—all three of which are in the Arni division of the North Arcot District. Muḷḷaṇḍram is also there.

(*To be continued.*)

[2] जित्वा कविं डिण्डिमसार्वभौमं कृत्वा च कृष्णाभ्युदयं मनोज्ञं । स्तुतस्तदा तेन गुरुक्रमो यस्तमाश्रय सर्वकलास्वतन्त्रं ॥

A CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS THE EARLY HISTORY OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY.[1]

BY HERMANN JACOBI.

[*Translated with permission by Dr. V. A. Sukthankar, Ph.D., Indore.*]

THE Indians have no historical tradition regarding the origin of their six philosophical systems; the general belief that they are very ancient has been most effectively strengthened, if not occasioned, by the circumstance that their originators, who are believed to be the authors of the *Sûtras*, are called Ṛṣis, *i. e.*, "Seers of olden days". Being free from such prejudices, philological research has arrived, on the ground of general considerations, at a relative chronology of the six systems, or rather, of three pairs of systems, as each two of them have always been closely allied with each other. The two *Mîmâṃsâs*, as regards their contents, are closely associated with the Revelation; their followers are the Vedic theologians. The representatives of Sruti. Sâṅkhya and Yoga hold the later religious ideal: asceticism and contemplation instead of sacrifice; their followers are representatives of the Smṛiti.[2] Vaiśeṣika and Nyâya do not stand in an intimate relation to any strata of the older literature, neither the Revelation nor the Tradition. They form the Philosophy of the learned man of the world, the Pandit.[3] Thus three chief directions of Philosophy get clearly marked, each of which has for its representative, one of the classes of the Brahman community. The first draws its concepts and ideas from the Revelation; the second propounds a rational scheme of the world through bold speculation; and the third tries to bring it into systematic coherence through the examination of the facts of experience. As Śruti, Smṛiti and Śâstra are the three successive stages of the development of the Indian spiritual life, the chief philosophical schools belonging to each of them, stand also in a similar relation of time to each other.

This much can be gathered from general considerations with a fair degree of certainty. Recently, however, we have acquired a positive starting point for constructing the history of Indian philosophy, and to expound it is the object of these lines. It is found in *Kauṭilyam*,[4] a treatise on state-craft by Kauṭilya or Viṣṇugupta, which has very lately become accessible. The author is best known by the name of Châṇakya; he was the first Imperial Chancellor of the Mauryas, and overthrew the last of the Nanda princes and helped Chandragupta, the CANΔPAKOTTOC of the Greeks, to the throne, as he himself says in the last verse of his work:—

yena śâtraṁ ca śastraṁ ca Nandarâjagatâ ca bhûḥ |
amarṣeṇo 'ddhṛitâny âśu tena śâstram idaṃ kṛtam ||

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[1] The translator is a former pupil of Prof. Jacobi.

[2] This assertion will be proved more thoroughly in the course of this Essay. For the present it should be remembered that in works which are religious but do not belong to the *Veda*, such as the *Puraṇas*, the Sâṅkhya ideas constitute the philosophical back-ground.

[3] The oldest work of a non-religious character which has the doctrines of Vaiśeṣika and Nyâya for its philosophical basis is the *Charakasaṃhita*: for Vaiśeṣika see I. 1, 43 ff., 63 ff.; for Nyâya see III. 8. 24 ff.

[4] The *Artha-Śastra* of Kauṭilya, edited by R. Shama Sastri, Mysore, 1909. *Cf.* the valuable contribution by Von Alfred Hillebrandt: On the *Kauṭilīya-Śâstra* and Allied Subjects in the 86th Annual Report of the Schlesischen Gesellschaft für Vaterländische Kultur; and J. Hertel, *Literary Matters from the Kauṭilīya Śâstra*, *WZKM.*, 24, p. 416 ff

Thus the composition of the *Kauṭilyam* must be placed about 300 B.C., so long as no proof is brought forward to show that it is an old forgery.[5]

Kauṭilya treats in the first Adhikaraṇa (Vidyâsamuddeśa) of the four branches of learning (Vidyâs) :—1 Ânvîkṣikî, Philosophy ; 2 Trayî, Theology; 3 Vârttâ, Science of Industries, and 4 Daṇḍanîti, State-craft. The second Adhyâya gives the views of different authorities regarding the number of the Vidyâs (the Mânavas accept three [2-4], the Bârhaspatyas two [3 & 4], the Auśanasas only one [4]), and then explains that under Philosophy are to be understood Sâṅkhya, Yoga and Lokâyata (Sâṃkhyaṃ Yogo Lokâyataṃ cety ânvîkṣikî).

Then the text continues:

dharmâdharmau trayyâm, arthânarthau vârttâyâm, nayânayau daṇḍanîtyâm, balâbale cai 'tâsâṃ hetubhir anvîkṣamâṇâ lokasyo 'pakaroti, vyasane' bhyudaye ca buddhim avasthâpayati, prajñâvâkyakriyâvaiśâradyaṃ ca karoti:

pradîpas sarvavidyânâm upâyas sarvakarmaṇâm |
âśrayas sarvadharmâṇâṃ śaśvad ânvîkṣikî matâ ||

"In as much as philosophy examines (religious) merit and demerit in Theology, profit and loss in the Science of Industries, right and wrong policies in State-craft, and also discusses, with reasons, the relative importance of these (three sciences), it serves mankind, gives correct insight into prosperity and adversity and lends sharpness of intellect and cleverness in business and speech :—

Philosophy has always been considered to be the lamp of all the sciences, a means of performing all the works, and the support of all the duties."

According to Kauṭilya the essence of philosophy lies in systematic investigation and logical demonstration ; in his judgement these conditions are satisfied only (*iti*) by Sâṅkhya Yoga, and Lokâyata.

Now it will be of interest to place by the side of the above remark of Kauṭilya concerning the essence of *ânvîkṣikî*, Vâtsyâyana's exposition of the same subject as given in *Nyâya-Bhâsya* (I. 1, 1). I shall give here the passage, together with a few comments by Uddyotakara (6th century A.D.) on the same in his *Vârttika*.[6] The occasion for the exposition of this subject in the *Nyâya-bhâshya* is the question why in the *Nyâya-Sûtra* sixteen categories, *pramaṇa*, *prameya*, *saṃśaya*, etc., should be introduced when *saṃśaya* and the rest are included in the first two, viz.:—"the means of knowledge" and the "right knowledge." Vâtsyâyana admits it and then continues: imâs tu chatasro vidyâḥ pṛithak prasthânâḥ prâṇabhṛitâm anugrahâyo 'padiśyante, yâsâṃ caturthî 'îyam ânvîkṣikî nyâyavidyâ: "But these (*i.e.*, the well-known) sciences, of which this philosophy or the science of Nyâya is one,[7] are taught for the benefit of men, in so far as each of them has its special subject." On this Uddyotakara comments: catasra imâ vidyâ bhavanti, tâś ca pṛithakprasthânâḥ: agnihotrahavanâdiprasthânâ trayî, halaśakaṭâdiprasthânâ vârttâ svâmya-

[5] Hillebrandt has identified the quotations and references in the Classical Literature (*Loc. cit.*, p. 4 ff.) To these evidences of the genuineness of the work may be added, as we shall immediately see, those from the *Nyâya Bhâṣya* of Vâtsyâyana of the 4th or 5th century A.D. Further indications will be given in the course of this essay.

[6] *Bibl. Ind.*, p. 13.

[7] Chaturthî is to be understood in the sense of the Indian Grammar (*Pâṇini*, V. 2, 48) as *Puraṇâ*, and not to determine the order of enumeration ; because, according to Kauṭilya, the Ânvîkṣikî stands in the first place, and Vâtsyâyana, as we shall see, follows Kauṭilya. Hence Chaturthî means here the Vidyâ which completes the number four.

mâtyânuvidhyâyinî daṇḍanîtiḥ, saṃśayâdi-bhedâ nuvidhâyinî ânvîkṣiki. "These sciences are four in number and each has its separate subjects: those of Theology are *agnihotra*, sacrifices, etc.; those of the Science of Industries are plough, cart, etc.; those of State-craft are Prince, Minister, etc.; Philosophy treats of "Doubt and the remaining (categories)." Vâtsyâyana continues after the passage just translated: tasyâh pṛithak-prasthânâḥ saṃśayâdayaḥ padârthâḥ; teṣâm pṛithagvacanam antareṇâ 'tmavidyâmâtram [8] iyaṃ syâd, yatho 'paniṣadaḥ." Its (*i.e.* of philosophy) special subjects are the categories "Doubt," etc.; if these are not taught separately it would be nothing more than a doctrine of Âtman (or redemption) like the *Upanishads*." Uddyotakara says: tasyâḥ saṃśayâdipras-thânam antareṇâ 'tmavidyâmâtram iyaṃ syât. tataḥ kiṃ syât? adhyâtmavidyâmâtratvâd Upaniṣadvidyâvat trayyâm evâ 'ntarbhâva iti catûśtvaṃ nivarteta." Without these special subjects "Doubts," etc., "it (philosophy) would be nothing more than a doctrine of the Âtman, like the *Upanishads*. What would that come to? It would then be, like the doctrine of *Upanishads*, included in Theology, as it would be nothing more than a doctrine of redemption; and then the number of *Vidyâs* would not be four." A few lines after the passage we have discussed, Vâtsyâyana defines the Ânvîkṣikî in this way: pramâṇair arthaparîkṣaṇaṃ nyâyaḥ. pratyakṣâgamâśritam anumânam, sâ 'nvîkṣâ pratyakṣâgamâ-bhyâm îkṣitasya ânvikṣ 'aṇam anvikṣâ, tayâ pravartata ity ânvikṣikî nyâyavidyâ nyâya-śâstram. "The examination of a subject by means of the right means of knowledge is called demonstration (*nyâyas*). The inference depends upon sense perception and communication (*âgama*); it is reflection (*anvîkṣâ*), *i.e.*, subsequent knowledge obtained from what one has already learnt through perception and communication: the *Ânvîkṣikî* has to do with this reflection and is thus the science of demonstration, the *Nyâya Śâstra*." And Vâtsyâyana concludes the *Bhâṣya* in the following way: Se'yam ânvikṣikî pramâṇâdibhiḥ padârthair vibhajyamânâ: pradîpaḥ sarvavidyânâm upâyaḥ sarvakarmaṇâm | âśrayaḥ sarvadharmâṇâṃ Vidyoddeśe prakîrtitâ || tad idaṃ tattvajñânaṃ niḥśreyasâdhigamârthaṃ yathâvidyaṃ veditavyam: iha tvadhyâtmavidyâyâm âtmâdi tattvajñânam, niḥśreyas-âdhigamo 'pavarga prâptiḥ. "This our Philosophy arranged according to "categories," 'means of knowledge,' etc., is praised by (Kauṭilya in the *Adhyâya*) Vidyoddeśa [9] as a lamp of all the sciences, a means of performing all the works, and the support of all the duties. One has to ascertain in the case of the different sciences wherein the knowledge of truth that is said to lead to the proposed goal lies. But here in this science of redemption (Âdhyâtma Vidyâ) the knowledge of truth refers to the Soul, etc. (I. 1. 9) and the attainment of the highest goal is the acquisition of salvation."

In this exposition of Vâtsyâyana, there are three points which are of importance for our investigation: (1) The statement of Kauṭilya that there are *four* sciences, not more and not less, has acquired unquestioned currency; the views which disagreed with his and were mentioned by him (see above p. 102) seem to have been definitely set aside.

(2) Vâtsyâyana makes the claim for the Nyâya Philosophy to be the *Ânvîkṣikî* KAT' E OXHN in the sense which Kauṭilya gives to it.

[8] Some MSS. read *adhyâtmavidyâ*. Both words are used synonymously; *cf.* the next passage from the *Vârttika*.

[9] In another place also Vâtsyâyana shows his indebtedness to Kauṭilîyam. At the end of his Bhâṣya on I. 1. 4, he says: paramatam apratiṣiddham anumatam iti tantrayuktiḥ. The last *adhyâya* of Kauṭilîyam discusses the 33 "Rules of Method" (*tantrayuktayaḥ*) after which the chapter is named. The 19th *tantrayukti* reads: paravâkyam apratiṣiddham anumatam (*qui tacet consentire videtur*), hence Vâtsyâyana has borrowed this maxim.

(3) He expressly designates it as an *Âdhyâtma Vidyâ*, i.e., as a Philosophy which recognises the *âtman* and would help it to its redemption.

Now as regards the second point the claim of the Nyâya Philosophy to be the true Ânvikṣikî is, as a matter of fact, thoroughly justified; as it, together with the Vaiśeṣika, fulfils the conditions demanded by Kauṭilya in a higher degree than other philosophical systems. And this is recognised also by others. The commentator to Kâmandaki's *Nîtisâra* 2, 7 (ânvikṣiky âtmavijñânam) says that *Ânvîkṣikî* is *anumânavidyâ Nyâyadarśana-vaiśeṣikâdikâ*; and Madhusûdana Sarasvatî explains ânvîkṣikî to be Nyâya (nyâya ânvikṣikî pañcâdhyâyî Gautamena praṇîtâ). All the more it is therefore of importance that Kauṭilya does not mention by name Nyâya and Vaiśeṣika, while enumerating the systems recognized by him as Ânvîkṣikî. From this we can draw the inference with certainty that at his time, *i.e.*, 300 B.C., Nyâya and Vaiśeṣika had not yet received the recognition as philosophical systems, not to speak of the existence of the *sûtras* of Gautama[10] and Kaṇâda in the form in which they are now before us.

In his enumeration of the philosophical systems recognised by him as *Ânvîkṣikî* Kauṭilya mentions after Sâṅkhya and Yoga the Lokâyata (Ṣâṃkhyaṃ Yogo Lokâyataṃ cety 'ânvîkṣikî). The Lokâyata system is known to us only from references to it in Brahmanical, Buddhistic and Jaina Philosophies, all of which are agreed in their abhorrence of this infidel philosophy. Mâdhava in his Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha devotes the first chapter to it and calls its founder, Cârvâka as *nâstika siromaṇi*, "an arch-heretic." The Lokâyata doctrine is a gross materialism:—The senses alone give correct knowledge, the material things alone (the four elements Earth, Water, Fire, and Wind) are real; there is no immaterial soul but the spirit arises from a certain mixture of these elements just as the intoxicating effect of a drink is produced by the fermenting ingredients of the same; the Vedas are a fraud just as everything they teach. These are the fundamental principles of the system and on this point all the records are in complete agreement.

Now it is difficult to believe that Kauṭilya, who acknowledges the entire social order founded on the Vedas, meant this grossly materialistic system by that Lokâyata which he puts on the same line together with Sâṅkhya and Yoga as a representative of *Ânvîkṣikî*. And still there is no doubt about it, because the Lokâyata doctrine is ascribed to Bṛihaspati, the teacher of the gods, and many of the verses handed down to us are put in his mouth. There was also a *Nîti-śâstra* which was likewise ascribed to Bṛihaspati. Kauṭilya refers to his teaching in the second *adhyâya*: vârttâ daṇḍanîtiś ceti Bârhaspatyâh; saṃvaraṇamâtraṃ hi trayî lokayâtrâvida iti. "The followers of Bṛihaspati recognise only two sciences: the science of Industries and the science of State-craft, while Theology is seen to be only a fraud[11] by him who understands life." Here we

[10] Gautama is, of course, not the founder of the Nyâya system, but he only helped one school of the Naiyâyikas to obtain general recognition. Thus Vâtsyâyana mentions in I. 1. 32 that some Naiyâyikas maintain that the inference consisted of ten parts instead of five as taught in the *sûtra*. Perhaps also the true explanation of the three kinds of inference, which Vâtsyâyana gives in I. 1. 5 did not arise for the first time after the composition of the *sûtra* but had existed before. It is worth noticing that Caraka, III., 8, 24 ff. gives for the use of physicians a short compendium of Nyâya which in part entirely agrees with our Nyâya; but in details differs considerably from it. Have we perhaps here to trace a collateral school of Nyâya which existed by the side of that of Gautama?

[11] Here *Saṃvaraṇa* must have the same meaning as the Mâhâyânistic *saṃvṛiti* which corresponds to *Mâyâ* of the Vedântins. It will be to the purpose to compare the saying (*âbhâṇaka*) quoted by Mâdhava (*loc. cit.* p. 2) agnihotraṃ trayo vedâs tridaṇḍam bhasmaguṇṭhanam । buddhi paurus 'ahînânâm jîvike'ti Bṛihaspatiḥ. This verse has been quoted in Prabodhacandrodaya II., 26.—Kauṭilya mentions the Bârhaspatyas several times, *e. g.*, pp. 29, 63, 177, 192. The *Nîti*—teachings of Bṛihaspati, which Draupadî expounds in *Mahabharata* III. 32, are at any rate as orthodox as one can wish!

have evidently to do with the same repudiator of the Revelation as is known to be the founder of this Materialism. And that this Bṛihaspâti was known to be the teacher of gods can be seen from the fact that a School,[12] which was a rival to the Bârhaspatyas, that of the Auśanasas, is traced back to Uśanas, *i.e.*, Śukra or Kâvya Uśanas, the teacher of the Asuras. The Bârhaspatyas were not merely a school of philosophy but also a school of Smṛiti, like the Mânavas, the Pârâśaras and Auśanasas, whom also Kauṭilya mentions.

We thus understand how he comes to place the Lokâyata in the same line with Sâṅkhya and Yoga. Because these systems are also considered to be Smṛitis, Śaṃkara expressly designates them as Smṛitis in *Brahma Sûtra*, II. 1, 1—3 and Bâdarâyaṇa was of the same view, as can be seen from the wording of the *sûtras*,[13] even though he mentions only the Yoga by name.[14] That the old Sâṅkhya had the character of Smṛiti is seen also from its method of teaching, of which it was so characteristic to expound its principles through similes and parables, that the *Sâṅkhya Sûtra*, which is certainly a pretty modern work, devotes to them the whole of its fourth chapter, the *Âkhyâyikâdhyâya*. Îśvarakṛṣṇa similarly testifies that the *Âkhyâyikâs* were an integral part of the old Sâṅkhya; Kârikâ 72 runs :—

saptatyâṃ kila ye 'rthâs te 'rthâḥ kṛtsnasya ṣaṣṭitantrasya |
âkhyâyikâvirahitâḥ paravâdavivarjitâ's câpi ||

Sâṅkhya Yoga and Lokâyata thus belong to the same stratum of ancient Indian Literature and hence Kauṭilya could mention them together. We know, indeed, that Sâṅkhya and Yoga are two ancient systems—*sanâtane dve* (*mate*). The *Mahabharata* says of them, XII, 349.72——nevertheless the positive testimony of Kauṭilya is not to be under-estimated. We now know for certain that Sâṅkhya and Yoga existed at least 300 B.C. and indeed as philosophical systems which were based on logical demonstration (*ânvîkṣikî*), and not only in the form of intuitive speculation, as the so-called " Epic Sâṅkhya ", which is only a popularized variety of the real Sâṅkhya.[15]

All the same we cannot assert that the Sâṅkhya and Yoga of Kauṭilya's time are identical in the details of their teaching with these systems as they are known to us in the Sâṅkhya Kârikâ and the Yoga Sûtra. These are rather the last stages of their development and as there intervened between the beginning and the end of this development from seven to eight centuries, if not more, changes in detail cannot but occur, as indeed we can see from the fact that the teachings characteristic of Sâṅkhya and Yoga (pratitantrasiddhânta)

12 The notorious *Śukraniti*, from which once G. Oppert proved that the ancient Indians possessed guns, is certainly a later fabrication.

13 Smṛty=anavakâśa-dośaprasaṅga iti cen nâ 'nyasmṛty–anavakâśa-doṣaprasaṅgât (1) ; itâreshâṃ câ'nupalabdheḥ (2) ; etena yogaḥ pratyuktaḥ (3).

14 He did not need to mention the Sâṅkhya as the whole of the first Âdhyâya in its polemical part is directed against it. Thibaut explains (*SBE.*, Vol. XXXIV p. XLVI) : " It is perhaps not saying too much if we maintain that the entire 1st Âdhyâya is due to the wish, on the part of the Sûtrakâra, to guard his doctrine against Sâṅkhya attacks." Only on this supposition can the beginning of the 2nd Âdhyâya be understood :—in the 1st Âdhyâya the attempts of the Sâṅkhyas to interpret individual passages from the Scriptures as a proof of their teachings, were rejected. The first Sûtra of the 2nd Âdhyâya rejects the claim of the Sâṅkhya to be considered authoritative as Smṛiti, and the 2nd Sûtra says that the rest of its teachings found no support in the Holy Scriptures.

15 Compare W. Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India*, p. 97 ff.

as explained by Vâtsyâyana in Nyâyadarśana I. 1. 29 do not quite correspond with our knowledge of these systems.[16]

We saw above that Kauṭilya in his enumeration of Philosophical systems passes over Vaiśeṣika and Nyâya; this must evidently be due to their not existing at his time. He does not mention the Mîmâṃsâ, because he must have considered it not as a systematic Philosophy (*Ânvîkṣikî*), but as a branch of study belonging to Theology. He does not indeed mention it expressly in his concise survey of Theology (Trayî) in Adhyâya. 3: "The four Vedas and the Itihâsaveda along with the six Vedângas." But we may assume that the Pûrva Mîmâṃsâ (Adhvara-Mîmâṃsâ) was included as a subsidiary branch of Kalpa (especially of the Śrauta Sûtras)[17] under this Vedânga. Kâmandaki who belongs to the school of Kauṭilya mentions the Mîmâṃsâ by name:

aṅgâni vedâś catvâro mîmâṃsâ nyâyavistaraḥ |
dharmaśâstraṃ purâṇaṃ ca trayî 'daṃ sarvam ucyate ||

One thus sees that Kauṭilya's enumeration of what belongs to Theology did not go much into details; that even the *Purâṇâ* and *Dharmaśâstra* belong to it, follows from his explanation of *Itihâsa*, p. 10. Had he given a similar account of the Vedâṅgas he would certainly have mentioned the Pûrva Mîmâṃsâ. But whether the Uttara Mîmâṃsâ, the Vedânta existed as a school of Philosophy is doubtful. Because the *Sûtra*, as I have shown elsewhere,[18] can scarcely be older than the 3rd century A.D. But on the other hand it mentions a succession of teachers[19] from which we can conclude that a school of the exegesis of the *Upaniṣads* already existed in early times. This be as it may, there was for Kauṭilya no occasion to mention the Uttara Mîmâṃsâ as this also must be reckoned as pertaining to Theology.

Still a few words regarding the Buddhistic Philosophy by which I here understand, of course, not the dogmatic speculations of the canon[20] but metaphysical and epistemological theorising, such as the Kṣaṇikavâda or the doctrine of the momentariness of existence, against which the whole Philosophy of later times had to wage a bitter war. Had this doctrine, which must have required at least as much acuteness for being maintained, as its opponents evinced in refuting it, been in existence at the time of Kauṭilya, it is quite conceivable that he, having recognised the infidel Lokâyata as a systematic Philosophy, would not have denied the same recognition to a heretical system, if it only had deserved the name of Philosophy (*Ânvîkṣikî*). Such an inference, however, must not be drawn. Because a real statesman like Kauṭilya could easily come to terms with the theoretical unbelief of Bṛihaspati as long as there were no practical consequences to follow from it. It is not, however, reported that Bṛihaspati wanted to set aside the political and social institutions resting on Brahmanical groundwork, to maintain which was, according to Kauṭilya, the highest duty of a prince. But the Buddhists and Jainas took up another standpoint with regard to this important question; and that must have been the reason why this Brahman writer on state-craft ignored their Philosophy.

[16] *Cf.* P. Tuxen, *Yoga*: Copenhagen, 1911, p. 10 ff.

[17] *SBE.*, XXXIV, p. XII.

[18] *JAOS.*, XXXI, p. 29.

[19] Deussen, *System des Vedânta*, p. 24.

[20] If Kauṭilya had considered these worth his trouble to know he must have regarded them as different branches of heretical Theology. He, however, recognised the Brahmanical Theology, the *trayî*, as a *vidyâ* worthy of study. *Cf.* Manu, XII. 95,

yâ Vedabâhyâḥ śrutayo yâś ca kâś ca kudṛṣṭayaḥ |
sarvâs tâ niṣphalâḥ pretya tamoniṣṭhâ hi tâḥ smṛtâḥ ||

We have seen that according to Kauṭilya the number of Vidyâs is four. He lays great emphasis on this number. For he first puts forth the views of the three schools, which differ from him. Those of the Mânavas, Bârhaspatyas and Auśanasas, who maintain that the number of *viydâs* is respectively 3, 2 and 1 ; and he continues : catasra eva vidyâ iti Kauṭilyaḥ, tâbhir dharmârthau yad vidyât, tad vidyânâṃ vidyâtvam. "Kauṭilya teaches that there are four Vidyâs not more and not less. They are called *vidyâs* because through them one learns (vidyât) Dharma and Artha." From these words one can gather that he was the first, who not only taught that the number of the *vidyâs* was four, but also recognized the Ânvîkṣikî as a special Vidyâ. For he says about the Mânavas that they included Ânvîkṣikî in Theology.[21] It is not that they denied the Ânvikṣikî but they did not admit it to the rank of an independent Vidyâ and hence connected it with Theology. As far as two Mîmâṃsâs are concerned, they were perfectly justified in doing so. Sâṅkhya and Yoga, however, could be looked upon as different branches of Theology, because as we have seen they were considered as Smṛtis. That the Mânavas knew both these philosophical systems can be seen from the circumstance that Manu, who certainly is to be considered a later offshoot of this school, makes a considerable use of Sâṅkhya and Yoga ideas in the theoretical part of his work. Kauṭilya's innovation thus consists in the fact that he recognized Philosophy to be a science by itself, inasmuch as it has its own method of treatment. And therefore he can bring in the Lokâyata, the character of whose contents must exclude it from the Trayî. Had the conception of the Ânvikṣikî, as Kauṭilya grasped it, been current before him, the Bârhaspatyas would have considered the number of the Vidyâs not to be two (Vârttâ and Daṇḍanîti) as we saw above; but would have mentioned the Ânvîkṣikî as the third Vidyâ. Because they themselves were followers of Lokâyatam which was recognised by Kauṭilya as the Ânvîkṣikî.—Hence when we find in Gautama's Dharma Śâstra (XI, 3) the statement : trayyâm ânvikṣikyâṃ câ 'bhivinitaḥ, "(The Prince) should be well schooled in Theology and Philosophy", we may presume that the passage is a later interpolation. J. Jolly classes the work with the revised Dharma Śâstra.[22] The combination referred to by Gautama : of *Trayi* and *Ânvikṣiki*, is not at all mentioned by Kauṭilya ; probably it arose from the efforts of an enthusiast, who was anxious to emphasise the authority of Vedas and Brahmanas for every duty of a prince, as Gautama himself does elsewhere.[23] But all other authors recognise four Vidyâs. The passage that has been translated above from the *Nyâya Bhaṣya* shows that for Vâtsyâyana the number *four* had almost canonical authority, as he bases upon it his argument to prove that the *Nyâya Śastra* must be called the true Ânvikṣikî. I shall soon bring forward further early evidence to show that the view of Kauṭilya that there are four Vidyâs, received general recognition. But in one point all the later writers are agreed, as opposed to Kauṭilya, viz., in demanding that the Ânvîkṣikî is at the same time Âtma-vidyâ. We saw above that the author of the *Nyâya Bhaṣya* requires of the Ânvîkṣikî that it should not be merely an *Âtma-vidyâ* ; but should have subject-matter peculiar to itself. Nevertheless he claims towards the end of the passage translated above, that the Nyâya Śâstrâ is not only the Ânvîkṣikî but also Âdhyâtma-vidyâ, a Philosophy, which

21 Trayî vârttâ daḍṇanîtiś cêti Mânavâḥ. trayîviśeṣo hy ânvîkṣikî 'ti.

22 "*Recht und Sitte*," in *Grundriss der indoar. Phil.* p. 5.

23 If the tradition (*SBE.*, II., p. XLV) according to which Gautama is supposed to be the grandson or great-grandson of Uśanas, can be taken seriously, Gautama must have belonged to the school of the Auśanasas ; but this recognized, according to Kauṭilya, only one Vidyâ ; daṇḍanîtir ekâ vidyê 'ty Auśanasâḥ.

recognises the existence of the soul and leads it to salvation. The idea obviously is that only that Philosophy which at the same time is Âtma Vidyâ has a claim for recognition. In this way not only was Lokâyata excluded, which Kauṭilya had recognised, but also the Buddhistic systems which probably arose as dangerous opponents of Brahmanical Philosophy only after Kauṭilya's time, in the centuries immediately before and after the beginning of our era. In order to defend itself, the Brahmanical Philosophy assumed the roll of Jñanamârga, "the way of Salvation depending upon Philosophical knowledge." This means exactly the same as the demand that the Philosophy should also be an Âtma Vidyâ. It shows that in the authoritative circles of Brahman society a decided movement had started in favor of exclusively orthodox views.

This transformation had already taken place when Kâmandaki, belonging to the school of Kauṭilya, wrote his *Nîtisâra*. While discussing the four Vidyâs in the second *Sarga*, he says:

ânvîkṣikî âtmavidyâ syâd îkṣaṇât sukhaduḥkhayoḥ |
îkṣamâṇas tayâ tattvaṃ harṣaśokau vyudasyati ||

"The Philosophy must be an Âtma Vidyâ inasmuch as through it one understands the nature of pleasure and pain; (the prince) realising the truth from it. overcomes exultation and grief."

Prof. C. Formichi discussed the question of the age of Kâmandaki's *Nîtisâra* at the XIIth International Congress of Orientalists held at Rome ("Alcune osservazioni sull' epoca del Kâmandakîya Nîtisâra," Bologna 1899)—and showed that Kâmandaki was comparatively late (a contemporary of Varâhamihira or a little older). From his arguments, which I supplement in details, the matter seems to stand as follows:—While enumerating the Ministers Kâmandaki mentions. in IV, 33 (tâdṛk sâṃvatsaro 'py asya jyotiḥśâstrârthacintakaḥ | praśnâbhidhânakuśalo horâgaṇitatattvavit ||), The astrologer after the Purohita, whereas Kauṭilya concludes his remarks regarding the Ministers with the latter without referring to the astrologer; and does not at all mention the *Mauhûrtika* along with the ministers, but places him in the same rank with the Physician and the head-cook (p. 38). During the interval between Kauṭilya and Kâmandaki Greek astrology (*Horâ*) came in vogue and the astrologer came to stand high in the esteem of kings, as the "Great Seer Garga" testifies:[24]

Kṛtsnângopâṅgakuśalaṃ horâgaṇitanaiṣṭhikam |
yo na pûjayate râjâ sa nâśam upagacchati ||
yas tu samyag vijânâti horâgaṇitasaṃhitâḥ |
abhyarcyaḥ sa narendreṇa svîkartavyo jayaiṣiṇâ ||

According to this, Kâmandaki must have lived at the earliest in the 3rd or 4th century A.D. The date so determined explains also the fact, that the proof given by Kâmandaki for the existence of the Soul, I. 20 agrees in general with Nyâya Darśana I. 1. 10 and Vaiśeṣika Darśana, III, 2. 1, and his proof for the existence of the 'inner sense' (*Manas*) I. 30 agrees almost literally with Nyâya Darśana, I. 1. 60 (*cf.* Vaiśeṣika Darśana, III. 2. 1). For, as I have shown elsewhere,[25] the Nyâya Darśana in the form in which it is now before us, cannot well be placed earlier than the 3rd century A.D. But it may be pointed out that Kâmandaki combines these Nyâya and Vaiśeṣika ideas with those that are borrowed from Sâṅkhya and Yoga (I. 28, 30b to 35), and thus he prepares an eclectic philosophy *in usum delphini*. On the other hand Kauṭilya

[24] *Bṛhatsaṃhitâ adhy.* 2.

[25] *JAOS.*, XXXI, p. 9 ff.

attaches importance to philosophy in so far as it exercises the princes in logical thinking; and the contents of the system do not seem to him to matter much, as he recognises even the infidel Lokâyata, along with Sâṅkhya and Yoga. This clearly indicates a great difference in point of view between Kauṭilya and his later follower Kâmandaki.

An older witness is Manu. According to Kauṭilya the Mânavas recognised only three Sciences, because they included Philosophy in Theology (trayî vârttâ daṇḍanîtiś cê 'ti mânavâh; trayi viśeshohy ânvîkshikî 'ti). Hence one may expect Manu to recognise only three Vidyâs; but he mentions *four*, just like Kauṭilya, because he, like the latter, separates Philosophy from Theology; however he demands that the Ânvîkṣikî shall be an âtma vidyâ (VIII, 43):

traividyebhyas trayîṃ vidyâṃ daṇḍanîtiṃ ca śâśvatîm |
ânvîkṣikiṃ câ 'tmavidyaṃ vârttârambhâṃś ca lokataḥ ||

"(The king should learn) from Brahmans well versed in Vedâs, Theology, the everlasting State-craft and Philosophy which teaches the nature of the Soul and learn the works taught in the Science of Industries from people who understand it." We thus find the same views in Manu as in the *Nyâyabhâṣya* and in Kâmandaki. They based their teachings on Kauṭilya modifying the latter to suit the orthodox tendencies of the time which set in after Kauṭilya, probably after the dissolution of the system of Government introduced by the heretic Emperor, Aśoka. That the account of Philosophy as we find it in *Kautilîyam* could not hold good a few generations after the life-time of Châṇakya, speaks for the genuineness of its text that has come down to us.

I may recapitulate the results of our investigation by saying that the Mîmâṃsâ, Sâṅkhya, Yoga and Lokâyata already existed in the 4th century B.C., whereas Nyâya and Vaiśeṣika and probably the Buddhistic Philosophy also came later into existence.

THE PRATÎHÂRA OCCUPATION OF MAGADHA.

BY R. D. BANERJI, M.A., POONA.

In my monograph on the Pâlas of Bengal I had stated that "Magadha was annexed by the Gurjara-Pratîhâras to their dominions, and after Nârâyaṇapâla we find the names of the Gurjara princes in the votive inscriptions of Magadha." [1] The discovery of two inscriptions in the province of Bihâr has thrown new light on this period and has now enabled us to determine the extent of the occupation of Magadha by the Pratîhâras more precisely. The Vishṇupâda inscription of the 7th year of Nârâyaṇapâla's reign proves that up to that date Gayâ was in the possession of Nârâyaṇapâla. The Bhâgalpur grant of Nârâyaṇapâla proves that up to the 17th year of his reign Mudgagiri or Munger was in his possession. A small brass image bearing a votive inscription on its back was discovered in Bihar Town two or three years ago. At present it is in the Museum of the Baṅgîya Sâhitya Parishad at Calcutta. The image is that of a goddess with four hands

[1] *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. V, p. 63.

seated in the *arddha-paryanka* posture. The inscription is incised on the back of the throne of the image. It reads :—

Om Deya-dha [rmmey] am Srî-Nârâyaṇapâla-deva-râjye Samvat 54, Srî-Uddaṇḍapura-vâstavya Râṇaka Uchaputra Ṭhârukasya.

Translation.

"The pious gift of Ṭhâruka son of the Râṇaka Ucha (Utsa), (dedicated) in the year 54 of the reign of the illustrious Nârâyaṇapâladeva."

This new inscription proves that Nârâyaṇapâla reigned for at least fifty years and that in the 5th year of his reign Uddaṇḍapura or Bihar was included in his dominions. The characters of the two Pratîhâra inscriptions discovered in the Gayâ District show a marked resemblance to the characters of the Vishṇupâda inscription of the year 7 of Nârâyaṇapâla and therefore it would be safer to place these two records after the Visṇupâda inscription but before the Bodhagayâ-pedestal-inscription of the reign of Gopâla II. This proves that after the 7th year of Nârâyaṇapala Gayâ and Western Magadha were occupied by Gurjaras, but Uddaṇḍapura or Bihar Town and Eastern Magadha continued to be ruled by the kings of the Pâla dynasty.

The Guneriya inscription of Mahendrapâla, a tentative reading of which was published by me in my monograph on the Pâlas is being republished now. I edit it from a photograph kindly lent to me by Dr. D. B. Spooner, B.A., PH.D., F.A.S.B., Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle :—

Text.

1. *Samvat 9 Vaiśâkha.*
2. *Sudi 5 Srî-Guṇa.*
3. *-carita Srî-Mahendrapâ*
4. *-la-deva-râjye deva-dha*
5. *-rmm[o]yam Paramôpâsaka*
6. *-vanika Haridatta putra Srî (?) pa . . . .*

Translation.

"In the year 9 on the 5th day of the bright half of Vaiśâkha, in the reign of the illustrious Mahendrapâla, at the illustrious Guṇacarita, the pious gift of Srîpâ (? la) son of the merchant Haridatta."

The record is incised on the pedestal of an image of Buddha which has been placed inside a modern shrine near Guneriya.

The continued occupation of Eastern Magadha by the Pâlas during their struggle with the Gurjjara Pratîhâras can now be proved from a number of records:—

1. The Vishṇupâda inscription of the 7th year of Nârâyaṇapâla.

2. The Bihar inscription of the 9th year of Nârâyaṇapâla. [2] This inscription was found among the specimens collected by the late Mr. A. M. Broadley in the subdivision and therefore it proves that Eastern Magadha was in the possession of Nârâyaṇapâla upto the 9th year of his reign.

[2] *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Vol. V, p. 63 ; pl. XXXI.

3. The Bhagalpur grant of Nârâyaṇapâla of the year 17. This proves that Mudgagiri or Munger was in the possession of Nârâyaṇapâla up to the 17th year of his reign.

4. The Bihar image inscription of the year 54. Though the find spot of this image is uncertain the mention of Uddaṇḍapura in the record proves that the city was included in the dominions of Nârâyaṇapâla in that year. There is a blank between the years 17 and 54 and in these thirty-seven years the Gurjaras may have temporarily occupied Eastern Magadha. Such occupation could not have been of a permanent nature as Eastern Magadha was in the occupation of Nârâyaṇapâla in his 54th year.

5. No records of the reign of Râjyapâla, son of Nârâyaṇapâla, were known when my monograph on the Pâlas was published. Two or three years ago Mr. Puran Chand Nahar, M.A., B.L., Zamindar of Azimganj, Murshidabad, discovered an inscription of Râjyapâla in the Jain temple at Bargaon near Bihar in the Patna District of Bihar and Orissa. Bargaon is the site of the ancient Nâlanda. A Jain temple, amidst the ruins, is the oldest temple at that place. Mr. Nahar informs me that there are four stone pillars at this place, all of the same design. The record is incised on one of these pillars. Mr. Nahar has kindly supplied me with four inked impressions of this record from which I edit it. It consists of five lines; the language is incorrect Sanskrit verging on Prâkṛit. The object of the inscription is to record the visit (?) of one Vaidanâtha (Vaidyanâtha), son of Manoratha of the merchant family, to the temple in the month of Mârgga (śirṣa) in the 24th year of the reign of the illustrious Râjapâla (*Râjyapâla*).

Text.

1. *Om Samvat 24 Mârgga dine.*
2. *Śrî-Râjapâla-deva-râ-*
3. *-je Vanika-kule Manora-*
4. *-tha-sutena Śrî-Vâidanâtha* [3]
5. *Devathâne paraṇavata* [4]

Translation.

"In the year 24, the—day of Mârgga (śirsha), in the reign of the illustrious Râjapâla (Râjyapâla) the illustrious Vaida-nâtha (*Vaidyanâtha*) son of Manoratha of the merchant family, bows in the temple."

This inscription proves that Râjyapâla reigned for at least 24 years and in that year Nâlanda, and most probably the whole of South Bihar belonged to him. This is the first inscription of Râjyapâla that has been discovered as yet. Two inscriptions of Gopâla II., the son and successor of Râjyapâla has been discovered; one at Bargaon and the other at Bodh Gayâ. These prove that Gopâla II. recovered the whole of Bihâr from the Gurjaras. Only one record of Vigrahapâla II. has been discovered as yet. It is the colophon of a MS. copied in the 26th year of his reign. But this does not help us in determining the western limit of the Pâla kingdom. Mahîpâla I., the son of Vigrahapâla II., possessed the whole of Bihâr and a series of records prove that Mahîpâla I., Nayapâla, Vigrahapâla III. and Râmapâla ruled over Eastern Magadha.

[3] Read *Vaidyanâtha*.

[4] Read *Praṇavati*. The form *praṇavati* for *praṇamati* is to be found in one of the Barâbar cave inscriptions where we have: *Âcâryâ-Śrî-Deśânanda praṇavati Siddheśvaraḥ*.

MISCELLANEA.

THE WEEK-DAYS AND VIKRAMA.

THE late Dr. Fleet argued (*JRAS.*, 1912, p. 1039) that the Jewish calendar of the week-days found its way into India after Europe received it from the Jews, that is, in the third century of the Christian era. If India received the week-days from outside[1] it must have been from Syria direct, not *viâ* Europe. The evidence is twofold. The *Śârdûlakarṇâvadâna* (*Divyâvadâna*) mentions these days (p. 642).[2] In the 3rd century it was translated into Chinese. Dr. Fleet tries to get over this evidence by saying that the days are not to be found in the Chinese translation. But the natural explanation is that it being rather difficult to express week-days in Chinese, the translator left them out. The other evidence is more ancient. The *Baudhâyana Dharma-sûtra* (Bühler, II. 5. 9. 9)[3] prescribes *tarpaṇa* to the week-days or their planets in the same order as we know them here or as Europe learnt centuries after the *Baudhâyana-Sûtras* from the Semitic world.

The point comes before us in connexion with the *Gâthâ-Sapta-Śatî*, where one of the day-names occurs.

Even if we knew the week-days in the first century A.D., as is clearly proved by the *Avadâna* referred to, the date of the *Gâthâ-Sapta-śatî* need not be lowered from the 1st century A.C., which was the date assigned to it by Sir R. Bhandarkar. My friend Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar's argument in the Bhandarkar Memorial Volume loses its force in the face of the *Avadâna* and the *Baudhâyana Dharma-sûtra*.

The *Gâthâ-Sapta-Śatî* mentions Vikrama (V. 64), a fact which was not known to me when I published my theory in 1913 on the identity of Vikrama with one of the two Sâtavâhana kings, either the one who conquered Nahapâna or the one who succeeded him. The theory apparently appealed at the time, as I was fortunate to receive a letter from one of the greatest Indian scholars, Mr. Haraprasâd Shâstrî, who signified his acceptance of my view. The theory, or rather the mythology about the non-existence of Vikrama circulated by early Indianists in their imperfect knowledge, is fit to be given up.[4] I might point out that the new Jaina datum (see my article on Kalki)[5] places the end of Nahapâna (Nahavâṇa) in 58 B.C. The authority which I had before me in 1913 placed him a few decades earlier. The new material makes the identification doubly strong. Nahapâna was the Śaka of the popular tradition who was taken captive, and whose rule was ended by Vikrama. It is impossible for the Hindu public to have forgotten the great conqueror, the son of Gautamî who destroyed so many oppressors of "dharma." The Jaina book *Vîra-charitra* also connects Vikrama with Śûdraka Sâtavâhana.[6] The Sâtavâhana (= Śâlavâhana) origin of the Vikrama explains the confusion in the popular tradition, which connects Śâlavâhana with Vikrama.

K. P. JAYASWAL.

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1 Apparently she did, as in old literature we have only *paksha*.

2 Not only 'some' as supposed by Fleet. All the week-day (*grahas*) names are there.

3 *Râhu* and *Ketu* were originally separate as in the Ânandâśrama ed. of the *BDhS.* They make up the nine *grahas*. The *Avadâna* also has got *Râhu* and *Ketu*.

4 It has been given up, for Fleet and others do admit that there was a Vikrama, but they say he was a foreigner.

5 *Ante*, 1917, April.

6 *IS.*, XIV, 97 ff.

THE FÂRÛQÎ DYNASTY OF KHÂNDESH.

BY LT.-COLONEL T. W. HAIG, C.M.G.

[*References to Firishta are to the Bombay text of* 1830.]

UNTIL recently our sole authority for the history of this dynasty, which ruled in Khândesh for 225 years, was the industrious but careless and uncritical Firishta, but the publication in 1910, by Dr. Denison Ross, of the first volume of *Zafar al-Wâlihi bi Muzaffar wa Âlih*, (*An Arabic History of Gujarât*), placed at our disposal an original historical sketch of the family, on which the *Burhân-i-Ma'âsir*, first brought to notice by Major J. S. King, who published in 1900, under the title of *The History of the Bahmani Dynasty*, an abstract translation of the introductory portion of the work, which had already appeared in *The Indian Antiquary*, also throws some light. The history of the small state of Khândesh which, though surrounded by the three large kingdoms of Gujarât, Mâlwa, and the Dakan contrived to maintain some measure of independence and outlived all its powerful neighbours is not unworthy of study, and a comparison of the authorities now available may enable us to reconstruct it with some degree of accuracy.

Firishta,[1] our first authority, attributes the foundation of the state to Malik Râja, son of Khânjahân Fârûqî, whose forbears, he says, had served '*Alâ-al-dîn Khalji* and *Muhammad bin Tughlaq* of Dihlî, and who had himself held high office under the latter monarch. On the death of Khânjahân his son Malik Râja, as often happens in a country in which nobility is not hereditary, found no means of advancement and was content to serve as a trooper in the bodyguard of Fîrûz Shâh, the successor of Muhammad bin Tughlaq, in which humble capacity he still found means to indulge in his favourite pursuit, the chase. On one occasion Fîrûz, during his disastrous retreat from Sind to Gujarât across the Rann of Kachchh, while hunting wandered far from his camp and was resting, weary and hungry, under a tree when he saw a solitary sportsman with a few hounds. He asked him whether he had any food with him and the hunter produced such coarse food as he usually carried and placed it before the emperor, who, being struck by his host's superior manners and address, asked him who he was, and was astonished to learn that the son of so important an *amîr*, with whom he had been well acquainted, was serving him in so humble a capacity. Fîrûz, on his return to Dihlî, appointed Malik Râja to the command of 2,000 horse and conferred on him, for their maintenance, a small fief on the borders of Baglâna, in the district afterwards known as Khândesh. Here a victory over Bahârjî, the Râhtor râja of Baglâna, compelled that ruler to acknowledge the suzerainty of Fîrûz and enabled Malik Râja to send to Dihlî fifteen elephants. This service was rewarded by promotion to the command of 3,000 horse and by the government of the whole province of Khândesh. Malik Râja was able, in his remote province, to maintain a force of 12,000 horse and, as the province could not support this force, he augmented his revenue by raids into Gondwâna and the territories of various petty râjas. Towards the end of the reign of Fîrûz, when the authority of Dihlî grew ever feebler, Malik Râja anticipated his neighbours in Gujarât and Mâlwa, and in 1382 ceased to remit tribute and began to conduct himself as an independent monarch.

Such is Firishta's account of the foundation of the state and the origin of its ruler, but the title of Khânjahân is not to be found in the lists of the *amîrs* of 'Ala-al-din Khaljî and Muhammad bin Tughlaq given by Ziyâ-al-dîn Baranî ; and 'Abdallâh Muhammad, author

[1] ii, 541.

of the *Zafar-al-Wâlih*, gives a different and more probable account. According to him Râja Aḥmad, as he styles the first ruler of Khândesh, was the son of Khvâja Jahân, minister of 'Alâ-al-dîn Bahman Shâh,[2] the founder of the Bahmanî dynasty of the Dakan. In his history of this dynasty Firishta mentions no *amîr* under this title, and says that Saif-al-dîn Ghûrî was *vazîr* throughout the reign of Bahman, but the *Burhân-i-mâ'âsir* describes Khvâjâ Jahân as one 'Ain-al-dîn, an *amîr* in the service of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq, who, with his son Muḥammad, deserted his old master and joined 'Alâ-al-din Ḥasan. When 'Alâ-al-dîn Ḥasan ascended the throne of the Dakan as Bahman Shâh he conferred the title of Khvâja Jahân on the father and that of Shîr Khân on the son and rewarded the former with the government of Gulbarga, the capital of the new kingdom. This Khvâja Jahân is certainly not identical with Saif-al-dîn Ghûrî, who is mentioned by Firishta[3] as holding the government of Gulbarga in addition to the post of prime minister, but we may assume that he was an important *amîr* at the court of Bahman Shah and it is probable that he held the Government of the city of Gulbarga while Saif-al-dîn held that of the whole province.

'Abdallâh Muḥammad goes on to say that on the accession of Muḥammmad I Bahmanî, in 1358, Khvaja Jahân retained the post of *vazir* until his death, and was succeeded therein by his son Aḥmad; not Muḥammad, as in the *Burhan-i-Ma'âsir*. This is further evidence that he was not identical with Saif-al-din Ghurî who, after an interval passed in retirement, was reappointed *vazir*, and died in harness at the age of 107 on April 21st, 1397, one day after the death of his master Muhammad II Bahmani. whom Firishta wrongly styles Maḥmûd. It even seems doubtful whether Aḥmad can be identified with Muḥammad, Khvâja Jahân's son, though the two names may be confounded. It is more likely that Ahmad was a younger son of Khvâja Jahân, not mentioned in the *Burhân-i-Ma'âsir*. Aḥmad, according to Abdullâh Muḥammad, disagreed with Muḥammad I Bahmani and set out for Daulatâbâd where was the saint Zain-al-dîn, whom he approached as a disciple. The saint welcomed him as a disciple and said 'Well done Râja Aḥmad!' Râja meaning Sulṭân, so that Ahmad took it as a good omen. This account of Aḥmad's disaffection and of his interview with the saint Zain-al-dîn of Daulatâbâd enables us to trace his career. Bahman Shâh had a nephew, Bahrâm Khân Mâzandarânî, the son of his sister, whom he married to one of his own daughters and always addressed as "son", and whom he appointed to Daulatâbâd, one of the four great provincial governments of the kingdom. Bahrâm resented the accession of his brother-in-law, Muḥammad I. and seems to have expected that he would inherit, on the death of his uncle and father-in-law, at least a share of the kingdom, if not the throne itself, for in 1363, while Fîrûz Shâh of Dihlî was in Gujarât, to which province he had retreated on the failure of his first expedition into Sind, Bahrâm sent a mission to him from Daulatâbâd,[4] and invited him to make an attempt to recover the Dakan, promising him his assistance. It was impossible for Fîrûz to abandon his enterprise against Sind, in which was involved the imperial prestige, but the envoys were encouraged to believe that after Sind had been reduced to obedience an expedition to Daulatâbâd would be undertaken.

In 1365-66 Bahrâm Khân, having won over to his cause many of the *amîrs* of the neighbouring province of Berar and secured his financial position by retaining for his own

[2] This is the correct title of this king, called by Firishta and European authors who follow him Atâ-al-dîn Ḥasan Kângû Bahmanî. See *JASB.*, Vol. LXXIII, part 1, extra No. 1904; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, ii, 385; and Zafar-al-Wâliḥ, i, 159.

[3] i, 532.

[4] *Târîkh Fîrûz Shâhî*, by Shams-i-Siraj 'Afîf', p. 224.

use several years' revenue from Berar as well as from his own province,[5] rose in rebellion, and at the same time sent another mission[6] to Fîrûz, who was now at Dihlî, whither he had returned after bringing to a successful conclusion his expedition to Sind. This expedition had, however, exhausted his military ardour, and he was loth to undertake a campaign in the south, where the power of the Bahmanids was now firmly established. He therefore replied tauntingly to the envoys that they had been among those who had rebelled against their sovereign, Muḥammad bin Tughlaq, and that if the course of events was not to their liking they had only themselves to blame.

It is clear that Râja Aḥmad was a partisan of Bahrâm. When he left his king's court he turned towards Daulatâbâd and sought the saint Zain-*al*-dîn who, as is evident from Firishta's account[7] of this rebellion, supported Bahrâm against his cousin and brother-in-law, gave the rebels sanctuary, and behaved towards Muḥammad I, after his success as only one whose personal safety was secured by a superstitious veneration for his sanctity would have ventured to behave. With the progress of the rebellion we have no further concern. The rebels were defeated and banished to Gujarât, but of Râja Aḥmad we are told that he entered the service of Fîrûz, so that he seems to have been a member of one of the two missions sent to the imperial court, either of that sent to Gujarât in 1363 or, more probably, of that sent to Dihlî in 1365-66. 'Abdallâh Muḥammad repeats the story of the service rendered to Fîrûz when he was hungry and weary in the hunting-field and says that he asked Râja Aḥmad to choose his reward, and that he asked for and received a grant of the village of Thalner, known as Karvand. 'Abdullâh Muḥammad gives no further details of his history, beyond saying that he established his independence in 1382, and Firishta's brief record of his progress until this year may be accepted as correct.

Râja Aḥmad perhaps chose Thalner as an obscure corner whence he might safely harass his enemies, the Bahmanids, secure of assistance, in the last resort, from the Imperial power of Dihlî; but that power began to decline from the day of his investiture with his small fief, and the senile incompetence of Fîrûz and the disorders due to the wrangles and feebleness of his successors were but the prelude to the final crash, the invasion of India by Taimûr, which dissolved the frail bonds which bound together the provinces, until the Sayyids, who succeeded the Tughlaq dynasty, could call little but the city of Dihlî their own.

The example of Râja Aḥmad in Khândesh was soon followed by his more powerful neighbours, Dilâvar Khan Ghûrî in Mâlwa and Muzaffar I in Gujarât, and Aḥmad, instead of raiding the powerful kingdom of the Dakan, was forced to seek alliances which should enable him to maintain a measure of independence, for though the policy of preserving a balance of power might protect his small state from utter extinction he could not hope to preserve his importance if he allowed the bark of his policy to drift down the stream of events with no other guidance than the fluctuating policy of his neighbours. Râja Aḥmad, or Malik Râja as he is styled by Firishta, first turned towards Mâlwa, and married his daughter to Hûshang, son and eventually successor of Dilâvar Khân, whose assistance against Gujarât he thus purchased. With Dilâvar's assistance he expelled the officers of Muzaffar I of Gujarât from the town and district of Nandurbâr, which were long a bone of contention between Gujarât and Khândesh just as were the Dûâb of Raichûr between the Bahmanî Kingdom

[5] Firishta, i, 557.

[6] Târîkh-i-Fîrûz Shâhî, by Shams-i-Sirâj 'Afîf, p. 261.

[7] Firishta, i, 560.

and Vijayanagar and, at a later date, Sholâpûr between Bîjâpûr and Aḥmadnagar and Pâthrî between Aḥmadnagar and Berar. Râja Aḥmad probably believed that he could commit this act of aggression with impunity, for Muẓaffar was then engaged in warfare, but he would not submit tamely to this insult and, suspending his operations against the Hindûs, marched at once to Nandurbâr, expelled Râja Aḥmad, and besieged him in his own capital of Thalner. Muẓaffar, however, had yet to establish his authority in his own kingdom, where the continuance of his rule was threatened by turbulent Râjputs, and asked but to live in peace with his Muḥammadan neighbours, so that Aḥmad found no difficulty in obtaining terms and Muẓaffar withdrew after obtaining from Aḥmad satisfactory assurances that the district of Nandurbâr would not again be molested.

Râja Aḥmad died on April 29, 1399, and was buried at Thalner. The distinctive epithet of Fârûqî applied to his dynasty is derived from his claim to descent from 'Umar, the second orthodox *Khalîfah* of the Muslims, who was entitled *al-Fârûq*, 'the Discriminator (between truth and error).' Aḥmad's descent from 'Umar is thus given by Firishta[8] :—Malik Râja (Aḥmad), son of Khânjahân (Khvâja Jahân), son of 'Alî Khân, son of 'Uthmân Khân, son of Sham'ûn, son of Ash'ath Shâh, son of Sikandar Shâh, son of Ṭalḥah Shâh, son of Dâniyâl Shâh, son of Ash'ath Shâh, son of Urmiyâ Shâh, son of Ibrâhîm Shâh Balkhî, son of Adham Shâh, son of Maḥmûd Shâh, son of Aḥmad Shâh, son of Muḥammad Shâh, son of A'ẓam Shâh, son of Asghar, son of Muḥammad Aḥmad, son of Muḥammad, son of 'Abdallâh, son of 'Umar the Discriminator.

Râja Aḥmad left two sons Naṣîr (not Nâṣir, as he is called in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*) entitled Jahângîr Khân, who succeeded him, and Ḥasan, entitled Malik Iftikhâr. According to Firishta Râja Aḥmad had intended to divide his small dominions permanently between his two sons, leaving Naṣîr ruler of the greater part of the state, but establishing Ḥasan as permanent and independent governor of the town and district of Thalner. Naṣîr established his authority throughout the eastern districts of Khândesh, which appear to have been neglected by his father, captured the hill fortress of Asîrgaṛh by stratagem from the pastoral chieftain called by Firishta Âsâ Ahîr, from whom it took its name, and by the command of Zain-*al*-dîn, the spiritual guide of his family, who came from Daulatâbâd to visit him, founded the city of Burhânpûr which, in accordance with Zain-*al*-dîn's injunction, he named after the great saint Burhân-*al*-din, who is buried in the hills above Daulatâbâd. On the southern bank of the Tâptî, which Zain-*al*-dîn refused to cross, Naṣîr founded, on the spot where the saint lodged, a mosque and a village, which he named Zainâbâd.

Having thus established himself in eastern Khândesh Naṣîr resolved, by expelling his brother Ḥasan from Thalner, to extend his authority over the whole state, and to this end sought aid of his brother-in-law, Hûshang Shâh, who had succeeded his father on the throne of Mâlwa. Hûshang sent his son Ghaznî Khân to the assistance of Naṣîr, and in 1417 Thalner was captured and Ḥasan was imprisoned by his brother. Ḥasan had sought aid of Aḥmad I of Gujarât, but assistance had not reached him in time and Naṣîr, partly with the object of forestalling the interference of Gujarât in the domestic affairs of Khândesh and partly, doubtless, with that of repairing his father's discomfiture, attacked Nandurbâr. On the arrival of reinforcements sent by Aḥmad of Gujarât Naṣîr fled to Thalner and Ghazni Khân to Mândû, and Malik Maḥmûd, an *amîr* of Gujarât, besieged Naṣîr in Thalner

[8] ii, 543.

and the latter was obliged to purchase place by paying tribute and swearing fealty to Aḥmad Shâh, and in return received from him the title of Khân and some of the insignia of royalty. It was also agreed that Ḥasan, Naṣîr's brother, should remain at Aḥmad's court as his brother's representative, or, in other words, as a hostage. Hasan seems to have been by no means loth to assent to this arrangement, and made his home in Gujarât, where he was safer than if he had remained within his brother's reach.

From this treaty we may date the estrangement between Khândesh and Mâlwa, for Naṣîr undoubtedly resented Ghaznî Khân's pusillanimous desertion of him, which had left him no choice but to humble himself before Aḥmad of Gujarât. The residence of Ḥasan of Khândesh in Gujarât sowed the seed of a close alliance between the two states, as will be seen hereafter, but Naṣîr was not prepared at once to throw himself into the arms of Aḥmad Shâh of Gujarât, and was soon enabled to form another alliance. The old animosity against the Bahmanids had by now been forgotten, and in 1429 Aḥmad Shâh Bahmanî, who had recently been at war with Hûshang Shâh of Mâlwa and, although he had inflicted a crushing defeat upon him, desired still further to weaken his adversary and to extend his own influence in the state on the northern border of his kingdom, proposed to Naṣîr an alliance between his eldest son, 'Alâ-al-dîn Aḥmad, and Naṣîr's daughter, Âghâ Zainab. The alliance suited both parties, for it provided Naṣîr with a powerful ally both against Aḥmad of Gujarât, by whom he had recently been humiliated and against Hûshang of Mâlwa, from whom he was estranged, and Aḥmad Shâh Bahmanî with a useful ally against Hûshang.

The alliance was almost immediately tested. In the following year Kanha, Râja of Jhâllâwâr, fled from the wrath of Aḥmad of Gujarât and attempted to purchase the protection of Naṣîr Khân by the gift of some elephants, but was told that the ruler of Khândesh could not venture to face alone the wrath of the Sultân of Gujarât. Naṣîr Khân furnished him, however, with a letter of recommendation to Aḥmad Shâh Bahmanî, who sent a force to his aid, and the troops of the Dakan and Khândesh attacked, nominally in the interest of the fugitive râja, Nandurbâr, the frontier district of Gujarât. They suffered a defeat, and a stronger force sent by Aḥmad Bahmanî under the command of his son, 'Alâ-al-dîn Aḥmad, the son-in-law of Naṣîr Khân, had no better fortune. The Dakanîs withdrew to their own country, leaving Khândesh at the mercy of the justly incensed Gujarâtîs, who overran it and forced Naṣîr Khân to take refuge in the hill country until their thirst for plunder and revenge was sated, when he returned to Burhânpûr.

The match between 'Alâ-al-dîn Aḥmad and Âghâ Zainab was not happy. 'Alâ-al-dîn Aḥmad, who succeeded his father on the throne of the Dakan on Feb. 27, 1435, led an expedition two years later into the Konkan and, having defeated the Râja of Sangameshwar and reduced him to the condition of a vassal, married his beautiful daughter, who received the name of Zîbâ Chihra ('beautiful face'). Âghâ Zainab who, as the principal queen, had the title of Malika-yi Jahân, was slighted for the younger and more beautiful Hindu princess, and in her jealous wrath wrote to her father, Naṣîr Khân, complaining of her husband's neglect. Naṣîr Khan, after obtaining the consent of Aḥmad Shâh of Gujarât, the necessity for which indicates the change in the relations between the two states, avenged his daughter's wrongs by invading Berar, where many of the *amîrs* welcomed him owing to his descent from 'Umar, and caused the *Khuṭbah* to be recited in his name. 'Abd-al-Qâdir Khânjahân, the loyal governor of Berar, shut himself up in Narnâla and appealed for assistance to his king, 'Alâ-al-din Aḥmad. A force of the best troops of the Dakan under the

command of Khalaf Hasan Basrî, Malik-al-Tujjâr, was sent into Berar and found Nasîr Khân awaiting it at Rohankhed. Nasîr Khân was utterly defeated and fled to his hill fortress of Laling, whither Malik-al-Tujjâr followed him, after burning and destroying all the public buildings in Burhânpûr and laying waste the fertile plains of Khândesh. An attempt to surprise Laling failed but Nasîr Khân, who attacked the Dakanis with 12,000 horse and a large force of foot, suffered a second severe defeat, which so preyed upon his mind that it is said to have contributed to his death, which occurred on Sept. 20, or, according to another account, Oct. 1, 1437. He was succeeded by his son, 'Âdil Khân I. after whose accession Malik-al-Tujjâr, hearing that a force was advancing from Nandurbâr to relieve Laling, retired to the Dakan with his plunder, which included seventy elephants and many guns.

'Âdil Khân reigned without incident until 1441, when he died, either on April 30 or on May 4, and was succeeded by his son Mubârak Khân, who likewise reigned without incident until his death on June 5, 1457, when he was succeeded by his son Malik '*Ainâ*, who assumed the title of 'Âdil Khân II.

'Âdil Khân II was one of the most energetic and most powerful rulers of Khândesh. He established his authority over the râjas whose territory was included in or marched with his own, including the rajâs of Gondwâna, and compelled them to pay him tribute, he suppressed the depredations of the Kolîs and Bhîls thus making the roads throughout his dominions safe for travellers, he strengthened and extended the defences of Asîrgarh, he fortified Burhânpûr by building a citadel on the Tâptî, and he carried his arms as far as Jhârkhand, now known as Chûtiya Nâgpûr, from which exploit he was known as Jhârkhandi Sultân. The author of the *Zafar-al-Wâlih* evidently did not understand this title for he erroneously attributes one bearing a slight resemblance to it to Mubârak Khân, 'Âdil Khân's father and predecessor, who, he says, was known as *Chaukanda*, a word without meaning but bearing some resemblance to a Hindî word meaning "square," the applicability of which is not clear. Firishta's account of the origin and application of the nickname is undoubtedly correct.

The alliance with Mâlwa had terminated with Ghaznî Khân's desertion of Nasîr Khân in 1417, that with the Dakan had ended in disaster and humiliation, and since Malik-*al*-Tujjâr's invasion of Khândesh the Fârûqîs had learnt to regard the king of Gujarât as their natural protector, had recognized his suzerainty, paid him tribute, and maintained an agent at his court. 'Âdil Khân II, flushed with his successes over Hindûs and aborigines, believed that the time had come when he could stand alone, and failed to remit tribute to Gujarât and to appoint an agent to represent him there. Mahmûd Baikarah, who had succeeded to the throne of Gujarât in 1458, accordingly sent an army to reduce him to obedience and 'Âdil Khân, who was forced to seek refuge in Asîrgarh, obtained peace on the payment of all arrears of tribute and henceforward remained obedient to Mahmûd of Gujarât. The author of the *Zafar-al-Wâlih* says that this invasion of Khândesh occurred in 1459-60, but from what we know of the history of Gujarât Mahmûd can hardly have had leisure to invade Khândesh in that year and it is far more probable that 'Âdil Khân II. ventured to defy Gujarât towards the end of his reign, when his successes had increased his power and inspired him with confidence, than at its beginning when he had no reason to believe that he could throw off his allegiance. Moreover from an event which occurred during his visit to Mahmûd Shâh, his designation of a distant relative as his heir, he being then childless, it is probable that he was then advanced in years, for had be been a young man with a prospect of begetting

children he would not have been likely to imperil the rights of a son who might be born to him by naming a distant relative as his heir. It appears therefore that 1499-1500, the date given by Firishta [9] for the invasion of Khândesh by Maḥmûd Baikarah, is correct. After his reconciliation with his suzerain 'Âdil Khân visited Gujarât and was kindly received, and the author of the Ẕafar-a -Wâlih says that he associated much with Maḥmûd Baikarah and was on most intimate terms with him. He was childless and the heir-presumptive to the throne of Khândesh was his younger brother, Dâ'ûd Khân, a feeble and worthless prince. There was at the court of Maḥmûd Baikarah a child, 'Âlam Khân, who was directly descended in the male line from Ḥasan Khân, Malik Iftikhâr, the younger brother of Naṣîr Khân who, after having been captured and imprisoned by his brother, had been sent to Gujarât, where he and his descendants had lived ever since, the objects of the special favour of the kings of that country. Ḥasan Khân married a relation, probably a sister, of his benefactor, Aḥmad I of Gujarât and left a son, Ghazni Khân, who married Aḥmad Shâh's daughter and left by her a son, Qaiṣar Khân, who married the daughter of the Sultan of Sind and left a son, Aḥsan Khân, who was married by Maḥmûd Baikarah to his daughter, the sister of Muẕaffar II of Gujarât, and left a son, 'Âlam Khân, who was related to 'Âdil Khân II no more nearly than in the ninth degree, but was regarded almost as a member of the royal house of Gujarât. Firishta,[10] in his heading to the reign of 'Âlam Khân, who eventually succeeded under the title of 'Âdil Khân III, makes him a son of Naṣîr Khân, but this is absurd, for he was certainly a child about 1500 and Naṣîr had died in 1437. If we supported 'Âlam Khân to be a posthumous son of Naṣîr he would have been seventy-one years of age at the time of his accession in 1509, when he was certainly a young man. Moreover Firishta contradicts himself,[11] by correctly describing 'Âlam Khân as daughter's son to Maḥmûd Baikarah of Gujarât, who was fourteen years of age in 1458, so it is obvious that he cannot have been a son of Naṣir Khân.

One day towards the end of his reign 'Âdil Khân II, who was visiting Maḥmûd Baikarah' was sitting with him in the hall of the palace at Châmpânîr, when the conversation turned on 'Âlam Khân, who was then in the room. Maḥmûd evidently wished that he should be well provided for, and 'Âdil Khân embraced and fondled the engaging child and at length promised Maḥmûd that he should succeed him on the throne of Khândesh.

Shortly after adopting his young cousin as his heir 'Âdil Khân II, died. Regarding the date of his death there are some discrepancies. Firishta gives it,[12] as Rabî-al-awwal 14, 897 (Jan. 15, 1492) but this date, which differs by more than ten years from that given by any other authority, may be at once discarded, for Firishta himself contradicts it twice, first in stating that 'Âdil Khân II, having succeeded on Rajab 12, 861,[13] reigned for forty-six years, eight months, and twelve days,[14] which period brings the date of his death to Rabî-al-awwal 24, 908 (Sep. 27, 1502), and secondly in stating that 'Âdil Khân's successor, Dâ'ûd Khân, died on Jamâdî-al-awwal 1, 914, after a reign of eight years, one month, and ten days, according to which statement the date of 'Âdil Khân's death would be Rabî-al-awwal 20,906 (Oct. 14, 1500). The author of the *Zafar-al-Wâlih*,[15] gives the date as Rabî'-al-awwal 15,907 (Sep. 28, 1501) which divides almost equally the period between the two dates found by calculation from Firishta's statements regarding the duration of the two reigns and may be accepted as correct. Mr. Stanley Lane Poole, in his *Mohammadan Dynasties*,[16] gives the date of 'Âdil Khân's death and Dâ'ûd's accession as 1503, for which

[9] ii, 401 [10] ii, 552, 553. [11] ii, 552. [12] ii, 551.
[13] ii, 550. [14] ii, 551. [15] i, 54. [16] p. 315.

his authority seems to be the *Useful Tables*,[17] published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, but what the authority for those tables is I do not know. The *Muntakhab-al-Lubâb*, a work which, so far as its account of the dynasties of the Dakan goes, is admittedly a mere epitome of Firishta, gives the date as Sep. 27, 1501, so that it is clear that the date given in the Bombay text of Firishta is a misreading.

According to the *Burhân-i-Ma'âsir*, a most untrustworthy authority for the reigns of the earlier Nizâm Shâhî kings of Ahmadnagar, 'Âdil Khân II, who is described as 'Âdil Shâh, was succeeded on the throne of Khândesh, in accordance with his will, by his son "Mahmûd Shâh Fârûqî," whose presumption in styling himself Shâh aroused the wrath of Mahmûd Baikarah of Gujarât. A long and confused account of the invasion of Khândesh by Mahmûd, of Ahmad Nizâm Shâh's expedition to assist "Mahmûd Fârûqî," and of the defeat and discomfiture of Mahmûd Baikarah follows. Another version of this story is given by Firishta in the only passage in which he quotes[18] the *Burhân-i-Ma'âsir*, called by him the "*Waqâ'i'-i Nizâmshâhiyyah* which Sayyid 'Alî Samnânî was writing in the reign of Burhân Nizâm Shâh II, and which he never lived to finish," but in this version Mahmûd Baikarah is represented as coming to attack and Ahmad Nizâm Shâh to support 'Âdil Khân II, and the mythical "Mahmûd Shâh Fârûqî" is not mentioned. Firishta discredits the story, as well he may. Not only has Sayyid 'Alî been obliged to juggle with the chronology of the Fârûqî dynasty, but he has invented a Fârûqî ruler who never ascended the throne and fathered a son on the childless 'Âdil Khân. The motive for the invention of the story was doubtless a desire to conceal the discomfiture of Ahmad Nizâm Shâh, who was at this time attempting to wrest the fortress of Daulatâbâd from the brothers Sharaf-al-dîn and Wajîh-al-dîn and beat a hasty and undignified retreat on hearing that Mahmûd Baikarah was marching through Khândesh to the relief of the fortress.

On the death of 'Âdil Khân II, Mahmûd Baikarah took no steps to obtain the throne for his *protégé* 'Âlam Khân, the adopted heir, and 'Âdil Khân's brother Dâ'ûd Khân would have succeeded peacefully had not a strong party among the *amîrs* of Khândesh been bitterly opposed to him and proclaimed instead of him his infant son Ghaznî Khân; but Ghaznî Khân's party was overcome and Dâ'ûd Khân retained the throne.

It is almost impossible to follow the events of Dâ'ûd's brief but troubled reign. According to Firishta Dâ'ûd entertained the design of annexing part of the Nizâm Shâhî dominions and to this end committed some acts of aggression. It seems impossible that so feeble a monarch should wantonly have provoked so powerful a neighbour, but there is no doubt that Ahmad Nizâm Shâh invaded Khândesh in this reign, though according to the *Burhân-i-Ma'âsir* it was not until after Dâ'ûd's death that he attempted to enthrone in Burhânpûr a pretender, 'Âlam Khân Fârûqî, not to be confounded with the *protégé* of Mahmûd Baikarah, who bore the same name. The silence of the author of the *Burhân-i-Ma'âsir* is easily

[17] *Âin-i-Akbarî*, Colonel Jarrett's translation, ii, 227, n. 2.

[18] ii, 189. Major J. S. King, in his preface to *The History of the Bahmanî Dynasty*, says, "Though the two authors (Firishta and the author of the *Burhân-i-Ma'âsir*) were contemporaries and probably met one another in Ahmadnagar neither makes any mention of the other," and adds, in a note referring to Firishta, "he never mentions the *Burhân-i-Ma'âsir* unless he alludes to it under some other title. Professional jealousy probably accounts for this. But the work quoted by Firishta as the *Waqâ'i'-i Nizâmshâhiyyah* is undoubtedly the *Burhân-i-Ma'âsir*. Major King is, however, quite right in saying that Firishta does not mention the *Burhân-i-Ma'âsir* in the long list of authorities cited at the beginning of his history.

explained, for Aḥmad's invasion of Khândesh brought him no glory and he was ignominiously expelled from the country. From a comparison of the *Zafar-al-Wâlih* with Firishta it appears that Ḥisâm-al-dîn, an *amîr* of Khândesh who was one of Dâ'ûd Khân's principal opponents, invited Aḥmad Niẓâm Shâh to aid him in overthrowing Dâ'ûd. Aḥmad invaded the country bringing his *protégé*, 'Alam Khân, with him, and laid it waste. Dâ'ûd, who probably dared not appeal to Maḥmûd Baikarah of Gujarât, lest he should bring another pretender into the field, applied for aid to Naṣir-al-dîn Shâh of Mâlwa who, in 1504, sent a force under Iqbâl Khân, one of his *amîrs*, to aid him. Iqbâl Khân expelled Aḥmad Niẓâm Shâh, but before leaving the country insisted that the *Khuṭbah* should be recited in Burhânpûr in the name of his master, Naṣir-al-dîn Shâh, with which humiliating demand Dâ'ûd was forced to comply. 'Alam Khân had fled with his protector, Aḥmad Niẓâm Shâh, and for the remaining four years of his life Dâ'ûd Khân reigned in peace, dying on Aug. 28, 1508.

After the death of Dâ'ûd his son Ghaznî Khân was, according to Firishta, raised to the throne by Malik Ḥisâm-al-dîn and the other *amîrs*, but was poisoned by them after ten days. According to the *Zafar-al-Walih* Ghazni Khân had been poisoned during the lifetime of his father, but the discrepancy is of little consequence, for Ghazni Khân never actually reigned and almost immediately after the death of Dâ'ûd Aḥmad Niẓâm Shâh reappeared in Khândesh with his *protégé*, 'Alam Khân.

The descent of this 'Âlam Khân is not precisely known, but there is nowhere a hint that he was an impostor. According to Firishta he was "of the offspring of the Fârûqi Sulṭans"; the *Zafar-al-Wâlih* calls him "a relation of Dâ'ûd"; and the author of the *Burhân-i-Ma'âsir* says that he was "of the stock of the rulers of *Asîr*." It is probable that he was far nearer in blood to Dâ'ûd than was the other 'Alam Khân, who was protected by Maḥmûd Baikarah. It will be convenient to distinguish the two pretenders as 'Alam Khân of Gujarât and 'Alam Khân of Aḥmadnagar.

'Âlam Khân of Gujarât now thought that it was time to assert his claim to the throne of Khândesh and his mother applied to her father, Maḥmûd Baikarah, for assistance, which was readily given. In November or December, 1508, only three or four months after the death of Dâ'ûd Khân, Maḥmûd Baikarah set out from Châmpânîr for Thalner, then held for Aḥmad's *protégê*, styling himself 'Âlam Shâh.

The position in Khândesh was now as follows:—'Âlam Khân of Aḥmadnagar and Malik Ḥisâm-al-dîn the Mughul, the leader of the Aḥmadnagar party in Khândesh, were at Burhânpûr, where they were joined by Aḥmad Niẓâm Shâh of Aḥmadnagar and 'Alâ-al-dîn 'Imâd Shâh of Berar, whom Ḥisâm-al-dîn had summoned to his aid; Malik Lâdan, the leader of the Gujarât party in Khândesh, had shut himself up in Asîrgarh, where he was besieged by the partisans of 'Alam Khân of Aḥmadnagar; and Maḥmûd Shâh Baikarah and his *protégé*, 'Alam Khân of Gujarat, were advancing on Thalner. Thalner surrendered, and on hearing of its fall Aḥmad Niẓâm Shâh and 'Ala-al-dîn 'Imâd Shâh fled for refuge to Gâwîlgarh, leaving 4,000 troops in Burhânpûr to support their candidate for the throne. Maḥmûd then sent two of his *amîrs*, Sayyid Âṣaf Khân and 'Azîz-al-Mulk against Ḥisâm-al-dîn and 'Âlam Khân of Aḥmadnagar, and the troops of Aḥmadnagar and Berar fled from Burhânpûr so that Hisâm-al-dîn was obliged to provided for his own safety by sending the pretender off to the Dakan and making his submission to Maḥmûd Baikarah. Malik Lâdan had forestalled him, and there was now no obstacle in the path of 'Alam Khân of Gujarât to the throne. On April 1, 1509, Maḥmûd Baikarah held a court at Thalner and installed his *protégé* 'Alam Khân, who now took the title of 'Adil Khân III, as ruler of Khândesh, conferring on him,

as though he had been a mere officer of Gujarât, the title of A'zam-i-Humâyûn. Malik Lâdan received the title of Khânjahân and Malik Hisâm-al-dîn that of Shahryâr and Maḥmûd, after giving his nephew four elephants and 300,000 *tangas*, returned to Gujarât.

In the meantime Aḥmad Nizâm Shâh had returned to the frontier of his own kingdom and ventured to send a letter to Maḥmûd Baikarah requesting him to grant to 'Âlam Khân, who had taken refuge at the court of Aḥmadnagar, some small share in the dominions of his forefathers. To the letter, which Aḥmad, who had revolted from his master, Maḥmûd Shâh Bahmanî, had imprudently addressed as from one king to another, no written reply was vouchsafed, but the envoy who bore it had to endure an unpleasant interview with Maḥmûd, who wrathfully asked how one who was a rebellious slave had dared to address him as one king writing to another, instead of embodying his requests in the form of a humble petition, and closed his homily with a threat that such insolence, if repeated, would not go unpunished.

'Âdil Khân III, now established on the throne of Khândesh, still further cemented his alliance with Gujarât by marrying a daughter of Sultân Muzaffar, who afterwards succeeded to the throne of Gujarât as Muzaffar II. One of his first acts was to cause Malik Hisâm-al-dîn Shahryâr, who was again plotting with Aḥmad Nizâm Shâh, to be assassinated. The dispatch of a large force from Gujarât averted a danger which threatened the state from the direction of Aḥmadnagar, and the reign of 'Adil Khân III. was not marked by any noteworthy event until his death, on Aug. 25, 1520, when he was succeeded by his son, Muḥammad I., who is generally known as Muḥammad Shâh, from his having been summoned to the throne of Gujarât, which he never lived to occupy.

The history of Muḥammad Shâh's reign is to a great extent that of Bahâdur Shâh of Gujarât, with whom he always acted in concert and by whom he was designated heir to the kingdom of Gujarât. In 1527 a quarrel arose between Burhân Nizâm Shâh I of Aḥmadnagar and 'Alâ-al-dîn 'Imâd Shâh of Berar, which was composed for a time by Bahâdur Shâh of Gujarât, who took the king of Berar under his protection. In the following year Burhân and Amîr Barîd of Bîdar invaded Berar, and Muḥammad Shâh, who regarded 'Alâ-al-dîn 'Imâd Shâh as a *protégé* of his uncle, Bahâdur Shâh, at once responded to his appeal for help and marched to his assistance. Burhân I and Amîr Barîd severely defeated 'Alâ-al-dîn and Muḥammad Shâh in the neighbourhood of Mâhûr and Muhammad fled to Asîrgarh, leaving all his artillery and elephants in the hands of the victors, and at once appealed to Bahâdur Shâh for assistance. Bahâdur Shâh, Muḥammad Shâh, and 'Alâ-al-dîn 'Imâd Shâh then marched to Aḥmadnagar and Burhân I fled to the protection of his fortress capital, Daulatâbâd; but Bahâdur's intervention in a quarrel which was regarded as a purely domestic affair in the Dakan and his announcement that he had annexed Berar aroused the resentment and apprehensions of the other kings of the Dakan, and Ismâ'îl 'Âdil Shâh of Bîjâpûr and Sultân Qulî Quṭb Shâh of Golconda, as well as Amîr Barîd of Bîdar, sent contingents to the aid of Burhân, whereupon Bahâdur, fearing lest his communications with his own country should be endangered by the rainy season, which was approaching, hastened to make peace. It was agreed that the fortress and district of Mâhûr should be restored to Alâ-al-dîn 'Imâd Shâh and that Burhân should return to Muḥammad Shâh the elephants, guns, and other booty which he had taken from him the year before. Bahâdur's nephew was, of course, indemnified at once, and he and his uncle returned to their kingdoms, but Bahâdur considered that he had already done sufficient for Berar and failed to enforce the stipulation regarding the restoration of Mâhûr. The kings of the Dakan, who bitterly

resented 'Alâ-al-dîn's appeal to the powerful king of Gujarât, were in no mood to see his wrongs righted, and Mâhûr remained in the possession of Burhân.

This companionship in arms increased the intimacy between Bahâdur and Muḥammad and Bahâdur not only permitted his sister's son, whose ancestors had been content with the title of Khân, to assume the royal title, but was accustomed to give him a seat beside him on his throne, and it was probably now that he openly acknowledged him as heir-presumptive to the throne of Gujarât.

In 1530 Bahâdur again visited Burhânpûr and seemed inclined, in response to an appeal from the King of Berar, to attack Aḥmadnagar once more, but Muḥammad, who had nothing to gain from a strife which would convert Aḥmadnagar into a permanent enemy of Khândesh, came forward as peacemaker, and his counsels prevailed. Early in 1531 Muḥammad accompanied Bahâdur on his expedition into Mâlwa, in which he captured Mândû on March 28, 1531, and subsequently, after reducing to obedience the Râjpûts who had acquired power in that country, in which operation he was much assisted by Muḥammad, annexed Mâlwa to Gujarât.

In 1534-35 Muḥammad assisted Bahâdur in his siege of Chitor, which ended in the capture of that fortress, and in the same year accompanied him in his flight from Humâyûn's army at Mandasor to Mândû. Bahâdur fled from Mândû to Châmpânîr, whither he was pursued by Humâyûn, and thence to Kâthîâwâḍ. Humâyûn's expedition into Mâlwa and Gujarât had much alarmed the kings of the Dakan, who were convinced that he intended at once to recover the Southern Kingdoms for Dihlî, and Burhân I. of Aḥmadnagar, Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh I. of Bîjâpûr, Sulṭân Qulî Quṭb Shâh of Golconda, and Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh of Berar formed an alliance against him, but their apprehensions were premature, for Humâyûn, who was harassed by the activity of Bahâdur's *amîrs* and disturbed by news of the progress made by the already formidable Shîr Shâh, was unable to maintain his position in Gujarât and retired to Mândû and thence, on Bahâdur Shâh's return from Diû to Châmpânîr, to Dihlî.

Humâyûn, on retiring to Dihlî, left some of his *amîrs* in Mâlwa to retain possession of the province, and Muḥammad Shâh of Khândesh was engaged, under the orders of Bahâdur Shâh, in expelling these intruders, when he received news that Bahâdur had been drowned on Feb. 13, 1537, at Diû, whither he had gone to treat with the Portuguese under Nuno da Cunha, and that the affairs of Gujarât were in great confusion owing to the return of the Mughul, Muḥammad Zamân Mîrzâ, from Hindûstân and the Panjâb. Muḥammad Shâh was summoned by the *amîrs*, in accordance with his uncle's will, to ascend the throne of Gujarât, but before he could reach Châmpânîr he died, on May 4, 1537, and was buried in Burhânpûr.

On the death of Muḥammad Shâh an attempt was made to raise to the throne his young son Aḥmad, but the majority of the *amîrs* supported the cause of Muḥammad's brother Mubârak. Aḥmad died, or was probably put to death, and Mubârak ascended the throne, using the royal title which, in the case of Muḥammad, had been recognized by Bahâdur Shâh of Gujarât. The death of Muḥammad Shâh had left the throne of Gujarât vacant, and the *amîrs* of that country were obliged to seek their king in Khândesh, where Bahâdur, in order to secure an undisputed succession in Gujarât for his nephew, Muḥammad Shâh of

Khândesh, had imprisoned his younger brother, Laṭîf Khân. Laṭîf Khân was now dead, but had left a son, Maḥmûd, and a deputation from Gujarât, headed by the *amîr* Ikhtiyâr Khân, waited on Mubârak Shâh and demanded the surrender of Maḥmûd. The demand was a disappointment to Mubârak, who had hoped that the choice of the *amîrs* of Gujarât would fall on him, and he demurred to surrendering Maḥmûd but, on the *amîrs* of Gujarât assembling their forces and assuming a threatening attitude, delivered him to Ikhtiyâr Khân, who carried him off to Gujarât and there enthroned him as Maḥmûd III. The history of Gujarât during the early part of Maḥmûd's reign is the history of contests between the leading *amîrs* of the kingdom for the possession of the king's person and the regency which such possession involved and two *amîrs* entitled 'Imâd-al-Mulk and Daryâ Khân, having slain Ikhtiyâr Khân, quarrelled with one another. 'Imâd-al-Mulk was worsted by his confederate in the contest for the possession of the young king and fled to Khândesh, where he took refuge with Mubârak Shâh. Daryâ Khân and Maḥmûd III pursued him and were met by Mubârak at Dânkrî. Mubârak was defeated but the Gujarâtîs refrained from following up their success and 'Imâd-al-Mulk fled to Mândû and took refuge with Qâdir Khân, one of the old *amîrs* of the Khaljî kings of Mâlwa who, on the expulsion and retirement of Humâyûn's officers from Mâlwa, had assumed the government of the country and entitled himself Qâdir Shâh. According to Firishta,[19] Maḥmûd now, in fulfilment of a promise which he had made to Mubârak when they were fellow-prisoners in Asîrgaṛh during the life-time of Bahâdur and Muḥammad, surrendered to Khândesh the town and district of Nandurbâr.

It was in Mubârak's reign that the army of Khândesh first measured swords with the troops of Akbar, and defeated them. In 1561 an imperial army under the command of Adham Khân, Akbar's foster-brother, conquered Mâlwa and expelled Bâz Bahâdur, the son and successor of Shujâ'at Khân, Shîr Shâh's viceroy of that province, who had assumed independence as the power of the short-lived Sûr dynasty of Dihlî declined. Bâz Bahâdur took refuge in Burhânpûr, and was followed thither in 1562 by the brutal Pîr Muḥammad Khân, Akbar's governor of Mâlwa, who committed the most terrible atrocities in Khândesh, plundering and laying waste the country and slaughtering its inhabitants without regard to age or sex. He captured Burhânpûr and ordered a general massacre of its inhabitants in which many pious and learned men perished. Mubârak and Bâz Bahâdur shut themselves up in Asîrgaṛh and Tufâl Khân, who had usurped the government of Berar and imprisoned Daryâ Shâh, the last of the 'Imâd Shâhî dynasty, came to their assistance. The allies marched to attack Pîr Muḥammad who, anxious to save the plunder which he had collected, retired before them without fighting. On reaching the Narbada Pîr Muḥammad and his officers were attacked and defeated by their pursuers and fled in confusion across the river, in which Pîr Muḥammad was drowned. All historians agree in regarding his fate as God's judgment on the atrocities which he had committed in Mâlwa and, above all, in Khândesh. As Budâonî says, "the sighs of orphans, the weak, and the captives did their work with him." As a result of the defeat of Pîr Muḥammad Bâz Bahâdur temporarily regained possession of Mândû.

(To be continued.)

[19] ii, 559.

VIVEKAPATRAMALA.

BY T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A.; TRIVANDRUM

(*Continued from p.* 100)

॥ श्रीः ॥

॥ विवेकपत्रमाला[3] ॥

जयन्ति जगतीतले कवयतां प्रवाचां पुरो
वलन्ति वसुधावलारिहृदये त एते बुधाः ।
वसन्ति विदुषां शिरोनटनकङ्कके ये परं
ह्यवापुरनपायतो विमलखण्डनं डिण्डिमम् ॥
मूलाण्डवास्तव्यमहाजनानां कालान्तरेपि स्वकुलावगत्यै ।
वेलां कुलाब्धेः सुविवेकपत्रमालां सुहृत्कण्ठगतां सृजामि ॥
अस्ति मन्दारकं नाम वृन्दारकपुरोपमम् ।
मन्दाकिनीजलक्लेदमन्दारिस्थं महापुरम् ॥
सोमनाथमखिसोमपीथिनः सोमशेखरपदाब्जसेवकाः ।
ऊषुरत्र बहुशास्त्रवक्तृकाः संप्रदायकुशलाश्चिराय ते ॥
चोलस्य राज्ञः किल काञ्चिमण्डले चिकीर्षतो बुद्धिरभूच्छिवालयान्
मन्दाकिनीतीरजुषो द्विजन्मनः निजाग्रहारेषु निवासयिष्यतः ॥
गङ्गाभङ्गात्पार्श्वतः प्राप्य भङ्गं मन्दाराख्यो मन्दकेदारभूमिः ।
तस्मादेते ग्राममुन्मुच्य हीनं चोलं प्राप्ता यात्रया प्राप्तगङ्गम् ॥
स्नात्वा त्रिपथगां गङ्गां दृष्ट्वा विश्वेश्वरं शिवम् ।
आनयिष्यामि तत्रत्यान्विदुषो ब्राह्मणानिति ॥
चोलो भूमिपतिर्विविच्य बहुशो विद्वद्गुणालंकृतान्
सर्वानभिचितस्त्रिवेदकृतिनो नित्यक्रियातत्परान् ।
श्रौते ब्रह्मणि निष्ठितान्विधिमुपस्पृश्यात्मपर्यन्तकं
काञ्चीमण्डलमानिनाय सहसा सम्मान्य सम्मान्य(?नि)तान् ।
काश्यपा गौतमाश्चैव सावर्ण्याः शाण्डिला अपि ।
श्रीवत्साश्च भरद्वाजा गोतमा अपि सामगाः ॥
सांकृत्या इति चेमेऽष्टौ गोत्रतः परिकीर्तिताः ।
प्रासादवल्लभो यज्वा भास्कराख्यकविस्तथा ॥
राजनाथकविश्चैव सुब्रह्मण्यकविस्तथा ।
जटाधरेशयज्वा च नीलकण्ठकविस्तथा ॥
दीक्षितः सोमनाथाख्यो मल्लिकार्जुनभट्टकः ।
आगत्य काञ्च्यामवसन्विख्याप्य च विदग्धताम् ॥
तुण्डीरमण्डलमहामणिमण्डपस्य तल्पायमानवरनल्पगिरेश्च पश्चात् ।
कौटिल्यहारकनदस्य च पूर्वभागे चोलश्चकार रुचिरं पृथुमग्रहारम् ॥
पञ्चाशदुत्तरचतुःशतनिष्कमूल्यं ग्रामं विभज्य दशधा दशवंशनाढ्यम् ।
अष्टाविमानपि च भागवतो विधाय भागावुभावपि च भागवतौ विवव्रे ॥
सर्वेपि सर्वैरपि मान्यतायां स्वग्राममापुः किल सर्वमान्यम् ।
तस्यापि सर्वैरपि मान्यतायामद्यापि नान्यो भवतीति मन्ये ॥

[3] I am indebted to Mr. T. S. Kuppusvâmi Sastri of Tanjore for the text of the ***Vivêkapatramâlâ***, as also the extracts from the *Subhadrâ-Dhanañjaya Nâṭakam*, the ***Bhâgavata-champu*** and the *Sômavallî*, *Yôgânanda-prahasanam*. He has also been kind enough to make several valuable suggestions.

राजनाथपुरे तत्र राजनाथाभिधं शिवम् ।
राजनाथकविस्तुष्ट्यै राजनाथः स संन्यधात् ॥
किंचामी नृपतौ गते निजपुरं संचारयन्तः क्रतून्
मङ्क्षु ग्राममुपेत्य संचितधनाः पञ्चापि पञ्चाग्नयः ।
कुर्वाणाश्शिवपादार्चनाद्यगमयन् केशान्त्वहुः (?) कोशजान्
पाशान्पाशभृतो विधूय सुचिरं कालं च तेऽका(? गा)लयन् ॥
मेत्तुप्पाडीति नामाहुर्ग्रामस्यापि गिरेरपि ।
द्राविडा औत्तरा यत्र त्वासते श्रोत्रियोत्तमाः ॥
एवंगते बहुतिथे नृपविप्रकाले वंशेषु तेषु गमितेषु च पञ्चषेषु ।
वेलूरुरायकुलभूमिपहायनानि आ(? ह्या)विर्बभूवुरचिरेण सुशोभनानि ॥
प्रासादवल्लभमखीन्द्रबुधस्य तत्र श्रीपुण्डरीकपुरनायकसेवनायाः ।
पुत्रो बभूव गुणसार्थकसारनामा श्रीमान्सभापतिरिति प्रतिभानयुक्तः ॥

पाण्ड्यश्चेरश्चोलराजश्च यस्य शिष्या आसञ्छांकराः किंकराश्च ।
ढक्कावाद्यं हस्तिमल्लस्य शीर्षे ढक्कारावं हन्यते यस्य याने ॥
ढक्कासभापतिरिति प्रथितः पृथिव्यां विद्याविनीतिविभवैर्गुरुरास साक्षात् ।
तस्यैव नप्ताजनि भास्करार्यः प्रसन्नकाव्यस्य च यः प्रणेता ।
सर्वेषु शास्त्रेषु सहस्रशीर्षः स एव चाग्नीनचिनोत्समस्तान् ॥
तस्यैव वंशे तपनप्रकाशे स त्यागराजोऽवततार धीरः ।
यः कामकोटीश्वरपीठिकायां विद्याजयस्तम्भमधत्त यज्वा ॥
गुरुस्वयंभूविभुनामयज्व श्रीमद्गुरुस्वामिमहामती च ।
सुतावभूतां विमलोज्ज्वलाङ्गौ श्रीत्यागराजार्यसुधीमणेर्द्वौ ॥
दक्षिणामूर्तियज्वा च भास्कराख्यश्च दीक्षितः ।
तदा द्वौ गौतमावास्तां वंशे भास्करयज्वनः ॥
विद्यापतिमखी चैव दिवाकरकविस्तथा ।
त्रयोऽमी सूर्यभट्टश्च राजनाथकवेः कुले ॥
गुरुमूर्तिकविश्चैव शिवसूर्यमखी तथा ।
द्वावेतौ शाण्डिलौ ख्यातौ सुब्रह्मण्यकवेः कुले ॥
शिवसूर्यमखी चैव सुब्रह्मण्यमखी तथा ।
रामलिङ्गमखी चैव रामचन्द्रबुधस्तथा ॥
जटाधरगुरोर्वंश्याश्चत्वारो लोकविश्रुताः ।
श्रीमच्छंकरयज्वा च नीलकण्ठमखी बुधः ॥
यज्ञनारायणो विद्वान्यज्ञेशानन्तकविः परः ।
इमे पञ्चभरद्वाजा नीलकण्ठकवेः कुले ॥
राजनाथकविश्चैव श्रीवेंकटकविर्गुरुः ।
द्वावेतौ सोमनाथस्य कुले विख्यातकीर्तिकौ ॥
देवारामाह्वयो यज्वा मल्लिकार्जुनसन्ततौ ।
एकाविंशतिरेषां तु कुलान्यासन्विभागतः ॥
गुरुस्वयंभूपतिनामयज्वनः सभापतीति प्रथितस्तनूद्भवः ।
तथा गुरुस्वामिसुतस्य सन्ततौ सुतावभूतां च यमौ यमोज्ज्वलौ ॥
अभिरामाम्बिका कन्या सोमनाथश्च पुत्रकः ।
तामेव कन्यां जग्राह राजनाथस्तु गौतमः ॥
सर्वासामपि नारीणामभिरामाम्बिका वरा ।
सौन्दर्यशीलसौभाग्यगुणैरुत्तुङ्गतां गता ॥
अन्वर्थनाम्न्यामतिरागवत्यामपुष्पवत्यामपि भाग्यराशिम् ।
प्रसूय पुत्रं सकृदेव सापि त्रयोदशे जन्मत एव वर्षे ॥

शुक्तीव विद्रुमणिमग्रगर्भे दधार लोकस्य विभूषणाय ।
चतुस्सहस्रेषु चतुःशतेषु गतेषु वर्षेषु कलेर्युगस्य ॥
श्रीराजनाथस्य कवेर्वधूटी प्रार्चीव आर्जाकुसुमैः समर्चन् ।
स राजनाथोऽधिजगौ (?) कुलाम्बवान् कटाक्षचन्द्रं तनयं प्रजज्ञे
शुभे मुहूर्ते सति आतमाथे सपुत्रके शोणधराभिधाने ।
सर्वा च भूमिर्मुमुदे सरस्यः प्रसेदुराशा अनुकूलवाताः ॥
राजनाथः कविः प्राप्य तनयं विनयान्वितम् ।
न वव्रे ब्रह्मवादीव काममन्यमहर्निशम् ॥
नार्थी बभूव केनापि यथा सर्वमहीपतिः ।
भाविनं सार्वभौमं तं भावयन्करणैः सुतम् ॥
विद्यारण्यदयोदयार्द्रवपुषा विश्वार्थविश्राणिना
विष्णुब्रह्मशिवालयान् रचयता श्रीबुक्कभूपात्मना ।
देवेनार्पितमग्रहारमभजन्नस्यूरुसंज्ञं स्वयं
तल्पग्रामगता विभक्तसहस्रास्ते सप्त संसारिणः ॥
ज्योतिश्शास्त्रविदं च कंचन बुधं कर्णाटकब्राह्मणं
पश्चात्कुस्य सुवाचनाय सहिता अस्थापयन्वृत्तिदाः ।
तस्योदर्थमभीक्ष्णमक्षरकृतं संख्याविदं मेदिनां
संख्यानार्थममुं च सन्निदधिरे ग्रामस्य भृ(? कृ)त्या तदा ॥
उभौ पश्चाद्विगणकावेकश्चालयपूजकः ।
एते महाजनास्सप्त तथा ह्यनिकेतनाः ॥
औदुम्बरग्रामगताः शास्त्रवेदान्तचिन्तनैः ।
सन्ध्यातिथिसमर्चाभिरुपासत महेश्वरम् ॥
चोलप्रतिष्ठिते ग्रामे नवग्रामसमीरिते ।
इत आक्रम्य वाचाभिः कर्षणैः पशुपोषणैः ॥
बुक्कभूपाभ्यनुज्ञाता ऊषुर्देश निवेशनैः ।
स राजनाथः कविराजवर्यः शोणाद्रिनाथं तनयं स्फुरन्तम् ।
वेदादिविद्याव्रतमज्जनाय निनाय तत्रैव गुरुप्रियत्वात् ॥
पुत्रस्योपयमं विचिन्त्य मनसा श्रीराजनाथः कविः
प्राप्यैवोपयमं स्वयं तु सहसा संप्राप्य शम्भोः पदम् ।
पुत्रं भ्रातरि सोमनाथमखिनं(? नि प्राविश्य वेश्याखिलम्
बालं भासिकुलावलिं(? ली)स्त्वनुजगामैवाभिरामाम्बिका ॥
श्रीसोमनाथस्त्वनुजातनूजं तनूजवर्गाच्च निजादतीव ।
पुपोष शय्यासनलेपनांगसंवाहवस्त्राभरणार्हणैस्तैः ॥
एवं मातुलगेहपोषणजुषः शोणेन्द्र(? णाद्रि)संज्ञावतो
वेदाधीतिवशाञ्जयोदश वयांस्यासन्गुणानां निधेः ।
सासूयाभवदत्र मातुलवधूर्निष्कारणक्रोधिनी
जानीते न स जातु तस्काविवरः श्रीसोमनाथाभिधः ॥
महाजनकृतागसां विहितमालयं शाम्भवं
शिवार्चकजनेन तं समुपगम्य शोणाचलः ।
नवा...च्छिदं हृदि विचिन्त्य विद्यापातिं
स मातुलवधूक्रुधा शयनमेव मेने वरम् ॥
अनुजाततनुजन्मानमनालोक्य निजालये ।
सोमनाथाभिधो बद्ध्वा व्यचिनोत्सकलां महीम् ॥
तृतीये दिवसे प्रातरपश्यत्स नदीतटे ।
स... ...सन्नष्टं तं निधिं दुर्गतो यथा ॥

आलिङ्ग्याङ्के समाश्वि(? श्वे)ष्य शिरस्याघ्राय वै मुहुः ।
पप्रच्छ किमिदं वत्स ? तदोति भगिनीसुतम् ॥
यदृच्छया नवग्राममागत्यापी(? पि)शमालयम् ।
पिपासार्तोऽग्रमुखे सुप्त आलस्यबाधितः ॥
अर्धेन्दुचूडः शरदिन्दुसुन्दरः स्फुरन्मणीमूर्धफणीशकङ्कणः ।
बालेन्दुनेत्रश्च चतुर्भिराश्रितो बुबोध मां कश्चिदुपेत्य पूरुषः ॥
सुप्तस्य मे संभ्रमलोलहस्तैर्वक्त्रस्य देशे विवृते स्वभावात् ।
ताम्बूलसारं निजवक्त्रसंस्थं मुमोच कारुण्यसमुद्र एषः ॥
तेनैव रक्ता रसना मदीया तच्छोधनायेह समागतोऽस्मि ॥
उक्त्वेति स स्तोत्रततिं चकार वटस्य मूले वसतः शिवस्य ।
स तोषयामास नवाभिषिक्तं तं प्रौढदेवं नृपमिन्दुतुल्यम् ॥
कवित्वशक्त्या च विचाररीत्या विवादसामर्थ्यवशेन तत्र ।
स प्रौढदेवः कविराडसौ च स्नेहानुरोधक्रमनःप्रसारौ ॥
शरीरभेदं च रामीचिकीर्षू तुल्याम्बरस्रग्वलयावभूताम् ।
लावण्यकन्यामुपयम्य सम्यग्यज्ञाम्बिकां नाम यजिक्रियार्हाम् ॥
यज्ञैः सचिविभिर्बहुदक्षिणाकैरीजे महेशादिमरुद्गणान्स्वान् ।
तल्पग्रामस्य याम्यायामौदुम्बरपुरात्पुरः ।
नवग्रामस्य वायव्ये राजाराममकल्पयत् ।
प्रत्यक्प्राक्क्रोशमात्रं तु तदर्धे दक्षिणान्तरे ॥
अनेकफलपुष्पाढ्यनागवल्लीसुमण्डितम् ।
नीलगिर्याख्यवणिजं तत्राध्यक्षं नृपो व्यधात् ॥
अथ समाविवेशे तु राजोद्याने प्रकल्पिते ।
इदमुद्यानमुद्वीक्ष्य राज्ञी जगाद रुक्मिणी ॥
उद्यानजार्वा नीलाद्रिर्धनिको गर्वितोऽभवत् ।
आरामैः फलपुष्पभारविनमच्छाखामकूजच्छुकैः
प्राकारेण पयोदपङ्क्तिजुषा सौभ्रे (?) गेहानां मण्डलैः ।
तल्पग्रामजुषः परेश्वरमसावाराधयामास त-
च्छ्रीशोणाद्रिकवीश्वरो नृपगुणैर्बन्धुप्रियश्चाभवत् ॥
जातु नीलगिरिः कोपादाकृष्य च गवां कुलम् ।
कविराजमुपागम्य कटुकारमवोचत ॥
अभीक्ष्णमेता गावस्ते राजाराममुपद्रुताः ।
कृच्छ्रधारांकुरां (?) जग्ध्वोन्मूलयन्ति लतातरून् ॥
श्वः प्रभृत्यागतानां वा बन्धोऽस्माभिर्विधास्यते ।
तदुन्मोक्ता क्रमाद्याद्दक्षिणाशापतिः प्रभुः ॥
इत्युक्त्वा गते तस्मिन्गता गावश्च तत्पदम् ।
गतेऽपि काले शौरस्य गा मुमोच न वै वणिक् ।
गोपावेदितवृत्तान्तः प्रत्याख्यातश्च तेन सः ॥
प्रौढदेवाग्रतद्राज्ञे निवेद्येदमयाचत ।
आराममग्रिमं मह्यमग्रहारयितुं निश ॥
अन्यथा मन्यथा मां त्वत्कनराष्ट्रकुटुम्बिनम् ।
श्रुत्वेति नृपतिर्ज्ञात्वा स्वत्र प्राह कवीश्वरम् ॥
प्रमदालम्बितैषा मे प्रमदावनभूः स्वयम् ।
अन्या भुवं प्रदास्यामि सस्याग्रामसमाकुलाम् ॥
श्रुत्वेति स तदाधूय वेङ्कटाद्रिमुपाययौ ।
सुरत्राणराजं जगत्त्राणदक्षं द्विजत्राणदीक्षं निजत्राणशक्तम् ।
द्विजेभ्यो विदित्वा निजेभ्यो वरित्वा जगाम द्विजाढ्यं पुरं हस्तिनाख्यम् ॥

दुरीक्षं समक्षं नृपस्येति मत्वा दिदृक्षुर्नृपं स विवक्षुः स्वमर्थम् ।
कवीशोऽवनीशप्रभावो नृपद्वारदेशे प्रपद्या(? द्या)वतस्थे निजं श्लोकमर्धम्॥
सम्पठित्वा नृपायाहरसूयातरला द्विजाः ।
दाक्षिणात्यकविः कश्चिद्वार्यर्धश्लोकमालिखत् ॥
राज्यपर्यायवाच्यायां राजपत्न्यां रतोत्सुकः ।
इति तत्कथयत्यर्धं श्लोकमान्पठयत् तत्प्रभुः ॥
सुरत्राणे ततः क्रुद्धे विचारयति मानसे ।
लवंगी तनया तस्य तातमाह शुभां गिरम् ॥
विद्वानर्थी च भूत्वा कः स्फुटमेवं रचिष्यति ।
अन्यथैव भवेदर्थ आनेय इति वै कविः ॥
ततः समाहूय सभां कवीशसम्मान्यवाचा कविराट्समर्थ(? क्ष)म् ।
श्लोकः प्रपूर्याशु च पठ्यतां भोः समादिदेशेति कविं नृपाग्र्यः ॥
अर्थो विचार्यतां विज्ञैरालंकारिकसम्मतः ।
इत्युक्त्वा स पपाठाशु श्लोकं सम्पूर्य चात्मनः ॥
सुरत्राण भवद्राज्ये निद्रातुमहमागतः ।
अनिद्रस्त्वन्यदेशेषु त्वदागमनशङ्कया ॥
कविमल्लोऽनपायाख्यो राजसन्निधिपूजकः ।
डिण्डिमं वाद्यमाहत्य जयनूपुरभृत्स्वयं ॥
एतच्छ्लोकप्रसङ्गेन स कविं प्रत्यपद्यत ।
कविमल्लः कवीशश्च वाचा पुनरुपास्थितौ ॥
प्रतिज्ञां चक्रतुर्दृष्ट्वा वाद्यक्रमविवर्जने ।
निग्रहे चात्मनः प्राप्ते सति राजबुधाग्रतः ॥
त्रयोविंशे दिने प्राप्ते सर्वशास्त्रविचारतः ।
निगृहीतोऽनपायाख्यो गर्वितः कविमल्लकः ॥
वाद्यं डिण्डिममस्य नूपुरवरं हस्तीन्द्रमुत्कुम्भकम्
विद्वत्कण्ठगतां वितीर्य विमतानाधूय वालाश्रियः (?) ।
सौवर्णे मणिरञ्जिते समभिषिच्यैनं सुभद्रासने
विद्याडिण्डिमशोणशैलकविरित्याख्यां विभुर्दत्तवान् ॥
जातु तत्र निशाकाले चन्द्रशालास्थितो नृपः ।
अवोचद्वर्णयस्वैनमुद्यन्तं शशिलाञ्छनम् ॥
प्राचीभागे सरागे धरणिविरहिणि क्रान्तमुद्रे समुद्रे
भिद्रालौ नीरजालौ धृतमुदि कुमुदे कोकलोके सशोके ।
आकाशे सावकाशे तमसि शमभिते निर्विचारे चकोरे
कन्दर्पेऽनल्पदर्पे विकिरति किरणान्शार्वरीसार्वभौमः ॥
वर्णयामासुरन्येपि यथामति विभोः पुरः ।
एष शोणीन्द्र(? णाद्रि)यज्वा तु इत्याशु श्लोकमापठत् ॥
शृण्वत्सु च सभासत्सु राजा प्राह कवीश्वरम् ।
सार्वभौमो न राजायं द्विजराजो भवानिति ।
सोयं डिण्डिमसार्वभौमकविरित्याख्यां वहन्भूतले
काव्यं रामपदांकितं चरितमप्याकल्पयन् रूपकम् ॥
ग्रन्थांस्तत्र चतुष्पथे विरचयन्प्राप्य प्रतिष्ठां विभुं(? भोः)
देवत्राणमहीपतेर्निजभुवं प्रापाज्ञया वाञ्छिताम् ॥
आज्ञाचीटीमसौ दृष्ट्वा सुत्राणमहीभुजः ।
प्रौढदेवो नृपः प्रादात्प्रमदावनकादर्पीम् ॥

अथाग्रहारस्य सिसृक्षयासौ
समेत्य सर्वैरपि बान्धवैः स्वैः ।
तटप्रदेशे कुटिलापगायाः
सभां वितन्वन्स बभाण सर्वान् ॥
पञ्च षड्वा त्रयो ग्रामाः सन्ति नः समुदायतः ।
अविभज्यैव भोज्याः स्युरिति सौम्या मतिर्हि नः ॥
सम्पा(? विवा)दयतु कोवात्र समश्नीमो वयं समम् ।
ग्रामं वा कण्ठिकां वापि श्रोत्रियं मान्यमेव च ॥
इति श्रुत्वा वचः सर्वे साधूक्तीः प्रत्युदैरयन् ।
अथ तैः प्रमदोद्यानमाविवेश कवीश्वरः ॥
उदक्प्राक्प्रवणं देशमवाक्प्रत्यक्समुन्नतिम् ।
ग्रामस्य सन्निवेशायामोकत शुभाशुभम् ।
शतं च सप्तैव पदानि मित्वा
चतुस्समग्रांश्च निखाय शंकून् ।
कृषीवलानादिशदत्र कृष्टुं
ते लांगलैराचकृषुः समन्तात् ॥
सिरामुखे लांगलकर्षिताग्रे
समुद्बभूवाद्भुतलिङ्गमूर्तिः ।
स्वायंभुवो नाथ इति प्रतीतः
श्चिदम्बरे यो वरदो वरेण्यः ॥
गाण्डीवदण्डाहतिपार्श्वदेशे
स्फुरत्यजस्रं हलकोटिघृष्टिः ।
यस्यैव शम्भोः स्वयमुद्भवस्य
स नाम चक्रे सदसस्पतीति ॥
शतव्यायामतस्तस्मान्नैरृत्यां दिशि वैष्णवम् ।
प्राङ्मुखं कविराजश्च चकारायतनं कविः ॥
तत्पुरस्सान्निधिश्रेणीश्चतुर्दशगृहात्मिकाः ।
एकावल्या विरचितास्तथा पश्चाद्गृहद्वयम् ॥
उभयश्रेणिका वीथी दक्षिणं पक्षमाश्रिता ।
निवेशनैर्द्वादशभिरन्वितं शुभवेदिकैः ॥
अष्टादश्यु (?) त्तरशतं शूद्राणां सद्मानि तु ।
कृषीवलानां दासानामभितः कल्पितानि हि ॥
ततः समाजे विदुषां ग्रामत्रयनिवासिनाम्
ग्रामस्य चक्रे नामानि पञ्च श्रीमद्गुणानि च ॥
प्रौढदेवो वशी यस्मात् प्रौढदेवपुरं भवेत् ।
सार्वभौमः स्वयं कर्ता सार्वभौमपुरं ततः ॥
यत्र स्थितानां विदुषां सामान्यं डिण्डिमं यतः ।
डिण्डिमालयमित्यस्य नाम प्रोक्तं तृतीयकम् ॥
चोलेषु चेरेषु च पाण्ड्यभूमौ
त्रिमण्डलीवृत्तिजुषां द्विजन्मनाम् ।
वासाय तेषामिह यत्प्रकल्प्यते
त्रिमण्डलं तत्कवयः प्रचक्षते ॥
मूला इतीह विद्वांसस्तेषामण्डं समाश्रयः ।
मूलाण्डमिति तन्नाम तस्माद्वक्ष्यन्ति वै बुधाः
अत्यूरुपुत्तूरितिमेत्तपाडी
ग्रामास्त्रयः सन्ति विपश्चितां ते ।
येषां च तेषामिह वाससत्वात्
त्रिमण्डलं तेन भवेदपीदम् ॥

पुष्पूरुवासिनां पूर्ववीथिका सन्निधौ हरेः ।
औदुम्बरग्रामजुषामुत्तरं पक्षमादिशन् ॥
तल्पग्रामगतानां तु दक्षिणः पक्ष ईरितः ।
पश्चाद्वेश्मद्वयं दत्तं देवालयसमर्चिनोः ॥
काश्यपा दशवेश्मानो गौतमा नववेश्मिनः ।
सावर्ण्याः सप्तदशकाः शाण्डिलाः सप्तवेश्मिनः ॥
श्रीवत्साश्च त्रिवेश्मानो भारद्वाजा दशालयाः ।
सामगा गौतमाश्चैव अ(? ष्ट)ष्टालयकुटुम्बिनः ॥
षड्वेश्मानस्तु सांकृत्या इति सप्ततिसंख्यकाः ॥

॥ इति विवेकपत्रमाला ॥

प्राज्ञानामिव राज्ञां सदसि न सहते जल्पमल्पेतरेषां
क्षुद्रेष्वाक्षेपमुद्रां न खलु गणयते डिण्डिमः सार्वभौमः ।
भांकुर्वद्भेकुक्षिम्भरिषु नयभरभ्रान्तभोगीन्द्रसुभ्रू-
भ्रूणभ्रंशी किमम्भःफणिषु पतगराट् सम्भ्रमी बम्भ्रमीति ॥

॥ गुरुरामकविकृतसुभद्राधनञ्जयनाटकम् ॥

अस्ति किल काश्यपगोत्रस्य तत्रभवतो गुरुरामकवेः कृतिः सुभद्राधनञ्जयं नाम नाटकम् । नूनं तद्वर्णो परिषदायेषः।
सूत्रधारः—श्रूयतां तावत् । अस्ति खलु तुण्डीरमण्डले मुलाण्डं नाम महानग्रहारः ।

तत्र केचन वसन्ति काश्यपाः
श्रौत्रियाः धृतशिवार्चनव्रताः ।
यैरघोरशिवदेशिकादिभिः
प्रत्यपादि परतत्त्वमैश्वरम् ॥

अपि च—

सार्वभौमकविप्रख्या वश्यवाचो बहुश्रुताः ।
गुणोत्तरतया सर्वे गुरून्सम्भावयन्ति यान् ॥
तेषामन्वयभूषणस्य तनुभूरेष स्वयम्भूगुरो-
दौहित्रः कवितानिरूढयशसः श्रीराजनाथस्य च ।
एनामभ्यकरोत्कृतिं श्रितगुणग्रामः स रामः कविः
काव्यं कृष्णपरं व्यधाच्छिवपरं चम्पूप्रबन्धं च यः ॥

॥ राजनाथकविकृतभागवतचम्पूः ॥

अस्तु श्रियै श्रीसुहृदच्युतेन्दो-
रैश्वर्यसिध्यै पतिरञ्जनाद्रेः ।
बलाय जेता बलिदानवस्य
पुमर्थहेतोः पुरुषः पुराणः ॥
प्रकाश्य पाणिश्रितमेणमग्रे
स्वाधीन[illegible] मुनीनाम् ।

आवर्जयेदच्युतभू[illegible]रे-
    रार्यैर्म[illegible]र्यधन्वा ॥

उच्चारभङ्ग्या युगपच्छ्रुतीना-
    मुपात्तसाफल्यचतुर्मुखीकः ।
आमुष्कलामच्युतरायमौले-
    रसकल्पमाकल्पयताद्विधाता ॥

धम्मिल्लशैवालधरा विराज-
    दपांगमीनाधरविद्रुमाप्ता ॥
धन्या पितुश्छायतयाब्धिकन्या
    तन्यादनन्यां श्रियमच्युतेन्द्रोः ।

पुष्यात्पुरन्ध्री पुरशासनस्य
    पुंङ्खानुपुंङ्खां श्रियमच्युतेन्द्रोः ।
कलानिधानं दधती कबर्यां
    संयोजयन्तीव सदा रजन्या ॥

निशायानिर्मलसूक्तिपूरं
    नेतुं प्रणम्रान्घटयन्त्वमेव ।
पाणौ वहन्ती स्फटिकाक्षमालां
    वाणी पुराणी वशवर्तिनी स्यात् ॥

सुवर्णरूपैः शुभनायकांकै-
    रौज्ज्वल्यवद्भिर्ध्वनिमद्भुवानैः ।
परिष्कृताद्विक्षितिपान्प्रबन्धैः
    प्राचेतसाद्यान्प्रणुमः कवीन्द्रान् ॥

कथं नु वर्ण्या भुवि कालिदास-
    मयूरमाघादिमहाकवीन्द्राः ।
पुरातनीं पूरुषभूमिकां य-
    द्वेषेण धृत्वा विननर्त वाणी ॥

कर्णौ नयन्तां कवितां कवीन्द्रा-
    श्चमत्क्रियां कामपि याति सेयम् ।
पयोधिशुक्तौ पतितं च पाथः
    प्रयाति मुक्ताफलतां न किं वा ॥

व्यासोक्तिपूराद्वसुदेवसूनोः
    कथां गृहीत्वा कथयामि किञ्चित् ।
सन्ति स्रवन्त्यो भुवि तत्पयोभिः
    कुल्योपभोगाय कुतो न भूयात् ॥

वंशावलीमच्युतभूवलारे-
    र्वक्ष्यामि वर्धिष्णुवदान्यलोकाम् ।
ममोक्तिरेषा महतः स्तवेन
    पवित्रिता स्यादिति पार्थिवेन्द्रोः ॥

अस्ति खलु कुवलयामोदहेतुः, अम्बरपरिषदाश्रुष्यावलम्बनं, अवतंसमणिरम्बिकापतेः, अभिवृद्धिनिदानमम्बुनिधानस्य, सहकृत्वा शम्बररिपुसाम्राज्यश्रियः, मानसशुक्तिमुक्ताफलं मधुनिषूदनस्य सुरतरुरम्भासहोदरः सुधाकरो नाम ॥

परपूरुषदारसोदरत्वं प्रथमं
    प्राप्य निजान्वयोद्भवानाम् ।

परदारसहोदरव्रतं यः
    परमध्यापयतीव पार्थिवानाम् ॥
सरोरुहे सामजखेलनानि
    समन्ततश्चक्रयुगेऽपि भेदम् ।
दानं सुरेभ्यस्तमसि प्रयुङ्क्ते
    दण्डं च यो दण्डितराजभावः ॥

ततो बुध इति श्रुतोऽजनि पुरूरवा जातवा-
    नतोऽभवदपाकृतप्रतिनृपायुरायुस्ततः ।

अतः स नहुषोऽभवत्तदुदितो ययातिर्जिता-
    भियातिरुदभूदतो धरणिधूर्वहस्तुर्वसुः ॥

महितगुणमहितसमवाये महति तदन्ववाये नामान्तराणीव नाभागस्य, मातृका इव मान्धातुः, पुनरवतारा इव पुरूरवसः, द्विरुक्तय इव दुन्दुमारस्य, निदर्शनानीव निमेः, अजायन्त कतिचिदनूचाना राजानः ।

रत्नानि सन्ति रचिताभ्युदयानि सिन्धोः
    ख्यातिं परामयति कौस्तुभरत्नमेकम् ।
तेजोविजृम्भणतृणीकृततिग्मधामा
    तेषु प्रतीतमहिमाजनि तिम्मभूपः ॥

पतिदैवतदेवकीतपस्या-
    परिपाको मनुनीतिपारदृश्वा ।
उदधेः परिणीरिवौषधीना-
    मुदभूदीश्वरभूवलारिः ॥

दुर्गेशताविभवधूर्वहयोरहार्य-
    धाम्नोरियान्नियतमीश्वरयोर्विशेषः ।
आपीडितद्विजपतिः प्रथमो द्विजाना-
    मव्याजपालनकलाभिरतो द्वितीयः ॥

अपास्तखेदानवनीधुरीणान्
    फणाधरेन्द्रप्रमुखान्विधातुम् ।
अजायतामुष्य स बुक्कमायां
    नयोपदेष्टा नरसक्षितीशः ॥

यस्य खलु हृदयगङ्गमगुणसम्पदः, साम्परायिकप्रस्थानमेव सम्मुखापतद्विजरवाभ्युत्थानं, पटुतरगुणारोपणमेव परिपन्थिकुलपौरुषावरोपणं, कोदण्डरभसकुण्डलीकरणमेव कुनृपतिमदकुण्डलीकरणम् ।

यस्यासिना रिपुनृपैणविलोचनाना-
    मश्रुप्रणालादपहृतं नवमञ्जनं यत् ।
आद्यैश्च भूपतिभिरादरणीयकीर्ति-
    निक्षेपदर्शननिशानमभूत्तदेव ॥

अस्मादच्युतभूवलारिरुदभूदव्याजबन्धुः सता-
    मन्तेवासिपदे तरून्निदविषतामौदार्यतः स्थापयन् ।
इन्धे पूर्वनृपानपत्रपयितुं यस्य प्रशस्यं यशो
    यस्मिन्नेति दया कृपाचलपतेरेकातपत्रश्रियम् ॥

यस्य खलु सुघटितपात्रसंविधानेषु षोडशमहादानेषु घटीयन्त्रवदनियन्त्रणैर्मधसलिलनिधावावृत्तिमधिगतेषु परिवहमाणेन दानपयसा समन्ततोऽखिलभुवनकेदारान्तरैधन्त यशःकलमसन्ततयः ।

यस्याशास्यप्रवृत्तेर्भुजविजयरमाचारुवेण्या कृपाण्या
राजन्यैर्जन्यभूमौ रभसविदलितैरन्भ्रितं चैव बिम्बम् ।
व्योमाकारे कटाहे विमलतरयशःपूरपूर्णेऽवतीर्णो
मार्ताण्डो नूनमह्नां मणिमयघटिकामानपात्री भवेत्किम् ॥

पीत्वा दानपयांसि यस्य जलदस्तत्सेकरूढं तृणं
चर्वित्वा मरुतो वशेन गमितं नाकौकसां धेनवः ।
व्याकीर्णं दिवि तत्करीषशकलं सम्प्राप्य च स्वर्द्रुमा
विख्यातिं त इमे भजन्ति नियतं विश्राणनश्रेयसीम् ॥

कदाचनकविबुधगायकवैहासिकवन्दिवृन्दारकानवद्यविद्यापरीक्षणविनोदकल्पितकालक्षेपः सततवन्दनागतसामन्तनिकुरुम्बकराम्बुजकुड्मलीमुकुलीकरणलक्षणीयराजभावः प्रेष्यमुखप्रेषितवनायुजवाजिवारणादिविविधोपदावलोकनमात्रकृतार्थितपरपार्थिवगणो महत्तरमणिमयैकातपत्रमण्डलीप्रवर्तितावर्तसम्मिलत्साम्राज्यकलशाम्बुधिफेनकालिकायमानाभ्यां सकलभुवनसञ्चरणसन्दोहल(?)यशोमरालिपक्षपालिकासमरसाभ्यां धवलचामराभ्यामुपवीज्यमानो, विनय इव विग्रहवान्, विस्रम्भ इव विलोचनगोचरः, सदार(?)इव सचेतनः, राशिरिव रामणीयकस्य, समाहार इव सद्गुणानामुद्भवखनिरिवौचित्यकामोदसम्पदां नयनोपहारो नरसमहीनायकस्य, विश्रमस्थानमिव विश्वम्भरायाः, निदर्शनमिव नीतिशास्त्रीणाम्, आधार इवौदार्यस्य, रजनिकरकुलप्रदीपः, स राजराजपरमेश्वरो राजनाथकविमिदमवादीत् ॥—

स्वादु शौरिकथालापसुधापूरप्रणालिका ।
कृतिः कृतिजनमाद्या भवता क्रियतामिति ॥

सोऽयं कविस्तदनु शोणगिरीन्द्रसूनु-
राज्ञागिरं नरपतेरवतंसयित्वा ।

चम्पूप्रबन्धमजहत्सरसोक्तिबन्धं
वक्तुं समारभत वाग्विभवानुकूलम् ॥

विस्तारिणी व्यासमुखोक्तिपूरा-
त्कथां गृहीत्वा कथयामि पुण्याम् ।

अम्भो नयन्ती पृथगापगानां
कुल्योपभोगाय कृता न भूयात् ॥

॥ सोमवल्ली योगानन्दं नाम प्रहसनम् ॥

अस्ति खलु परेन्द्रामहारनायकमणेः[4] सामवेदसागरसांयात्रिकस्य अष्टभाषाकवितासाम्राज्याभिषिक्तस्य बल्लाल[5]-रायनिकटककविकुलगर्वपर्वतपवेः नागण्णकविनागकेसरिणः श्रीमतः कविप्रभोः पौत्रः पुत्रः श्रीराजनाथदेशिकस्य ब्रह्माण्डभाण्डविखण्डमण्डलितविजयडिण्डिमखचण्डिम्नः श्रीकण्ठागमशिखण्डमण्डनमणेः श्रीडिण्डिमप्रभोर्दौहित्रः श्रीमदभिराममनायिकास्तनन्धयः सभापतिभट्टा[6]रकभागिनेयः श्रीडिण्डिमकविसार्वभौम इति प्रथितबिरुदनामा सरस्वती-प्रसादलब्धकवितासनाथः श्रीमानरुणगिरिनाथः । तेन कृतेन सोमवल्लीयोगानन्दनाम्ना प्रहसनेन सभानियोगमनुतिष्ठामि ।

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[4] 'नरेन्द्रामहार' इति पाठान्तरम् । 'मनुगण्डाग्रहार' इति च ।

[5] 'बल्लालरायकटककविकुलपर्वतनाम्नः कविनागकेसरिणः श्रीकविप्रभोः पौत्रः पुत्रः राजनाथदेवस्य' इति पुस्तकान्तरे पाठः ।

[6] 'सभापतिभट्टारकाचार्य' इति पाठान्तरम् ।

PLATE I.



POLISHED HAMMERSTONE FROM SINGHBHUM.

ON A PECULIAR POLISHED HAMMERSTONE FROM SINGHBHUM, CHOTA NAGPUR, INDIA.

BY H. C. DAS-GUPTA, M.A., F.G.S.; CALCUTTA.

THE implement to be described here is included among a number of stone implements presented to the Geological Department of the Presidency College, Calcutta, by Mr. Subodha Krishna Biswas, M.SC., who came across them in the course of his professional work as a geologist in the district of Singhbhum. According to Mr. Biswas the specimens were obtained from two different localities: one of them, Nadup or Ladup, is about 5 miles south of Kalimati Railway Station (Lat. 22°46′, Long. 86°17′) and the other is about a mile and a half east of the workings of the Cape Copper Company at Matigara (Lat. 22°38′, Long. 86° 26′). Both these localities are in Dhalbhum and are mostly inhabited by the Kols and the Santhals, while the implements were all found among the débris at the mouths of ancient copper mines. The rocks which were utilised in preparing the specimens are hornblende-schist, a rock which is very common in the area, though according to Mr. Biswas in the exact localities where the specimens were obtained the strata are phyllitic and quartzitic showing that the rocks used for the manufacture of the implements must have been brought there by persons, the remnants of whose handicraft they are.

A number of implements from Chota Nagpur has been described by a number of workers including the late Dr. Wood-Mason[1] and the Rev. P. O. Bodding.[2] But the specimen under notice is of an unusual type and accordingly a short description of it is desirable.

The implement, as the accompanying Plate I. shows, is broken and has a thickened head followed by a portion which is flat. A specimen somewhat similar to this has been described by Mr. Rivett-Carnac[3] from Banda in the United Provinces, and there is a plaster cast of it exhibited in the Archæological collections of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. These two specimens, however, differ from each other markedly both in the shape of the head and of the remaining portion—the latter being quite cylindrical in the Banda specimen while, as already mentioned, it is quite flat in the specimen from Singhbhum. There is also a marked difference in the nature of the head which in the Banda specimen has a portion—about one-fifth—protruding beyond the cylindrical part while no such protuberance is present in the Singhbhum specimen. In the latter, however, the boundary between the head and the flat portion is very marked, though it is not equally well pronounced on both faces, while any such marked boundary is altogether wanting in the Banda hammer. The head shows evidence of wear resulting in three well-marked concavities. The flat portion is only partially present and there is no indication regarding its real length.

It is rather difficult to say definitely anything about the use to which this peculiar implement was put. But in consideration of the fact that it was found among the débris at the mouth of old pits dug for copper-ores, it may be supposed that it was used as a hammer to break the cupriferous rocks—the precise way in which the hammer was used being, however, doubtful—*e.g.*, whether it was a double-headed hammer with a handle attached to it; or a single-headed hammer, the flat part preserved being used as a handle. The sharp boundary between the flat part and the head would lead one to suspect that it was double-headed, but then the somewhat large size of the flat part is rather difficult to account for; while, if the flat part is supposed to be used as a handle, it may be argued

[1] *Jour. As. Soc Beng.*, Vol. LVII. 1888, pp. 387-396.
[2] *Ibid*, Vol. LXX, 1901, Part III, pp. 17-22; and Vol. LXXIII, Part III, pp. 27-31.
[3] *Ibid*, Vol. LII., 1883, Part I, p. 228.

that a cylindrical pattern would have served the purpose better. Mr. Rivett-Carnac believes that the Banda implement might have been used as a pivot.

The specimen was obtained from the second of the two localities above referred to, and the collection also includes one pounder and two stone arrow-heads.

It may be mentioned here that at a meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Sir Thomas Holland exhibited some grooved stones and ground pebbles found in Singhbhum and used by a past and unknown generation of gold miners.[4]

TRIMURTIS IN BUNDELKHAND.

BY RAI BAHADUR HIRALAL, B.A., M.R.A.S.; DAMOH.

A perusal of Mr. Naṭeśa Aiyar's article on the Trimûrti image in the Peshâwar Museum contributed to Sir John Marshall's Annual[1] for 1913-14 (which has just appeared) has suggested this supplementary note. In the Deputy Commissioner's bungalow at Damoh, which I am just occupying, there is an image of a Trimûrti, which is somewhat peculiar and confirms Rao Sahib Krishṇa Shâstri's remark quoted by Mr. Aiyar that "Brahmâ, Vishṇu and Śiva being all directly or indirectly recognised to be identical with the sun, there is every possibility of the Trimûrti figures representing the sun-god." The photo of the Bangaon[2] Trimûrti, which is reproduced in the accompanying Plate II, actually represents the sun with all his emblems and accompaniments. In front of the standing figure, there is the broken image of Chhâyâ (Sun's wife) below which sits the *Sârathi* or chariot-driver holding the reins of seven horses, of whom only three can be seen, the rest being broken. There are three side figures, the bull-faced Mahâdeva in a sitting posture, surmounted by Vishṇu standing with feminine[3] grace and holding the *Gadâ* (mace) in his hand, while on the opposite side stands the bearded Brahmâ, all these three combining into the main figure of the sun described before. At the top there are figures of two females shooting with a bow and arrow, apparently the other wives of the sun, who along with *Chhâyâ*, form the three Śaktis, or counterparts of the Hindu Triad.

This is, moreover, a unique representation of sun worship by one of those six classes of adorers, who regard the sun in the triple form to which reference is made by Sir R. G. Bhândârkar in his "*Vaishṇavism, Śaivism and minor religious systems.*" Speaking on the sect of Sauras he remarks in § 115, p. 152, that "some worship the orb of the sun who has just arisen as Brahmadeva, the creator, others the sun on the meridian as Îśvara, the destroyer. He is also regarded as the originator. Some regard the setting sun as Vishṇu, the protector, and considering him as the cause of the creation and destruction also and as the highest entity worship him. *There are some who resort to all the three suns as a triple form.*" The Bangaon statue would be easily recognised as one in which the suns are conceived in a triple form.

A minute scrutiny of the image would show that the sun-god wears top-boots up to his knees, terminating into a curl at the foot end in a Pesauri or Peshâwar fashion. This is another interesting point, confirming the identity of the image with sun worship incorporated from foreign sources. Again quoting from Sir Râmkrishṇa, that learned savant remarks in para 116 of his book as follows:—"The form of the idol of the sun worshipped in such temples is described by Varâhamihira (*Bṛihat Saṁhitâ*, Chap.58), but the features mentioned by him which have a significance for our present purpose are that

[4] *Proc. As. Soc. Beng.* 1903 p. 302.

[1] See pp. 276-280.

[2] Is 13 miles north of Damoh. The image lying in the Deputy Commissioner's compound was brought from that place about 4 years ago.

[3] Compare Mr. Aiyar's remarks in his footnote No. 2 on page 278 of the *Archæological Report for* 1913-14, where he says:—"It must be borne in mind that Vishṇu being regarded as the preserver performs the rôle of the mother of creation. Hence we find that in certain Purâṇas Vishṇu is described as the Śakti or female counterpart of Śiva. It is no wonder, therefore, that in the figures under consideration the portion allotted for Vishṇu is carved with feminine grace."

PLATE II.



PHOTO OF TRIMURTI FOUND IN BANGAON 13 MILES FROM DAMOH.

his feet and legs should be enclosed or covered up to the knees and he should be dressed in the fashion prevalent in the North (V. 46) and that he should be encircled by an Avyaṅga (V. 47). Accordingly the images of the sun that are found in the temples mentioned above have boots reaching up to the knees, and a girdle round the waist with one end hanging downwards. This last is a Persian feature as we have already seen and the other also must have the same or similar origin. It certainly is not Indian." The Bangaon statue wears top-boots exactly as described above. It is somewhat curious that the booting idea should have been extended to images of Vishṇu in a sitting posture. In a village named Maḍhiâ[4] in the Pannâ State I recently saw a figure of Vishṇu wearing shoes. This god also happens to be a Trimûrti carved in the centre of the door of a ruined temple. The figure is six-handed, unlike the Bangaon Trimûrti which is eight-handed, apparently representing four hands of Vishṇu and two of Mahâdeva and Brahmâ each. The Maḍhiâ Trimûrti holds in its left hands, a *Triśûla* (trident) in one, and a lotus in the second, the third being open, with the thumb bent towards the centre of the palm. The right hands hold a lotus in one, and a *Mrigâṅka* (deer symbol) in the second, the third being broken. These symbols show what deities are combined in the Trimûrti, the *Triśûla* and *Mrigâṇka* being symbols of Śiva, the lotus of Vishṇu and the open hand with thumb bent of Brahmâ. In the left corner is carved the figure of a bull and on the right, that of Garuḍa, but I could not find the Haṁsa (Swan) the conveyance of Brahmâ represented there. This is the central panel on each side of which there is one, separated by figures of gods and goddesses. In the right panel are carved Śiva and Pârvatî and in the left Vishṇu and Lakshmî. The intervening figures between the panels consist of two rows of goddesses and gods, the first row representing eight goddesses (*Ashṭamâtaraḥ*) five being depicted on the right and three on the left with a figure of Gaṇeśa at the end and the second row eight figures of Vishṇu, four on each side of the central panel. Below this there is a second row of panels with Vishṇu and Lakshmî placed in the central one. The right side panel has the figures of Brahmâ and Brahmâṇî and the left one of Śiva and Pârvatî. The intervening place between the central and side panels is occupied by the Navagrahas, four being represented on the right side and five on the left. This is a most beautiful piece of work executed apparently about the same period as that of Khajurâhâ, the old capital of the Chandellas, now included in the Chhatarpur State.

In Khajurâhâ itself there is a temple dedicated to a Trimûrti, with an inscription dated A.D. 953-54 But the side heads of that Trimûrti are not human. One is leonine and the other porcine. This Trimûrti is named Vaikuntha in the inscription, which is peculiar as a name of a god. I quote[5] below the invocation, which explains the form of the subsidiary heads which the image bears :—

दधानानेकां यः किरिपुरुषसिंहो भयजुषं तदाकारोच्छेद्यां तनुमसुरमुख्यानजवरात् ।
जघान त्रीनुग्राञ्जगति कपिलादीनवतु वः स वैकुण्ठः कण्ठध्वनिचकितनिःशेषभुवनः ॥

"May that Vaikunṭha protect you, who, frightening the whole world with his roaring, as boar and as man-lion, slew the three chief Asuras, Kapila and the rest, (who were) terrible in the world, (and who) possessed one body, which by the boon of Brahmâ enjoyed freedom from fear (and) could be destroyed (only) by (Vaikunṭha) having assumed these forms!

This Trimûrti of Khajurâhâ is four-handed and is therefore popularly known as Chaturbhuja, which in the abstract is correct as it was intended to represent Vishṇu as the predominant deity, which is apparent from the invocatory salutation recorded at the beginning and end of the inscription referred to above, running as it does "*Namo bhagavate Vâsudevâya*" (Adoration to the Holy Vâsudeva). Curiously enough at the

[4] About 35 miles north-east of Damoh and about 80 miles from Khajurâhâ.

[5] See *Epigraphia Indica*, volume I, page 124.

end of the record is added another invocation "*Namaḥ Savitre*" (Adoration to the Sun), just after *Namo bhagavate Vâsudevâya*, which incidentally discovers the mind of the writer, who certainly identified Vishṇu with the sun, thus further confirming the theory of Rao Sahib Krishṇa Shâstri to which allusion has already been made. It may be further noted that these Trimûrtis show that in Bundelkhand Vishṇu was the predominant deity of the triad, unlike the South where Śiva was generally allotted that honour.

Khajurâhâ, Maḍhiâ and Bangaon are all in Bundelkhand, but curiously enough the first has a four-handed Trimûrti, the second six-handed and the third eight-handed. Varâhamihira describes a Vishṇu image as one of 8, 6, 4 or even 2 hands. The Maḍhiâ and Bangaon images as noted above are booted, but the Khajurâhâ one as reported by the Dîwân of the Chhatarpur State does not wear boots. I am sorry I omitted to examine carefully the feet of the Khajurâhâ Trimûrti when I saw it in December 1916 and a photo is not available to settle this point with confidence. Dr. Spooner to whom I am indebted for drawing my attention to Sir Râmkṛishṇa's remarks has in the matter of top-boots kindly called my attention to the analogous red top-boots which are (or were) worn by Christian Bishops at their ordination. Some authorities consider that they too are derived from the same source as those of the Sûrya which gives us an unexpected bond between the Christian prelates and the Hindu sun god.

MISCELLANEA.

DATES OF PÂNINI AND KÂTYÂYANA.

THE time of Kâtyâyana is denoted by a *vârttika* of his which does not seem to have yet been noticed. On Pâṇini 2.1. 60 Kâtyâyana's note, **शाक-पार्थिवादीनामुपसंख्यानम्**, fixes his time between the Parthian rise and Patañjali, *i.e.*, 248-180 B.C. '*Śâkaḥ*' and '*Pârthivâḥ*' are in *samânâdhikaraṇa*: "the Pârthivas who are Śâkas (or Sakas)." No other meaning of the example is possible in view of the grammatical rule. The form *Pârthiva* has to go back to the original form of their ethnic name *Parthava* (Darius' inscr.) which soon changed in Persia and India.[1] Apparently in the time of Patañjali the form had changed and he could not recognise it, hence the absurd meaning the *śâka-bhojins* (vegetable-eating) kings!

If we put Kâtyâyana between 248 to 200 B.C. we would be very near the mark. It is noteworthy that Kâtyâyana calls the Parthians 'Śâkas'. This is confirmed by their title *Ar-Sâkes* or the 'Ruling Saka'.

In 275 B.C. *devânâṃ-priya* is a well recognized word (Aśoka's incrs.) It must have been so for some time past. If Pâṇini lived about 300 B.C. (a date which is so much emphasised by M. Lévi), he could not have laid down the rule **षष्ठ्या आक्रोशे** (6. 3. 31) which would give absolutely a bad meaning to the expression.[2] The expression obviously came into being and use after Pâṇini's time. We must take 150 or 100 years before 275 B.C. (Aśoka) to get at Pâṇini's period. He thus can in no case be placed about 300 or 325 B.C. Consequently Pâṇini's *Yavanas* must have been the Greeks who were in the service of the Persian emperor (cir. 500 B.C.) at Taxila or at some other place.

I may here remind once more that the Buddhist tradition placing him under Nanda (which would be Nandavardhana)[3] takes him to cir. 450 B.C.

Kâtyâyana's *vârttika* on Pâṇini 6·3·21 giving *Devanâṃ-priya* is another indication of Kâtyâyana's time. The word had become very important in Kâtyâyana's time, for he gives one separate *vârttika* **देवानां-प्रिय इति च** (Pâṇini, 6.3·21) to the expression. He could have tacked it on to the preceding *vârttika*. But he does not do so. The reason was its importance, it being the imperial title in his days.

It had been the imperial title for some generations, as Aśoka calls his predecessors 'former *devânâṃ-priyas*'. In the time of Patañjali it was a term of courtesy even in the orthodox people. It had therefore no Buddhistic or Aśokan significance about it. Its wide-spread use is testified by its employment in Ceylon in Aśoka's time. This shows that the expression had come into existence in the language for some time. And even if this time was only a century, M. Lévi's view that the *Yavanas* of Pâṇini refers to Alexander's Greeks or the later ones, must be dislodged. The kings before Aśoka alluded to as *devânâṃ-priyas* would be probably more than two and certainly more than one. The title would thus go back to the time of Chandragupta if not to the time of Nanda. Pâṇini in the face of the imperial title could not have said "*the genitive is retained in contempt.*" He must have therefore lived before Chandragupta at least, and therefore before Alexander's Greeks.

K. P. JAYASWAL.

[1] *Parhava* in the Nâtyaśâstra; *śâka-Palhava* in inscriptions; *Panhava* or Palhava in Manu.
[2] Patañjali uses it in a good sense and so also Kâtyâyana.
[3] See my paper on the Śaiśunâka Chronology, *JBORS.*, vol. I.

BOOK NOTICES.

DAVVA-SAṄGAHA (DRAVYA-SAṄGRAHA) by NEMICHANDRA SIDDHÂNTA-CHAKRAVARTÎ, with a commentary by BRAHMA-DEVA, edited with introduction, translation, notes and an original commentary in English by SARAT CHANDRA GHOSHAL, M.A., B.L., Saraswati, etc., and published by Kumar Devendra Prasad, the Central Jaina Publishing House, Arrah (India.) 1917. pp. lxxxiii and 103.

THIS is an excellent edition of a philosophical work of the Digambara sect of the Jainas. It is not often that we lay our hands on a book published in India which is so neatly got up and generally so carefully edited. The editor and the publisher have done almost everything that could be calculated to make the perusal of this rather abstruse work attractive and easy to readers not acquainted with the technicalities of Jaina metaphysics. Besides the introduction in which he discusses the date of the work, and gives an account of the other books written by its author, the editor, Mr. Ghoshal, has provided an appendix giving notes on various important points, four indexes for convenience of reference, and also eight charts illustrating the analysis of the Jaina categories. For the help of Western scholars who do not find it convenient to read the Devanâgarî script, all the Prâkrit Gâthâs or verses, their Sanskrit renderings, and also the verbal analysis or Padapâṭha have all been given both in Nâgarî as well as Roman alphabets. The Sanskrit commentary by Brahmadeva has been given in original. In the English commentary which evinces much learning and research, the editor has generally followed the interpretation given by Brahmadeva and has enriched it with copious extracts from other Jaina works bearing on the subjects discussed. The translation is generally a good piece of work, though we might differ from the editor in the rendering of an expression here and there.

Davva-Saṅgaha is a short work of 58 verses in Jaina Prâkrit in which the author enumerates, classifies and defines the six *Dravyas* or substances (spirit, matter, space, time, *dharma* and *adharma*), into which all concepts in the universe are divided and also the seven *Tattvas* or fundamental categories (*âsrava, bandha, saṃvara, nirjarâ* and *moksha*); and finally, he indicates the path to the liberation of the soul through perfect faith, perfect knowledge and perfect conduct.

The author, Nemichandra Siddhânta-Chakravartî flourished at the end of the tenth century A.D. and was the preceptor of the celebrated Châmuṇḍa Râya who erected at Śravaṇa Belgolâ, in Mysore, the colossal monolithic statue (57½ feet high) of Gommaṭeśvara of which Fergusson writes, "nothing grander or more imposing exists out of Egypt."

Two imperfections of this otherwise scholarly work, we venture to point out. Mr. Ghoshal has not indicated any *varia lectiones* nor stated what text of this important work he has adopted. There have already been three other printed editions of this work and some manuscripts have been noticed by scholars. Certainly he could have examined some of them and collated the different readings wherever there might be any. Another desideratum is the absence of any remarks on the language in which it is written. We may hope that should a second edition of this work be called for, these apparent defects will be removed.

We should not omit to thank the enterprising publisher, Kumar Devendra Prasad, the founder of the Central Jaina Publishing House, Arrah, for making this valuable work available in this useful form; let us hope that in the near future he will be able to fulfil his promise of presenting us with similar scholarly editions of the other works of his series of "The Sacred Books of the Jainas."

H. C. CHAKLADAR.

THE PRACTICAL PATH by CHAMPAT RAI JAIN, Bar.-at-Law. The Central Jaina Publishing House, Arrah, 1917; pp. xxxi, 233.

This is another work printed by the same enterprising publishing house at Arrah. The author, himself an ardent Jaina of the Digambara school, has in this book the object, as he puts it, of "pointing out the practical scientific method of self-realisation" according to Jaina philosophy. With this end in view he has enumerated, and furnished an interpretation of, the *Tattvas* or categories of fundamental truths of the universe, an accurate knowledge of which is essential for the realisation of *nirvâṇa*. The Jainas possess an

uncommon genius for division and subdivision which to an uninitiated reader might appear to lead to a tangle. Mr. Champat Rai realises this difficulty of the lay-reader and has been eminently successful in furnishing a rational interpretation, intelligible to modern readers, of the principles of his creed, and we are thankful to him for this service towards the better understanding of Jaina doctrines.

The learned writer has not, we fear, been equally successful in his endeavour to show the relation between Jainism and Hinduism, which he has attempted to do in a lengthy appendix. Here he is evidently out of his element and his very enthusiasm for Jainism has led him to make dogmatic statements based on insufficient grounds. It is very difficult to follow him, for example, when he tells his readers that "Hinduism in its very inception was an offshoot of Jainism. In course of time it fell under demoniacal influence" (p. 230). Hardly any modern student of philosophy will assent to his dictum that the six systems of Hindu philosophy "are neither happily conceived, nor characterised by scientific or philosophical precision" (p. 224). We doubt very much if Mr. Jain will be able to carry his readers along with him when he avers: "The superstructure of Vedic mythology is based on a foundation of fragmentary truth taken from the Jaina siddhânta" (p. 191). It is needless to multiply these instances, but what we have already quoted will show that our author is not a very reliable guide in comparative religion or philosophy.

H. C. CHAKLADAR.

AN EPITOME OF JAINISM by PURANCHAND NAHAR, M.A., B.L., and KRISHNACHANDRA GHOSH, VEDANTA-CHINTAMANI. Calcutta, 1917; pp. xxx, 706, lxxviii.

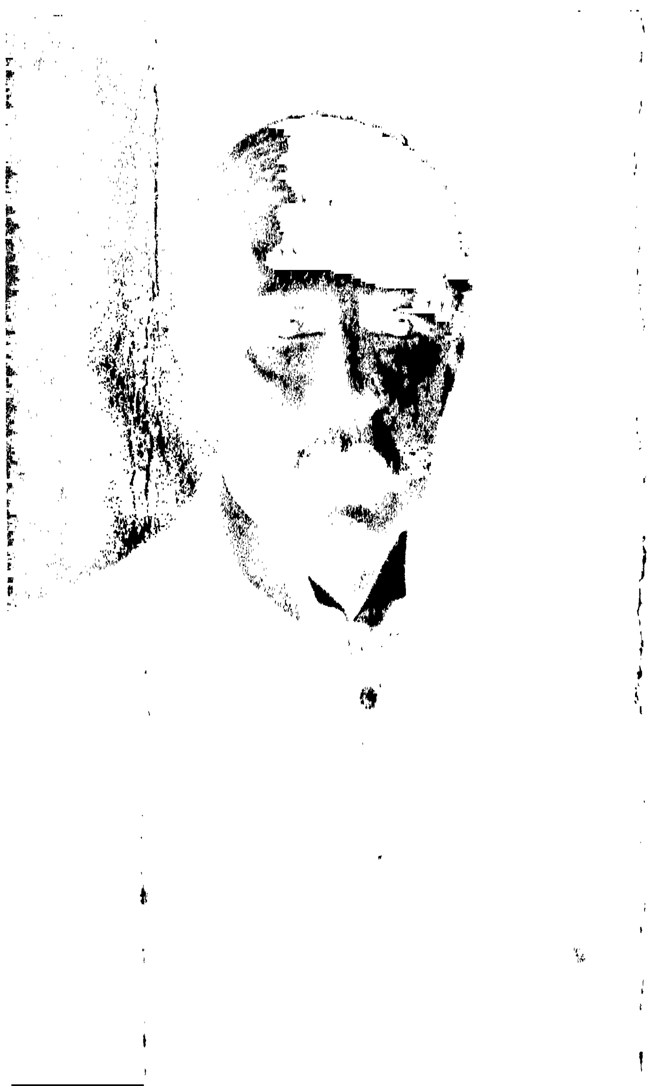
This work purports to be a critical study of the metaphysics, ethics and history of Jainism from the point of view of the Śvetâmbara sect of the Jainas, and the joint authors have made an attempt to harmonise the ancient doctrines of Jainism with the teachings of modern science and philosophy. Besides being a compendium of philosophy according to the Śvetâmbara school, it is a mine of information on many other topics relating to Jainism. It gives a history of the Jaina Church and of the rupture and split that led to the creation of the sub-sects, and it also provides interesting accounts of the festivals, places of pilgrimage, literature, art and architecture of the Jainas. Besides, there are five appendices; the first discusses the date of Chandragupta, the next gives English translations of the *firmans* and *sanads* granted by the Mughal Emperors and others to the Śvetâmbara Church conferring upon it the right of possession over places of Jaina worship and pilgrimage; the remaining appendices furnish lists of the Jaina *âgamas* and *nigamas*, of the Tîrthaṅkaras, and of the heads of the *gachchhas*, respectively.

We cordially welcome this hand-book of Śvetâmbara Jainism as it puts before the general reader what the followers of that faith have to say in favour of their own religion. The joint-authors have tried to vindicate the claims of Jainism as a rationalistic form of religion, and in doing so they have instituted a comparison between Jainism and the Indian philosophical systems on the one hand and the modern European systems on the other. It must be admitted that the joint-authors have done fair justice to this very difficult task, and the attitude of toleration in which they have done it is really commendable. We trust this book will help, by clearing up the metaphysical principles underlying Jainism, to dispel much misconception about it.

The work is, however, not satisfactory with regard to the historical portions. The authors have put down dates of many important events about which there is much controversy, without attempting either to establish them or to indicate the sources from which they have drawn them. Their discussion of the date of Chandragupta does not throw any additional light on this important point, nor have they summarised our present knowledge of the date of that monarch.

We regret the many typographical blunders in this book; misprints disfigure almost every one of its pages; letters and words have not unoften been omitted. Then again, no care has been taken in the transliteration of the numerous Sanskrit and Prakrit words that had to be used in this work. Careless transliteration sometimes combined with imperfect proof-reading have made many expressions in the book under review quite unintelligible. For illustration—we quote a few at random—*Pritvakta vitarka* (p. 600); *Svabhva* (p. 88); *Jnâtputta* (p. 1*), *Jnyan prabad* (p. 691); *dasâ shruta skanda* (p. 693); the same word is transliterated as *sahabhâvi*, *sahabhâbi* and *sahabhavi* on the same page (88). The list could very easily be enlarged, and we trust the authors will take care to get rid of these serious, but easily remediable defects, in a subsequent edition.

H. C. CHAKLADAR.



John Faithfull Fleet, C I E.

PHOTO. BY ELLIOTT & FRY. W GRIGGS & SONS, LTD., COLL.

THE FARUQI DYNASTY OF KHANDESH.

BY LT.-COLONEL T. W. HAIG, C.M.G.

(*Continued from p.* 124.)

IN the summer of 1564 Akbar himself marched to Mândû from Âgrâ and his *amirs* captured the fortresses held by officers who had not yet submitted. Among the places so captured was Bîjâgaṛh, which was held by 'Izzat Khân for Mubârak Shâh. The fortress was surrendered conditionally, and it was agreed that Mubârak should give a daughter in marriage to Akbar, should give her in dowry the districts of Bijâgaṛh and Handiya and should henceforth cause the *Khutbah* to be recited in his dominions in the name of Akbar. Mubârak's daughter was conducted to the imperial court by Akbar's eunuch, I'timâd Khân. The treaty with Akbar made no alteration in the status to which the rulers of Khândesh had long been accustomed. They had for many years been subject to the suzerainty of Gujarât and though it appears that the feeble Mahmûd III had not ventured to assert this suzerainty they now merely exchanged their former allegiance to Gujarât for allegiance to the emperor. It does not appear that Akbar intended to regulate the succession to the throne or to interfere in any way in the internal affairs of Khândesh except in so far as those affairs affected the foreign policy of the state, but he certainly assumed control of its foreign policy and expected the assistance of a contingent of troops whenever the imperial army was engaged in operations in the neighbourhood of Khândesh.

Mubârak died on December 19, 1566, and was succeeded by his son Muḥammad Shâh II., a wild and generous prince, who left all power in the state in the hands of his minister, Sayyid Zain-al-dîn

Meanwhile the affairs of Gujarât had fallen into great confusion Mahmûd III had been murdered in 1554 and left no male issue. The leading *amîrs* raised to the throne a young man named Razî-al-Mulk, who was said to be a descendant of Ahmad I and who succeeded under the title of Ahmad II and was assassinated in 1560 There appeared to be no male heir of the royal house left, for Mahmûd III, who dreaded a disputed succession, had been in the habit of ensuring that no woman of his harem ever gave birth to a living child, but the minister, I'tîmâd Khân, produced a child named Nanhû, and by swearing that the boy was the son of Mahmûd III by a maidservant of the harem whom he had saved from Mahmûd's barbarous and unnatural treatment, induced the *amirs* to acknowledge him, and he was raised to the throne under the title of Muzaffar III. In 1567 I'tîmâd Khân, in order to rid himself of the importunity of Changiz Khân, another leading *amir*, who was demanding additional fiefs with a view to extending his power, contrived to embroil Changîz with Muḥammad II by sending him to recover Nandurbâr, which had always belonged to Gujarât until it was surrendered by Maḥmûd III in fulfilment of his promise, to Mubârak II of Khândesh. Changîz Khân marched to Nandurbâr, occupied it, and emboldened by his success, advanced to Thalner. Muhammad II induced Tufâl Khân of Berar to assist him in repelling the invader and the allies marched to Thalner. Changîz Khân, being too weak to withstand them, entrenched himself and, when he perceived that the enemy was resolved to bring him to battle, lost heart and fled Muhammad and Tufâl pursued him, taking much plunder, and reoccupied Nandurbâr.

In 1568 Changîz Khân defeated the minister I'timâd Khân and expelled him from Gujarât, and the wretched king, Muẓaffar III became a mere tool in the hands of any one

of the *amîrs* who could for the time obtain possession of his person. The genuineness of his descent from the royal house had always been suspected and was now openly impugned and Muḥammad II of Khândesh deemed the occasion opportune for asserting his claim to the throne, which was undoubtedly superior to that of Muẓaffar, and invaded Gujarât with an army of 30,000 horse. He advanced to the neighbourhood of Aḥmadâbâd but the *amîrs* of Gujarât assembled an army of seven or eight thousand horse, utterly defeated him, and compelled him to retire to Asîrgaṛh. Shortly afterwards Khândesh was overrun and plundered by the princes known as the Mîrzâs, distant cousins of Akbar, who had recently sought a refuge, whence they might trouble Akbar, in Gujarât, but had quarrelled with Changîz Khân and fled from the country. Muḥammad II assembled his army with the intention of punishing them, but before he could take the field they had fled and passed beyond the confines of his kingdom.

In 1574 Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh I of Aḥmadnagar conquered and annexed the kingdom of Berar, carrying off from the fortress of Narnâla, where they had been confined, all the members of the 'Imâd Shâhî family. He then marched against Bîdar.

The annexation of Berar by Aḥmadnagar, which threatened to upset the balance of power in the Dakan, was most distasteful both to 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh I of Bîjâpûr and to Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh of Golconda, and the latter sent a secret mission to Muḥammad II of Khândesh urging him to attempt the recovery of Berar from Aḥmadnagar, and promising help. A pretender to the throne of Berar, representing himself to be the son of Daryâ, the last of the 'Imâd Shâhî dynasty, appeared at the same time in Khândesh and sought Muḥammad's aid. It appears to have been the ambition of Muḥammad's minister, Sayyid Zain-*al*-dîn, that committed Khândesh to the support of the pretender's claim, and Muḥammad, according to Firishtâ,[20] placed at his disposal a force of 6,000 horse which, when it entered Berar, was reinforced by seven or eight thousand of the adherents of the 'Imâd Shâhî dynasty; but according to the *Burhân-i-Ma'âṣir*, the author of which would be likely to magnify the difficulties with which Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh had to contend, Muḥammad II. sent into Berar, an army of nearly 20,000 horse, under the command of Sayyid Zain-*al*-dîn, having received encouragement and material assistance from 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh as well as from Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh. Berar had not settled down quietly under its conquerors and even one *amîr* of Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh had rebelled. On hearing of the approach of the invaders the *amîr* appointed by Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh to defend his conquest assembled at Elichpûr, the capital to concert measures of defence with Khurshîd Khân, their leader. It was decided that the army of occupation was not strong enough to withstand the invaders and Khurshîd Khân withdrew to Gâwîlgaṛh, where he was besieged by the army of Khândesh. The rest of the Aḥmadnagar *amîrs* withdrew from Gâwilgaṛh and attacked another force of the invaders, which was besieging Narnâla, but were defeated and fled southwards to join Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh, who was preparing, at Ûdgir, to invade the small kingdom of Bîdar. They were overtaken by the army of Khândesh and again suffered a severe defeat, apparently on the banks of the Pengunga, in which river many were drowned. A remnant of the fugitives reached Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh's camp at Ûdgîr in sorry plight, and Murtaẓâ at once perceived that the expedition against Bîdar must be abandoned if he wished to recover and retain Berar, and marched northwards with his whole army, sending ahead an advanced guard of picked troops under the command of Sayyid Murtaẓâ Sabzavârî. The army of Aḥmadnagar

[20] ii. 268.

reached Bâlâpûr and on its approach the army of Khândesh fled to Burhânpûr, and as the invaders continued their march northward Muḥammad II left Burhânpûr and took refuge in Asîrgaṛh. Murtaẓâ I captured and sacked Burhânpûr and then marched towards Asîrgaṛh sending Changîz Khân in command of his advanced guard. A force of seven or eight thousand horse which was sent by Muḥammad II against Changîz Khân was defeated and the whole army of Aḥmadnagar advanced against Asirgaṛh. The main body of Muḥammad's army was encamped about the fortress, but fled on the approach of the invaders, leaving its camp and baggage behind, and was pursued as far as the borders of Akbar's dominions. The army of Aḥmadnagar then formed the siege of Asîrgaṛh. The siege was likely to be protracted and as Muḥammad II was most anxious to come to terms negotiations were opened which terminated in a treaty under which the army of Aḥmadnagar agreed to evacuate Khândesh on payment of an indemnity of 900,000 *muzaffarîs*.[21]

Muḥammad II did not long survive his disastrous attempt to add Berar to his dominions, and died in 1576, leaving a young son, Ḥasan Khân and a uterine brother, Râja 'Alî Khân, to dispute the succession. Firishta says[22] that Râja 'Alî Khân was at Akbar's court at Âgra at the time of his brother's death, and Ḥasan Khân was enthroned but was deposed in favour of Râja 'Alî Khân on the latter's return from Âgra, but the *Zafar al Wâlih* gives a detailed account of the events immediately following Muḥammad's death. It seems that Râja 'Alî Khân was present at his brother's deathbed, and Lâd Muḥammad, the paymaster general, who entered while the question of the succession was under discussion, insisted on the enthronement of Ḥasan Khân, in the hope of profiting by a share in the guardianship of a minor sovereign. The other *amîrs* readily acknowledged the boy but Râja 'Alî Khân obtained the consent of Sayyid Zain-al-dîn, the *vazîr*, to an arrangement under which he became his nephew's guardian and king in all but name. This arrangement remained in force until an extensive plot for the assassination of Râja 'Alî Khân was discovered. Its author was 'Alî Khân, the maternal uncle of Ḥasan, and the leading conspirators were Ḥasan's mother, Raiḥân, governor of Burhânpûr, and Khânjahân. The plot was discovered by means of an injudicious attempt by 'Alî Khân to gain over 'Arab Khân al-Yâfi'î, who was a devoted adherent of Râja 'Alî Khân and disclosed the plot to his master. The conspirators were put to death, except Ḥasan's mother, who was generously pardoned, and Ḥasan was deposed, so that Râja 'Alî Khân became king in name, as well as in fact. According to Firishta[22] Râja 'Alî Khân, seeing that Akbar had obtained possession, not only of Hindûstân and Bengal, but also of Mâlwa and Gujarât, refrained from exciting his wrath by assuming or using the title of Shâh and always regarded himself as his vassal, while maintaining, on the other hand, the most friendly relations with the independent kings of the Dakan. This statement is not correct, at any rate of the early days of Râja 'Alî Khân's reign. According to the *Zafar-al-Wâlih* Râja 'Ali Khân assumed the title of 'Âdil Shâh IV, by which he is always described in that work, and he seems at first to have cherished the idea that the kings of the Dakan, by maintaining an unbroken and united front, might be able to check the extension of the Mughul empire beyond the Narbada, or at all events beyond the northern frontier of Berar, but he was a wise monarch, and must soon have realized that it was impossible to unite the quarrelsome rulers of Aḥmadnagar,

[21] Firishta says a million, but on this point the *Burhân-i-Ma'âşir* is probably the better authority. It may be that the additional hundred thousand was a gift to the minister who arranged the treaty. This was usual in the Dakan.

[22] ii, 562.

Bîdar, Bîjâpûr, and Golconda, even in a cause in which their common interest was indissolubly bound up.

It is true that neither in Firishta nor in any history written in Northern India is Râja 'Alî Khân ever referred to by the title of Shâh, but it is extremely doubtful whether the kings of the South often used this title in their correspondence with the imperial court, and it is quite clear that Râja 'Alî Khân never so used it. The title of Râja, which he always used and by which he is known even in imperial chronicles, was probably adopted by him, in imitation of the founder of his dynasty, as a word which etymologically bore the same meaning as Shâh and at the same time could not be objected to by an emperor who numbered among his vassals many territorial rulers bearing the same title. But it also seems certain that the more exalted title of 'Âdil Shâh was employed, not only within the limits of Khândesh but also in Râja 'Alî's correspondence with the kings of the South. It will, however, be more convenient to refer to him as Râja 'Alî, both because that is the title under which he is more generally known, and because his title of 'Âdil Shâh is apt to be confounded with the titles of the 'Adil Shâhî Kings of Bîjâpûr.

For some reason which is not quite clear Râja 'Alî Khân made Lâd Muḥammad, who had been the first to advocate the acknowledgement of Ḥasan Khân as king, his minister, and gave him the title of Âṣaf Khân.

The first recorded act of Râja 'Alî Khân's name does not display him in the light of a royal tributary of Akbar. Both Mubârak II and Muḥammad II had paid tribute to Akbar and in 1579 [23] Shâh Budâgh Khân, governor of Mâlwa, sent his son 'Abd-al-Maṭlab Khân to demand payment of the tribute according to custom. Râja 'Alî Khân replied to 'Abd-al-Maṭlab's demand that he collected his revenue for his army and was accountable to his army for it. 'Abd-al-Maṭlab was returning to Mâlwa with this answer when Râja 'Alî Khân's army, which was following him, came up with him on the bank of the Narbada. His mission was not strong enough to cope with an army, but 'Abd-al-Maṭlab Khân, who was a notorious coward, fled across the Narbada without waiting to ascertain what the intentions of the leaders of the army were. He himself was nearly drowned, and his elephant, his banners, and his kettle-drums were carried back as trophies to Asîrgaṛh. This episode is not mentioned in any of the histories of Akbar's reign, but the author of the *Ẓafar-al-Wâlih* tells us that Shâh Budâgh Khân was highly displeased with his son for his conduct on this occasion, which certainly did not tend to advance the imperial prestige.

In 1584 an event occurred which tended to turn Akbar's eyes towards the Dakan. The insolence and absolute predominance in Aḥmadnagar of the minister, Ṣalâbat Khân, who had a monopoly of access to his feeble-minded master, Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh I which enabled him to issue such orders as he pleased, had long disgusted many *amîrs* in the state, and none more than Sayyid Murtaẓâ Sabzavârî, governor of Berar, and his principal lieutenant, Khudâvand Khân. Their resentment against Salâbat Khân reached such a pitch that they assembled the army of Berar and marched on Aḥmadnagar with the avowed object of overthrowing the minister and releasing the king from his bondage to him. On December 9, 1584, they were attacked at the pass of Jeûr, two leagues from Aḥmadnagar, by the royal army, and utterly defeated. They fled through Berar, and the small force which was detailed to pursue them allowed them no opportunity of repairing their defeat. They therefore crossed into Khândesh with the object of invoking the aid of Akbar in their quarrel with the constituted authority in Aḥmadnagar and in the belief that Râja 'Alî Khân would

[23] *Ẓafar al Wâlihi bi Muzaffar wa Âlih*, i, 67.

observe towards them at least a benevolent neutrality; but the policy of inviting imperial interference in the domestic affairs of the Dakan was very far from commending itself to him and when his attempt to divert them from their purpose failed he sent against them a force which pursued them as far as the Narbada, the frontier of his kingdom, and took from them such elephants, horses, and baggage, as they had been able to save in their flight.

The two *amîrs* reached the court of Akbar, who appointed each of them to the command of 1,000 horse and sent a message to Râja 'Alî Khân commanding him to restore the plunder he had taken from them, which order was promptly obeyed. At this time Akbar received another fugitive whose presence reminded him that there was work to be done in the Dakan. This was Burhân-al-dîn, the younger brother of Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh, who was no longer safe in his brother's dominions and fled to Agra by way of the Konkan and Gujarât. In August, 1585, Akbar, who was obliged by the death of his brother, Muhammad Hakîm Mîrzâ, at Kâbul, to march towards the Panjâb, appointed his foster-brother, Mîrzâ 'Azîz Kûka, Khân-i-A'zam, governor of Mâlwa. With Khân-i-A'zam's arrival in Mâlwa began, Râja 'Alî Khân's troubles. His true sympathies were with the independent kings of the Dakan, but his own kingdom formed the outpost of imperial aggression against theirs, he could not trust them to join whole-heartedly with him in any resistance to that aggression and it was impossible for him alone to stem its tide.

Khân-i-A'zam, having made Handiya his headquarters, demanded of Râja 'Alî Khân, early in 1586, passage through Khândesh for the army with which he proposed to invade the Ahmadnagar kingdom. Râja 'Alî Khân replied that the passage of so large a force would devastate his small kingdom and suggested that the best line for an army advancing from Mâlwa to invade Ahmadnagar lay through Kherla, in north-eastern Berar, and, on the rejection of this proposal by Khân-i-A'zam, appealed for help to Ahmadnagar. Salâbat Khân, the regent of Ahmadnagar, largely reinforced the army of Berar, which had its headquarters at Elichpûr, and placed it at the disposal of Râja 'Alî Khân. In the meantime the imperial *amîrs*, of whom many disapproved of Khân-i-A'zam's enterprise, were quarrelling among themselves, and Mîr Fathallâh Shîrâzî, whose duty it was to keep the peace between them, was much harassed. Khân-i-A'zam could ill spare Mîr Fathallâh, whose services in the turbulent camp were invaluable, but the unexpected opposition of Râja 'Ali Khân called for the intervention of his ablest negotiator, and Mîr Fathallâh was sent to Asîrgarh. In Râja 'Alî Khân, whose object it was to prevent the invasion of the Dakan without appearing to oppose the imperial policy, Mîr Fathallâh met his match. Râja 'Alî Khân secretly invited the army of Berar to invade his kingdom, in order that it might appear that in opposing the designs of Khân-i-A'zam he was acting under compulsion. As the army advanced he sent his minister, Âsaf Khân, to Mîr Fathallâh to warn him that he stood in great danger and to conduct him on his way back to Handiya. Fathallâh had no choice but to retire and when Âsaf Khân left him his retirement speedily became a flight. On his arrival in Handiya Khân-i-A'zam so rated him for his failure that he refused any longer to serve under him and withdrew with his contingent into Gujarât. Khân-i-A'zam whose force was dwindling away, was now goaded into action. He invaded Berar and attempted an attack on Kherla, which was disastrous to the horses of his cavalry, but he plundered some of the northern districts of Berar and on March 20, 1586, sacked Elichpûr, which had been left defenceless by the advance of the army of Berar into Khândesh. In the meantime the army of Berar, under the command of Mîrzâ Muhammad Taqî, having been royally entertained by Râja 'Alî Khân, had advanced, together with the army of Khândesh, towards

Handiya, and, on learning that Khân-i-A'ẓam was plundering in Berar, attacked and burnt that town and at once turned southwards in pursuit of the imperial troops, whom they largely outnumbered. The imperial troops plundered Bâlâpûr and the *amîrs* of the Dakanî army pressed on so rapidly in pursuit that only a few of their troops could keep pace with them. An indecisive action was fought at Chândûr, but Khân-i-A'ẓam would not stay his flight towards Nandurbâr, for which town he was making in the hope of being able to persuade his brother-in-law, the Khânkhânân, who was then Governor of Gujarât, to join him in invading the northern districts of the Dakan. His flight was so rapid that he was even obliged to maim some of his elephants to prevent their falling uninjured into the hands of the enemy. His troops reached Nandurbâr on April 10, 1586, and as the Khânkhânân could not then join Khân-i-A'ẓam in his enterprise hostilities ceased and the armies of Berar and Khândesh retired.

The Dakan thus enjoyed a brief respite from foreign aggression, but the progress of events in Aḥmadnagar favoured Akbar's designs. On June 14, 1588, Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh I, the madman, was murdered by his son Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh I, who succeeded him and was himself murdered a few months later, when the party in Aḥmadnagar who had embraced the heretical Mahdavî doctrines raised to the throne the boy Ismâ'îl, son of Burhân-al-dîn, who had fled from Aḥmadnagar and taken refuge at Akbar's court.

Burhân, who had lately been employed by Akbar in the Bangash country, where he had done good service, was now the undoubted heir to the throne upon which a faction had placed his youthful son, and Akbar dispatched him to Mâlwa in order that he might attempt to secure it, at the same time sending instructions to Khân-i-A'ẓam and Râja 'Alî Khân to give him all the assistance in their power. Burhân refused, however, the help which Khân-i-A'ẓam offered him, on the ground that his people would resent his appearance in his country at the head of a foreign army ; the true reason for the refusal being evidently the desire to avoid laying himself under an inconvenient obligation, and invaded Berar with only his own contingent of 1,000 horse and 300 musketeers. Leaving Elichpûr on his right he marched on Bâlâpûr, but was defeated by the commandant of that post and fled back to Mâlwa.

On receiving the news of the failure of Burhân's first attempt to recover his throne Jamâl Khân the Mahdavî, who was now supreme in Aḥmadnagar, attempted to inveigle Burhân to Aḥmadnagar by means of a proposal that he should come himself and take possession of his kingdom, but Burhân was too wary thus to deliver himself into the hands of his adversary.

Burhân now perceived that he could not recover his kingdom without foreign aid, and sank his pride. Râja 'Alî Khân, in obedience to Akbar's orders, not only prepared his own army for the field but wrote to Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh II of Bîjâpûr and his powerful minister, Dilâvar Khân the African, proposing that the army of Bîjâpûr should invade Aḥmadnagar from the south simultaneously with its invasion from the north by Burhân and his allies. Dilâvar Khân gladly seized the opportunity of striking a blow at Aḥmadnagar and invaded the Niẓâm Shâhî dominions from the south while Burhân and Râja 'Alî Khân invaded Berar. This double attack caused much dissension in Aḥmadnagar but Jamâl Khân ultimately decided first to turn southwards, and trusted to the army of Berar to check Burhân's advance. He defeated the army of Bîjâpûr but almost in the moment of victory learnt that the army of Berar had gone over to Burhân, and he was obliged to turn northward without delay. He was pursued by the army of Bîjâpûr, which had not been broken by its defeat, and now harassed him by cutting off his supplies. On reaching Aḥmadnagar

he learnt that Burhân and Râja 'Alî Khân had advanced as far as Rohankhed, a small town lying on the slopes of the plateau of southern Berar, and were there awaiting him with 7,000 horse and forty elephants. He pressed on to meet them, but defection and desertion had been rife in his army ever since he had taken the field, and of the 10,000 horse which he had led against the army of Bîjâpûr no more than 3,000 remained to him. The battle of Rohankhed was fought on April 5, or, according to other accounts, on May 7, 1591.[24] From the first Jamâl Khân's army had no chance of victory. Habashî Khân, one of his *amîrs*, deserted, with nearly 1,000 horse, to the enemy, his gunners refused to fire, and his cavalry was checked by a slough into which they rode. Jamâl Khân in desperation charged the enemy at the head of a small body of cavalry and received a musket ball in the forehead, which killed him on the spot; Khudâvand Khân, his principal lieutenant, was cut down while attempting to flee, and the young king, Ismâ'îl Shâh, was captured at a short distance from the field.

All authorities agree in assigning the chief, if not the sole credit for this victory to Râja 'Alî Khân. Burhân had a small contingent of his own followers and adventurers from the imperial army, and he had been joined by the *amîrs* of Berar and other deserters from the army of Ismâ'îl Nizâm Shâh and Jamâl Khân, but Râja 'Alî Khân's troops formed by far the greater part of the invading army and he probably supplied nearly all the elephants and artillery. During the battle, which lasted but for a short time, Burhân, by agreement with Râja 'Alî Khân, stood aside with instructions not to interfere unless the day should appear to be going against the army of Khândesh. The arrangement was creditable to the political acumen of Râja 'Alî Khân and Burhân, though it is probable that Akbar would have preferred a greater measure of activity on the part of Burhân, who would thus have been presented rather as Akbar's candidate for the throne than as a legitimate sovereign seeking his hereditary right. But for those who had the interests of the kingdoms of the Dakan at heart it was most undesirable that Burhân's appearance on the scene in his quest of a throne should be marked by an act of open hostility against his prospective subjects.

Râja 'Alî Khân, having congratulated Burhân on his road to the throne being now open, retired to Burhânpûr, with Jamâl Khân's elephants and artillery as his reward, and Burhân marched on to Ahmadnagar, where he ascended the throne without opposition as Burhân Nizâm Shâh II.

The death of Burhân on April 13, 1595, and the subsequent disputes regarding the succession gave Akbar the pretext which he had long desired for direct interference in the affairs of the Dakan. He had been bitterly disappointed in Burhân II who, instead of proving to be the obedient vassal of his expectations, had asserted his independence and taken his own course, and the *Akbarnâma*, the official history of Akbar's reign, inveighs against his gross ingratitude. On his death his elder son, Ibrâhîm Nizâm Shâh, who was distasteful to a majority of the *amîrs* on account of his birth, his mother having been an African, was raised to the throne, and his younger son Ismâ'îl, who had already occupied it for a short period before his father's accession, was blinded. Ibrâhîm was slain in a battle between his partisans and his enemies on Aug. 7, 1595, and Miyân Manjhû raised to the throne a youth named Ahmad, whom he represented to be the son of Muhammad Khudâbanda, sixth son of Burhân Nizâm Shâh I (1509-1553), and imprisoned Bahâdur, son of Ibrâhîm Nizâm Shâh, in the fortress of Jond. The African *amîrs*, who had been partisans of Ibrâhîm and knew Ahmad to be supposititious, refused to acknowledge him and rallied to the support of the

24 The *Akbarnâma* has April 5, and Firishta (ii, 2917) and the *Burhân-i-Ma'âsir* have May 7.

famous Chând Bîbî, daughter of Husain Nizâm Shâh I and widow of 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh I of Bîjâpûr, who had returned to Ahmadnagar since her husband's death and now stood forth as the champion of the lawful heir, the infant Bahâdur Nizâm Shâh.

The African *amîrs* besieged Miyân Manjhû in Ahmadnagar, and he betrayed the cause of the Dakan by appealing for assistance to Sultân Murâd, Akbar's second surviving son, who was now viceroy of Gujarât. Murâd's instructions from his father covered this contingency, which had been expected, and the prince marched towards the Dakan. At the same time the viceroy and *amîrs* of Mâlwa, at the head of whom was 'Abd-al-Rahîm, Khânkhânân, in accordance with Akbar's orders, marched to the Dakan in concert with the prince.

The position of Râja 'Alî Khân was now one of great difficulty. Akbar's armies were about to undertake the enterprise which he had always dreaded and deprecated, and had once actively opposed, the subjection of the first of the independent kingdoms of the Dakan which lay in their way. During the life-time of Burhân Nizâm Shâh II the poet Faizî was sent as an envoy from the imperial court both to Ahmadnagar and to Khândesh, and his mission, which had not been brilliantly successful in Ahmadnagar, was believed to have secured the adhesion of Râja 'Alî Khân, whose sympathy with the kings of the Dakan and whose opposition to Khân-i-'Azam's filibustering expedition were well known, but it was deemed advisable to send at this time another envoy, who should not only assure himself of Râja 'Alî Khân's acquiescence in the invasion of Ahmadnagar, but should convert him into an active ally. To this end he was to offer him the coveted district of Nandurbâr, which had for some time past formed part of the imperial province of Gujarât, and though the bribe, together with other considerations, secured its object, Râja 'Alî Khân did not acquiesce in the armed intervention of the empire in the domestic affairs of Ahmadnagar until he had made an appeal for help to Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh II of Bîjâpûr and had been disappointed. At length he was compelled to join the Mughuls and accompanied them with his army to Ahmadnagar, taking part in the siege of that city, which was opened on December 26, 1595, and closed on March 23, 1596,[25] on which date was concluded the treaty under which Chând Bîbî, regent of Ahmadnagar, ceded the province of Berar to the emperor Akbar.

The besieged garrison of Ahmadnagar had some hopes of assistance from Râja 'Alî Khân, on account of his known sympathies with the kingdoms of the Dakan, but they were ultimately disappointed. The author of the *Burhân-i-Ma'âsir* writes, 'Traditions of the 'old friendship of Râja 'Alî Khân, ruler of Khândesh, still remained, and he maintained an 'uninterrupted intercourse with those within the fort, so that they were enabled, by his 'means, to introduce any supplies that they might require, and occasionally, when a body 'of gunners came from the other forts in the kingdom to reinforce those in Ahmadnagar, 'they were able to enter the fortress by the connivance of Râja 'Alî Khân, and greatly 'strengthened the defence. When this matter became known to the prince (Sultân Murâd) 'he removed Râja 'Alî Khân from the position which he occupied and placed that section 'of the trenches under the command of Râja Jagannâth, who was one of the great Râjpût '*amîrs*, and thus all ingress and egress were stopped. In the course of the siege, and while 'it was at its height, Râja 'Alî Khân, being instigated thereto by Akbar's *amîrs*, sent to 'Chând Bîbî Sultân a letter, saying, "I purposely accompanied the Mughul army into this 'country with the object of preserving the honour of the Nizâm Shâhî dynasty. I know

[25] This is the date given in the *Burhân-i-Ma'âsir*. According to the *Akbarnâma* terms were concluded and the imperial forces retired on March 2, 1596.

'well that this fortress will, in a short time, be captured by the Mughuls. See that you 'shun not the fight, but protect your honour, and surrender the fort at the last to the prince, 'who will give you in exchange for it any fort and any district in this country that you may 'choose. The honour of the Niẓâm Shâhî house is, owing to the connection between us, the 'same to me as the honour of my own house, and it is for this reason that I, laying aside all 'fear of arrow or bullet, have come to the gate of the fort, and I will bring Chând Bîbî 'Sulṭân to my own camp." When the defenders received this letter their dismay and confu-'sion were greatly increased, and they were struck with terror, for they had relied much on 'Râja 'Alî Khân, and they now almost decided to surrender, but Afẓal khân did his best 'to pacify them and to calm their fears, and sent Râja 'Alî Khân a reply, saying, " I wonder 'at your intellect and policy in sending such a letter to Chând Bîbî Sulṭân, and at your 'endeavouring to destroy this dynasty. It was you who went forth to greet the Mughul 'army, and it was you who brought them into this country, and the Sulṭâns of the Dakan 'will not forget this. Soon, by the grace of God, the Mughul army will have to retreat, 'and then Chând Bîbî Sulṭân will be in communication, as before, with the Sulṭâns of 'the Dakan. It will then be for you to fear the vengeance of the heroes of the Dakan, and 'to tremble for your house and for your kingdom!" When this reply reached Râja 'Ali 'Khân he was overcome with shame for what he had written, and the Mughul *Amîrs* gave 'up all hope of taking the fortress.'

(*To be continued.*)

DEKKAN OF THE ŚÂTAVÂHANA PERIOD.

BY PROF. D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.; CALCUTTA.

CHAPTER II.

POLITICAL HISTORY—(*continued from page 78 above*).

THE reign of Nahapâna, though it began gloriously, came to a disastrous end. He was defeated and killed in battle by Gautamîputra Śâtakarṇi of the Sâtavâhana dynasty. In Cave No. 3 at Nâsik has been cut a large inscription, which sets forth a long panegyric of this king. We shall soon give a somewhat detailed account of this record, but here we may notice only two epithets used in connection with Gautamîputra Śâtakarṇi and coming immediately one after the other. The first calls him the uprooter of the Kshaharâta race and the second the restorer of the glory of the Śâtavâhana family.[1] The first epithet, making allowance for the exaggeration which it obviously contains, indicates that he certainly killed, if not all the Kshaharâtas, at least those who ruled over Mahârâshṭra, Gujarât and Central India. Otherwise there is no sense in his being represented to have re-established the glory of the Śâtavâhana dynasty to which he pertained. We know that the Śâtavâhanas had held Northern Mahârâshṭra and some parts of Central India before these came under the sway of Nahapâna. It is true that these epithets alone do not necessarily prove that Gautamîputra Śâtakarṇi turned his arms against Nahapâna himself and killed him. But this can be easily inferred from certain facts revealed by the Jogaļṭembhî hoard. The total number of coins from the lot examined by Rev. M. Scott was 13,250. Only one-third of this number consisted of Nahapâna's own coins, the remaining two-thirds being those of Nahapâna re-struck by Gautamîputra Śâtakarṇi.[2]

[1] *EI.*, VIII. 60, l. 6.

[2] *JBBRAS.*, XXII. 224.

It is worth noting that in this second class of coins, *i.e.* those re-struck by Śâtakarṇi, there was not a single one belonging to any prince other than Nahapâna, as would certainly have been expected if any such ruler had really intervened between them, especially as these coins numbered upwards of 8,000. I think, the evidence supplied by this hoard is conclusive that Śâtakarṇi destroyed Nahapâna.

The extent of Gautamîputra's territory may be inferred from the description given of him in the big Nâsik Cave inscription referred to above. Therein he is said to have been king of the following countries:—

1. *Asika.*—This country has been mentioned by Varâhamihira, but he does not tell us where exactly it was situated.

2. *Asaka.*—This evidently is Assaka, the Prâkṛit form of the Sanskṛit Aśmaka. This must be the country watered by the lower Godâvarî, consisting of the south-east parts of the Nizam's Dominions and the Godâvarî District of the Madras Presidency.[3] Its capital Potana or Potali has been mentioned in the Pâli literature.[4]

3. *Muḷaka*—is the country with Pratishṭhâna or Paiṭhaṇ as its capital.

4. *Suraṭha*—is Surâshṭra, corresponding to modern Kâṭhiâwâṛ.

5. *Kukura*—probably modern Gujarât.[5]

6. *Aparânta.*—The word literally means the Western End. Ptolemy, who was contemporaneous with Gautamîputra and Puḷumâvi divides Ariakes (Αβαρατικη = Aparântikâ) into four sections, two on the seaboard and two situated inland.[6] Of those on the sea-coast the northern corresponded to the Ṭhâṇâ and Kolâbâ Districts and the southern to the Ratnâgiri and North Kanara Districts. Of the inland parts the northern was very nearly coincident with the country watered by the upper Godâvarî, and the southern included the Kanarese-speaking districts of the Bombay Presidency. Both the northern sections belonged to the Sadinon (= Śâtavâhanas).

7. *Anûpa.*—A district on the Upper Narmadâ with Mâhishamâtî as capital.[7] Mâhishmâtî has been identified with Mândhâtâ in the north-west corner of the Central Provinces.[8]

8. *Vidabha*—is of course Vidarbha. It corresponds to the western portion of Berars and the valley-country west of it.[9]

9. *Âkarâvanti*—Mâlwâ. I take this whole as one name. This is clearly indicated by the fact that in the Junâgaḍh inscription it is qualified by the word *Pûrvâpara*, which means both the eastern and western divisions of the Âkarâvanti country, and not the eastern

[3] In the Sutta-nipâta (V. 977) the Assaka (Aśmaka) country has been associated with Muḷaka, exactly as it has been done in this inscription. In the edition of the Sutta-nipâta by V. Fausboll the reading *Aḷaka*° is wrongly adopted in the text (Vs. 977 and 1010-1), and the variant *Muḷaka* noticed in the foot-notes. The Sutta-nipâta distinctly tells us that the capital of Muḷaka was Patiṭṭhâna (Paithaṇ) and that Assaka was situated immediately to its south along the river Godâvarî.

[4] Jât. III, 3 and 15.

[5] Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar identifies it with that portion of Râjputânâ which is called Kiu-cho-lo by Hiouen Thsang (Yuan Chwang) (*Trans. Inter. Or. Cong.*, 1874, 312-3; *EHD.*, 17, n. 4). According to Pandit Bhagwânlâl it denotes "probably part of East Râjputânâ" (*B. G.*, I, i. 36 *n.* 7). But as in this and Rudradâman's Junâgaḍh inscription Kukura is associated with Aparânta, it seems to be part of Gujarât.

[6] Above XIII, 325-7 and 366-7.

[7] *Trans. Inter. Or. Cong.*, 1874, 313.

[8] *JRAS.*, 1910, 445-6.

[9] Pargiter, *Mârkaṇḍeya-Purâṇa*, 335.

Âkara and the western Avanti country as has been taken by Pandit Bhagwânlâl Indraji.[10] The latter proposal is against the Sanskrit idiom.[11] Avanti, of course, is another name for Ujjayinî (Ujjain), and Âkara, I think, is identical with the ancient midland town of Âgar, 40 miles NNE. of Ujjain from which the Bania caste Agarval derives its name.[12]

Gautamîputra is also styled 'lord' of the following mountain ranges:—

1. *Vijha* = Vindhya, here denoting the portion of the Vindhya range east of Bhopâl.

2. *Achhavata* = Rikshavat—"the Sâtpurâ Hills, and the hills extending through the middle of Berar and the south of Chutiâ Nâgpur nearly into West Bengal."[13]

3. *Parivata* = Pâriyâtra, the portion of the Vindhya range, west of Bhopâl.

4. *Sahya* = the Sahyâdris.

5. *Kanhagiri* = Krishnagiri, doubtless the mountain on which Kanherî in the Thânâ district is situated and from which it derives its name. It is mentioned as Kanhasela = Krishnaśaila in inscriptions of Kanherî Caves.

6. *Macha*—not identified so far.

7. *Siritana* = Srîstana, probably the same as Srî-śaila or Śrî-parvata, the name of a mountain on the river Kistnâ in the Karnul District.[14]

8. *Malaya*—the southern portion of the Western Ghâts.

9. *Mahinda* = Mahendra, the great range between the Mahânadî and Godâvarî in Eastern India—the Eastern Ghâts.

10. *Setagiri*—not yet identified.

11. *Chakora*.—The Mârkandeya Purâna mentions it along with Srî-parvata (Siritana). It may have been in the same locality.

The specification of the mountain ranges is apt to lead one to suppose that Gautamîputra was the lord of the whole Dakshinâpatha or Southern India. Their mention, however, need not mean that he was the lord of each whole range. If part of any range ran through his dominions, it would justify a panegyrist in calling him its lord. That Gautamîputra was not the master of the whole of Southern India is clearly proved by the fact that Ptolemy, while referring to his son Pulumâvi who reigned conjointly with him, speaks not of one but of six kings as ruling over different parts of Dakshinâpatha, along with Pulumâvi. Thus we have not only Polemaios (Pulumâvi) reigning at Paithan but also Baleokuros at Hippokoura, Kerolothros (Keralaputra) at Karoura (Karûr), Pandion (Pândya) at Modoura (Madurâ) and so forth.[15] The list of the countries, however gives us a better idea of the extent of Gautamîputra's territory. It shows that he held the whole of the country watered by the Godâvarî, Berar, Mâlwâ, Kâthiâwâr, Gujarât and Northern Konkan.

The object of the large inscription alluded to above (Inscription No. 2) is to record the grant of Nâsik Cave No. 3 to the Bhadrâyanîya sect of Buddhist monks by Gautamî,[16]

[10] Above, vii. 259 ; *BG.*, I. i. 36 and XVI. 631.

[11] See also the translation of this passage from the Junâgadh inscription by Kielhorn (*EI.*, VIII. 47).

[12] *BG.*, IX. i. 70.

[13] Pargiter, *Mârkandeya Purâna*, 340.

[14] *Ibid*, 290.

[15] Above XIII. 366-8.

[16] Bühler and M. Senart take Balasiri to be the proper name of this Queen (*ASWI.*, IV. 109; *EI.*, VIII. 62). But this is highly improbable, because Balasiri does not sound to be a proper name, and seems to be as much an attributive as the other phrases following it. Nor is Gautamî a proper name. It only means that through her father she belonged to the Gotama *gotra*. Similar instances are Vâsishthî, Mâdharî and so forth. This reminds us of the usage still current in Râjputânâ where no Rânî is known by her proper name, but only by her clan name.

mother of Śâtakarṇi and grand-mother of Puḷumâvi. The inscription, it is worthy of note, refers itself to the reign of Puḷumâvi and not Śâtakarṇi, and is dated the 13th day of the second fortnight of summer of the 19th regnal year of the former. On the same day the village of Sudasaṇa in the Govardhana district was granted for the maintenance of the Cave (Inscription No. 3) by the lord of Dhanaṁkaṭa,[17] who must be Gautamîputra Śâtakarṇi and the village of Pisâjipadaka by Puḷumâvi for painting it (Inscription No. 2). In the 22nd year, however, in lieu of Sudasaṇa the village of Samalipada in the same district was given, not by Śâtakarṇi but by Puḷumâvi (Inscription No. 3). It seems that before this cave, *i.e.* Cave No. 3 at Nâsik, was excavated the Bhadrâyanîya mendicants were living in some of the caves already existing on the hill which in the inscriptions is called Triraśmi. For the maintenance of these mendicants Gautamîputra Śâtakarṇi [18] granted a piece of land in the village of Aparakakhaḍi in the 18th year, *i.e.* one year previous to the excavation and presentation of the cave to the Bhadrâyanîyas (Inscription No. 4). But the village could not be inhabited and the field could not be tilled. Another piece of land was therefore given in the year 24 by Śâtakarṇi who was here joined by his mother in the making of this gift (Inscription No. 5).

It is supposed by Bühler and Bhagwanlal Indraji that the dates of Inscriptions Nos. 4 and 5 in which Gautamîputra Śâtakarṇi is mentioned as the donor must refer to his reign and those of Inscriptions Nos. 2 and 3 to the reign of Puḷumâvi who alone figures there as the grantee. It is, therefore, contended that Śâtakarṇi and Puḷumâvi reigned separately, the latter after the former, even so far as Mahârâshṭra was concerned and that Śâtakarṇi was dead when Cave No. 3 was granted to the Bhadrâyanîyas. Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, on the other hand, contends that all these dates pertain to the reign of Puḷumâvi and that he reigned conjointly with his father, the former over Mahârâshṭra and the latter over the hereditary Śâtavâhana dominions. The latter view alone can be correct. For in Inscription No. 5 Gautamîputra Śâtakarṇi, who is the donor there along with his mother, issues a grant in favour of Buddhist monks, who, it is expressly stated, were staying in the cave which was the pious gift of theirs. This cave which was a pious gift of Śâtakarṇi and his mother must doubtless be Cave No. 3 which, as we have seen above, was excavated and given over to the Bhadrâyanîyas. But then we have also seen that this cave was presented to these monks in the 19th regnal year, not of Śâtakarṇi but of Puḷumâvi. Inscription No. 2 does not leave us in any doubt on this point. Evidently Śâtakarṇi was living when the cave was granted to the Bhadrâyanîyas, otherwise how could he possibly make any grant to these monks while they were dwelling

[17] The words *Ya amhe hi sava* 19 *gi pa* 2 *diva* 13 *Dhanukaṭasamanehi ya etha pavate . . . dato* have very much puzzled the antiquarians. Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, Bühler and M. Senart take *Dhanakaṭasamanehi* to stand for *Dhanyakaṭa-śramaṇaiḥ*. I cannot understand how these Śramaṇas could have granted the village of Sudasana. Besides, the word Śramaṇa nowhere occurs in cave inscriptions and in the sense of Buddhist mendicants. *Dhanakaṭasamanehi* must, therefore, be taken as equivalent to *Dhanakaṭa-sâminehi* and connected with *dato* as is done by Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar (*EHD.*, 18, n. 2). The letters *amhehi* preceding the *dato* I split up into the two words *amhe hi* and *amhe* I take in the sense of 'we' and connect with *dadâma*.

[18] M. Senart supposes that Nâsik Inscription No. 4 calls Gautamîputra Śâtakarṇi 'lord of Benâkaṭaka'. I however prefer to read *Benâkaṭakâ svâmi* with Bühler and Pandit Bhagwanlal, and take Benâkaṭaka to be the place where the king's army was encamped. Similarly in Nâsik Inscription No. 3 I prefer to read *Navanarâ svâmi* instead of *Navanara-svâmi* and suppose that Puḷumâvi issues his order from a locality called Navanara.

in the cave presented to them? Further, as Inscription No. 2 is dated in the reign of Puḷumâvi notwithstanding that his father Śâtakarṇi was alive, the only possible conclusion is that the former was ruling over Mahârâshṭra and the latter over the old Andhra territory, and that consequently all the dates of the inscriptions just noted must refer to the reign of Puḷumâvi alone.[19]

Klaudios Ptolemaios, writing his geography of India shortly after A.D., 150 speaks of at least three kings ruling over different parts of Western India. Thus he tells us that Ozene was the capital of Tiastenes, Baithana of Siro Polemaios, and Hippokoura of Baleokouros.[20] Ozene is, of course, Ujjain, and Baithana is Paiṭhaṇ on the Godâvarî, the ancient Pratishṭhâna, in Nizam's dominions. Hippokoura has not been definitively identified, some taking it to be Kolhâpur and others Hippargi in the Bijâpur district.[21] Of the royal names Tiastenes obviously corresponds to Chashṭana, the founder of the second Kshatrapa dynasty, which we know wielded sway over Kâṭhiâwâṛ, Gujarât and Mâlwâ and which seems to have immediately succeeded Nahapâna's family. Siro Polemaios is Śrî-Puḷumâvi, son of Gautamîputra Śâtakarṇi, and Baleokouros is Viḷivâyakura, name of a king whose coins have been found at Kolhâpur. These three princes have, therefore, been regarded as contemporaries of one another.

Diverse views have been expressed in regard to the relation in which Chashṭana stood with Nahapâna, on the one hand, and with Gautamîputra Śâtakarṇi, on the other. Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji to the last held that Chashṭana was a contemporary, though not a subordinate, of Nahapâna.[22] According to Dr. Fleet Chashṭana was Nahapâṇa's co-regent or viceroy at Ujjain just as Bhûmaka was in Kâṭhiâwâṛ.[23] Prof. Oldenberg and Dr. Burgess regard Chashṭana as the satrap of Gautamîputra Śâtakarṇi, the Andhra conqueror of Nahapâna.[24] Prof. Rapson and Mr. V. A. Smith, however, consider that he was a satrap of the Kushana sovereigns who ruled over North India.[25] Now, Chashṭana's coins have been found in Kaṭhiâwâṛ and Gujarât and even as far north as Ajmer and Pushkar. His capital, as Ptolemy tells us, was Ujjain. It seems that if we exclude the Poona and Nâsik districts, his dominions were co-extensive with those of Nahapâna. It is not, therefore, probable that both Nahapâna and Chashṭana ruled simultaneously or that Chashṭana was a viceroy of Nahapâna. Again, his foreign title Kshatrapa and the use of the Kharoshṭhî alphabet on his coins clearly show that Chashṭana was a viceroy, not of Gautamîputra Śâtakarṇi, but of some northern alien power. The view held by Prof. Rapson and Mr. Smith, *viz.* that he was a satrap of the Kushana family, is therefore, the only plausible one. It appears that after the destruction of the Kshaharâta family, the Kushana overlord appointed Chashṭana to be a satrap and dispatched him to save as much of Nahapâna's territory as was possible from the clutches of the Śâtavâhanas. Chashṭana seems to have performed his task not unsatisfactorily, because, as the find spots of his coins show, the Poona and Nâsik districts were the only two provinces from Nahapâna's territory which he did not hold.

But it may be asked: how is it that Nâsik Inscription No. 2 makes Gautamiputra Śâtakarṇi the lord not only of Âkarâvanti (Mâlwâ) but also of Surâshṭra (Kâṭhiâwâṛ)—

[19] For a full discussion of the subject, see my article in *JBBRAS.*, XXIII. 69 and ff.

[20] Above, XIII. 359 and 366.

[21] *EHD.*, 44; *BG.*, I. i. 541

[22] *BG.*, I. i. 32.

[23] *JRAS.*, 1913, 993 and n. 1.

[24] Above, X. 226; *ASWI.*, iv. 37, n. 4.

[25] *CIC.-AMk.*, Intro, cvi; *EHI.*, 210-11.

just those provinces which were under the sway of Chashṭana? The answer is simple. The date of this inscription is the 19th regnal year of Puḷumâvi. What is its Christian equivalent? If we suppose, as is commonly held, that Nahapâna was killed in battle shortly after the year 46 (=A.D. 124) the last date we have for him, Puḷumâvi's nineteenth regnal year must correspond to *circa* A.D. 145. Now no less than six stone inscriptions have been discovered in Cutch, bearing the date 52 and referring themselves to the conjoint reign of Chashṭana and his grandson Rudradâman.[26] It appears that in the year 52 (=A.D. 130) Chashṭana was Mahâkshatrapa and his grandson Rudradâman Kshatrapa, governing Kachchha and Surâshṭra. It was therefore between A.D. 130 and 145 that Gautamîputra Sâtakarṇi seems to have wrested Mâlwâ and Kâṭhiâwâṛ either from Chashṭana or Rudradâman, but most probably from the former. The story appears to be simply this. Gautamîputra Sâtakarṇi and his son Vâsishṭhîputra Puḷumâvi came from the south-east to regain the provinces lost to their family, overthrew Nahapâna *circa* A.D. 126, and re-established their power over the north-west part of Mahârâshṭra. Not being content with this, they soon turned their arms against another dynasty of foreigners—the Kshatrapa dynasty that came immediately after Nahapâna and succeeded in wresting their dominions also about A.D. 145. This is also clear from a rock inscription of Rudradâman at Junâgaḍh in Kâṭhiâwâṛ. In this record men of all castes are represented to have gone to Rudradâman and chosen him as their lord for protection.[27] If Rudradâman had succeeded Chashṭana in the natural course of things, people of different castes would not have repaired to him and selected him as their protector. Evidently his family seems to have lost the kingdom and he to have regained it. This is also indicated by the boast of Rudradâman in the same inscription that the title of Mahâkshatrapa he had won for himself and not inherited.[28] He was by no means slow to retrieve the glory of his family. For the same Junâgaḍh epigraph speaks of Rudradâman as the lord of Âkarâvanti, Surâshṭra, Kukura and Aparânta —just those countries ruled over by Gautamîputra Sâtakarṇi according to Nâsik Inscription No. 2 as stated above. Now the date of the Junâgaḍh epigraph is (Śaka) 72 = A.D. 150, and the date of the Nâsik inscription, we have seen, is about A.D. 145. It must be, therefore, between 145 and 150 A.D. that Rudradâman succeeded in reconquering the provinces lost to his family. Again, it is worthy of note that Rudradâman is represented to have twice subdued Sâtakarṇi, the lord of Dakshiṇâpatha, but not to have destroyed him in consequence of his relationship with him not being remote and to have acquired a good name on that account. It will be seen that this Sâtakarṇi can be no other than Gautamîputra Sâtakarṇi.

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26 I was the first to discover these inscriptions (*PRASI.-WC*, 1905-06, 35); yet, curiously enough, my name has not been mentioned in *ASI.-AR.*, 1905-06, 166-7. A detailed summary of their contents has been published by me in *PRASI.-WC.*, 1914-15, 67. The date of these inscriptions is thus expressed: *Râjño Châshṭanasa Ysâmotikaputrasa râjño Rudradâmasa Jayadâmaputrasa varshe dvipachâśe* 50 2 *Phaguṇa-bahulasa dvitiyam* 15 2. At first I was inclined to supply *pautrasa* after *Ysâmotikaputrasa*, and refer the date to the reign of Rudradâman (*JBBRAS.*, XXIII. 68). Mr. R. C. Majumdar of the Calcutta University has kindly offered the suggestion that the date had better be referred to the conjoint reign of Chashṭana and Rudradâman. I entirely accept this suggestion which is a very happy one. This at once does away with the necessity of supplying the word *pautrasa*— an addition which seems to be highly improbable when we have to make it not to one but to six records that were found in Cutch and which even though it is made does not render the passage entirely free from straining. It, therefore, seems that Jayadâman died and was succeeded to his Kshatrapa rank by his son Rudradâman during the life-time of Chashṭana himself.

27 *EI.*, VIII. 43, l. 9.

28 *Ibid*, 44, l. 15.

Nâsik Inscription No. 5 tells us that he was alive at least up to the 24th regnal year of Puḷumâvi, which must correspond to A.D. 150—the date of the Junâgaḍh inscription. Now, in what relationship could this Śâtakarṇi have stood with Rudradâman? In this connection one Kaṇherî inscription is invariably referred to. It records the grant of a minister of the queen of Vâsishṭhîputra Śâtakarṇi. Her name is lost, but she is said to have been the daughter of a Mahâkshatrapa called Rudra. Rudra may of course stand for Rudradâman, Rudrasimha or Rudrasena—all belonging to Chashṭana's family. But, according to Bühler, the form of the letters is of the time of Rudradâman. Vâsishṭhîputra Śâtakarṇi was thus Rudradâman's son-in-law. The metronymic Vâsishṭhîputra clearly shows that the former was, like Puḷumâvi, a son of Gautamîputra Śâtakarṇi. Gautamîputra Śâtakarṇi was, therefore, the father of Rudradâman's son-in-law. Śâtakarṇi's connection with Rudradâman was thus by no means intimate and can be described as "not remote," as has been done in the Junâgaḍh inscription.[29]

Gautamîputra Śâtakarṇi was succeeded by his son Puḷumâvi. We have seen above that he was ruling conjointly with his father, the former over Mahârâshṭra and the latter over Andhra-deśa. After the death of Śâtakarṇi, Puḷumâvi seems to have become ruler of Andhra deśa also. For we have an inscription on the Amarâvatî *stûpa* in the Kistnâ district which distinctly refers itself to his reign.[30] His coins also have been found in the Kistnâ and Godâvarî districts,[31] showing clearly that he had succeeded to his ancestral kingdom. Puḷumâvi died about A.D. 158, and was succeeded by his brothers, Śiva-Śrî-Śâtakarṇi and Śrî-Chandra-Sâti. Coins of these two last have been found, which, so far as the numismatic style is concerned, are closely connected with those of Puḷumâvi.[32] Besides, they three have the common metronymic Vâsishṭhîputra. This shows that they must all be brothers. According to the Matsya Purâṇa, Puḷumâvi was succeeded by Śiva-Śrî, who can, therefore, be no other than Śiva-Śrî-Śâtakarṇi of the coins. With this prince I identify Vâsishṭhîputra Śâtakarṇi, son-in-law of Rudradâman, who, as I have remarked before, has been mentioned in a Kaṇherî cave inscription. Śiva-Śrî-Śâtakarṇi must thus have been succeeded by Śrî Chandra-Sâti. We do not know who came immediately after this last king. But of the two Śâtavâhana princes who remain to be noticed, Śakasena was certainly earlier than Yajña-Śâtakarṇi on palæographic grounds. The name of the first prince occurs in two records inscribed in a cave at Kaṇherî,[33] but seems to have been wrongly deciphered. Three years ago I had occasion to examine the inscriptions personally. I also took estampages of the portions which contained his name. And on a careful comparison I was convinced that the real name of the king was not Śakasena but Siri-Sâta. Commonsense also would lead us to doubt the correctness of the first reading. For the first line has been read as: *Sidhaṁ raño Maḍhariputasa Svâmi-Sakasenasa.* Now, it is worthy of note that wherever we meet with a Śâtavâhana name in an inscription, it is invariably prefixed with the honorific *Siri* (=*Śrî*). Thus we have Siri-Sâtakaṇi, Siri-Puḷumâvi, Siri-Yajña-Sâtakaṇi, and so forth. And the two Kaṇherî inscriptions just referred to alone become an exception, if we read *Sakasena.* Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji

[29] For a detailed consideration of this question see *JBBRAS.*, XXIII. 72-3.

[30] Lüders' *List*, No. 1248.

[31] *CIC.-AMk.*, 20-3.

[32] *Ibid*, Intro. xl.

[33] *ASWI.*, V. 79 and 82.

was nearer to the truth when he proposed to read also *Sirisena*.[34] As a matter of fact there is absolutely no doubt as to the first two letters being *Siri*. And the next two almost certainly are *Sâta*—a reading which is fortified by the fact that we know a Sâtavâhana prince of exactly this name from coins found in Western India.[35] The last Sâtavâhana king whose name has been preserved is, as mentioned above, Gautamîputra Srî-Yajña-Śâtakarṇi. One inscription of his has been found in Chinna in the Kistnâ district and three in Mahârâshṭra—two in a Kaṇherî and one in a Nâsik Cave.[36] This shows that both the Andhra-deśa and Mahârâshṭra continued to be under the Śâtavâhanas up to this time. Nay, he seems to have extended his sway far beyond as is indicated by the find-spots of his coins. Some of these have been found not only in Gujarât but also in Kâṭhiâwâṛ and Eastern Mâlwâ. He, therefore, appears to have wrested these provinces from the Kshatrapa dynasty of Ujjain as Gautamîputra Sâtakarṇi did sometime before him.

After Yajña Sâtakarṇi Mahârâshṭra seems to have been lost to the Śâtavâhana dynasty. This appears to have been caused by the irruption of the Âbhîras. In a cave at Nâsik we have got an inscription which refers itself to the reign of the Âbhîra king Îśvarasena, son of Śivadatta.[37] In Mâlwâ, Gujarât and Kâṭhiâwâṛ we find coins of a king called Îśvaradatta who, though he styles himself a Mahâkshatrapa, was an intruder. He has been looked upon as an Âbhîra, and it is quite possible that the names of the Âbhîra king and his father referred to in the Nâsik inscription were really Îśvaradatta and Śivasena, and not Îśvarasena and Śivadatta. The father is not called a king, and if he had really been a ruler, the word *râjñaḥ* would certainly have been conjoined with his name. The son alone, therefore, seems to have been a king and made himself so. And it seems to me that it was one and the same Âbhîra prince, *viz.* Îśvaradatta, who conquered not only Mâlwâ, Gujarât and Kâṭhiâwaṛ but also Mâhârashṭra. I have elsewhere shown[38] that Îśvaradatta is to be assigned to A.D. 188-90. This certainly places him immediately after Yajña Sâtakarṇi.

Though the Sâtavâhanas were deprived of Mahârâshṭra or Western Dekkan about the end of the second century A.D., they for sometime retained possession of Eastern Dekkan. We have thus coins of Śrî-Rudra-Sâtakarṇi, Srî-Krishṇa-Sâtakarṇi and Srî-Chandra (II) found in Central Provinces and Andhra-deśa only and not at all in Western India.[39] If we assign an average reign of 15 years to each one of these kings, the Śâtavâhana power came to an end in the first half of the third century A.D. On the Jagayyapetta stûpa in the Kistna district, we have three inscriptions belonging to the regin of Śrî-Vîrapurushadatta of the Ikshvâku family. On palæographic grounds the records have been ascribed to the third century. It, therefore, seems that the extinction of the Sâtavâhana rule was caused by a northern dynasty called Ikshvâku.

To be continued

[34] *JBBRAS*, XII. 407-9.
[35] *CIC.-AMk.*, p. 1.
[36] *EI.*, I. 96; *ASWI.*, V. 75 and 79; *EI.*, VIII, 94.
[37] *EI.*, VIII. 88.
[38] *ASI-AR.* 1913-14, p. 230.
[39] *CIC.-AMk.*, Intro., xlii, & ff.
[40] *ASSI.*, I. 110.

ON THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE KAUṬILÎYA.

BY HERMANN JACOBI ; BONN.

(*Translated* from the German* by V. S. SUKTHANKAR, PH.D. : POONA.)

There can be no doubt that the Kauṭilîya is one of the oldest monuments of the classical Sanskrit literature; for from the whole range of this literature upto the earliest times one can cite numerous instances of quotation and borrowing that go to prove the acquaintance with this work and the recognition of its authority.[1] But already **A. Hillebrandt,** to whom we owe the first really critical inquiry concerning the Kauṭilîya, has expressed a doubt regarding its authorship; at p. 10 of his monograph cited in the foot-note, he says : "We cannot assume that Kauṭilya himself is the sole author of the text in question. It only originates in his school, which quotes often the opinions of other teachers and opposes to them (after the manner of Sûtra works) expressly the view of Kauṭilya himself, at times expressing the latter in the form of direct maxims." In other words the opinion of **Hillebrandt** is that just as in the Sûtras the view of the alleged author is cited with his name, while in reality that particular work only arises in his school, so also the expressions *iti Kauṭilyaḥ* or *ne'ti Kauṭilyaḥ*, which occur 72 times, reveal the fact that the Kautilya could not have been the work of Kauṭilya himself, but must have arisen in a school of his, the existence of which we are led to postulate. Now the editor of the text has already, in my opinion, conclusively refuted this argument in his Preface, p. XII : "But when certain occidental scholars judging (or rather misled[2]) by current usage, according to which no author when he sets forth his own view puts down alongside of it his name, hold the opinion that works which contain the names of Bâdarâyaṇa, Bodhâyana, etc., in formulæ like *iti Bâdarâyaṇaḥ, ity âha Bodhâyanaḥ, iti Kauṭilya*, etc., are not composed by these persons, their view is based on the ignorance of the usage of the ancient Indian scholars. For, when an author, after refuting [833] the views of his opponents, wishes to express his own views, he must either speak of himself in the first person or specify his name. The use of the first person, which involves the bringing into prominence of one's own person, is opposed even to this day to the sentiment of Indian scholars; they rather would take pains to conceal their personality. Consequently those authors could not help giving their own names when they were stating their own views. For this reason it is not right to assert that our Arthaśâstra was written not by Kauṭilya himself but by some one from the circle of his pupils, notwithstanding the frequent repetition of the formula *iti Kauṭilyaḥ* in the work."

The occurrence of the expression *iti Kauṭilyaḥ* is, as far as I know, the only argument that has been advanced against the authorship of Kauṭilya. But this evidence is, as we must grant Shama Shastri, inconclusive. On the other hand, it would not do either to look upon it as a positive proof of his authorship; for, one does come across cases in which he who is named as the author in the way mentioned above, is not the real author; for instance, Jaimini and Bâdarâyaṇa, as they mutually quote each other, cannot be the authors of the two Mîmâṃsâ Sûtras ; for, that the two Mîmâṃsâ Sûtras could have been produced approxi-

* [To the Rev. Father Dr. Robert Zimmermann, S. J., PH.D., are due my most sincere thanks for having kindly undertaken to go over the translation in manuscript and for having improved upon my unaided efforts; the more so as, owing to the difficulties in the way of communicating with the author of the article, the translation could not be submitted to him for the benefit of revision. It is hardly necessary to add that I am solely responsible for the errors and imperfections of the translation.—V. S. S.]

[1] See **A. Hillebrandt,** Das Kautiliyaśâstra und Verwandtes, Breslau 1908, pp. 2 ff. J. Hertel in WZKM., Vol. 24, pp. 417 f. The author in these Sitzungsberichten, 1911, pp. 733, 735, footnote 1, 962.

[2] Translator.

mately at the same time seems impossible on account of the extreme dissimilarity of their styles, and perhaps also by reason of their mutual differentiation as *pûrva* and *uttara*. If we, therefore, provisionally leave out of consideration the specific statements of the author of the Kauṭilîya regarding his personality and confine our attention to the occurrence of his name in the formula *iti Kauṭilyaḥ*, it would be after all possible to imagine that Kauṭilya might not be the author of the Arthaśâstra that is called after him. It would then be a work of an indeterminate period of composition, and would be without that significance for the 'culture history' (*Kulturgeschichte*) which, I am convinced, it possesses. The great importance of this question calls for a detailed inquiry, which is to occupy us in the sequel.

When we say that a work had its origin in the school of a certain individual person after whom it is named, we must assume two things: 1. that the alleged author was the founder of a school that acknowledged him as such in the sense that he, either materially or formally, brought the development of a 'discipline' to a certain completion and, through its being regularly handed down from teacher to pupil, made a new beginning; 2. that the 'discipline', that had been handed down in that manner and perhaps also amplified as regards minor details through discussion and controversy, was put forward in the form of a book by some subsequent adherent of the school. Can we make these assumptions in the case of the Kauṭilya?

[834] That Kauṭilya could have been the founder of a school in the above sense is hardly conceivable in the light of what we know from history of the position of this man. For, according to the unanimous voice of tradition, which makes itself heard already in the Kauṭilya (*yena śâstraṃ ca śastraṃ ca Nandarâjagatâ ca bhûḥ | amarṣeṇo 'ddhṛtâny âśu*), he had played a leading part at the time of the founding of the Mauryan Empire and become the first Chancellor of the State that was soon to grow to such prodigious dimensions. This office imposed on him undoubtedly a task to which only a man endowed with extraordinary powers could be equal. That such a man might have "formed a school" among the statesmen and diplomats of his time—as we might say of Bismarck—may be unhesitatingly admitted; but that he had founded an academy is difficult to believe. Just try and imagine Bismarck at the end of the day's work, if there was at all an end to it, lecturing to a number of Assessors on the theory of politics and administration! Hardly less preposterous is it to imagine that Kauṭilya, the Indian Bismarck, should collect pupils around himself like a common Pandit,[3] instruct them in the Arthaśâstra, and in this manner found a school of the Kauṭilîyas. On the other hand, it is quite compatible with the character of a great statesman, nay even a ruler, that he should deal with the subject of his avocation or a part of it in theoretical treatises, as indeed was actually done by Frederick the Great. Therefore, if one may speak of a school of Kauṭilya in any sense of the term whatever, then such a school could have originated not with Kauṭilya personally, but only through the medium of the Arthaśâstra written by him. In other words the book does not owe its existence to the school, but the school to the book. It is perhaps not superfluous to point out that the word school is used in the last sentence in two widely different senses. In the former case—that is, had Kauṭilya himself founded the school—the word school signifies the sequence of teachers and pupils, *guruśiṣyasaṃtâna*, in the latter the totality of the followers of his doctrines, *tanmatânusâritâ*.

[3] It is true that in the first Act of the Mudrârâkṣasa he is represented as one. But the author of this drama, who lived a millennium after Câṇakya's time, depicts the age of his hero after the pattern of his own.

Now, what do we know in reality about a school of the Kauṭilîyas? The solitary fact which could be adduced in favour of its postulation is that Kâmandaki, the author of the Nîtisâra, calls Viṣṇugupta, *i. e.* Kauṭilya, his *guru* (II 6). In this instance *guru* can clearly not be taken in its strict sense; for, since Kâmandaki (as was shown above 1911, p. 742) can at the earliest be placed [835] in the third century A.D., he could not have been a contemporary of the minister of Candragupta. In other words, in Kâmandaki's mouth *guru* signifies either the Great Master of the Science or the *paramparâgura*. But the latter appears on his own saying not to have been the case. For, after praising Viṣṇugupta and his deeds in the introductory verses of his work (I 2—6), he proceeds to say:

darśanât tasya sudṛśo vidyânâm pâradṛśvanaḥ |
râjavidyâpriyatayâ saṃkṣiptagrantham arthavat ‖ 7 ‖
upârjane pâlane ca bhûmer bhûmîśvaram prati |
yat kiṃcid upadekṣyâmo râjavidyâvidâm matam ‖ 8 ‖

"From out of the teaching (*darśanât* = *śâstrât* C.) of this sage, whose gaze has penetrated to the deepest fundament of all sciences, shall we, as friends of the Science of Kings, teach only a small part concerning the acquisition and preservation of territory on the part of the prince, abridged in form, but of like contents (*arthavat*, C.: *artha(ta)s tu tâvân eva yasya tat*), to which the masters of the Science of Kings have given their assent." As Kâmandaki in this instance scribes the attribute *saṃkṣiptagrantha* to his work, therefore, contrasted with it, the original that served as the source must needs be called *vistṛtagrantha*, with which only the Kauṭilîya could have been meant. This, undoubtedly, he means by *darśana*, as indeed also Vaiśeṣika, and Nyâya-Darśana are the usual designations of these two Sûtras. Our conclusion that the source used by Kâmandaki was the Kauṭilîya is supported by his quotation II, 6: *vidyâś catasra evai 'tâ iti no gurudarśanam*, which is almost identical with Kauṭilîya, p. 6, *catasra eva vidyâ iti Kauṭilyaḥ.*[4] In any event in Kâmandaki we find no reference to *âgama* or *âmnâya* as we indeed might expect if he had learnt the doctrines of Kauṭilya not from his work, but in his "school," *i.e.* if Kauṭilya had been his *paramparâguru*.

To estimate, however, the relation of Kauṭilya to Kâmandaki adequately, we must draw attention to two facts that are hinted at by Kâmandaki himself in the verses translated above. In the first place it is to be noted that he, in addition to the authority of Kauṭilya, appeals to the consensus of the *savants* of the science (*râjavidyâvidâṃ matam*), that is to say, he takes into consideration [836] other authorities, older and newer, when their doctrines have received general recognition. Thus we can explain divers points of difference between Kâmandaki and Kauṭilya as, for example, those dealt with above 1911, p. 742. A further instance concerns the doctrine of the *maṇḍala* ('political sphere') and its constituents to which Kauṭilya, p. 259, refers very briefly without mentioning any authorities, obviously as a matter of little practical value.[5] But here was a field for idle theorists. Kâmandaki cites VIII, 20-41 a great number of different theories, in some cases giving the names of their exponents. Thus it follows that he is not a

[4] XI, 68 Kâmandaki refers to the views of Kauṭilya concerning the number of ministers in the Council of State (*mantrim mantramaṇḍale*): *yathâsambhavam ity anye*; cf. Kauṭ., p. 29: *yathâsâmarthyam iti Kauṭilyaḥ*. His including Kautilya under the *anye* would not be intelligible, if he had belonged to a 'School of the Kauṭilîyas.' But in the mouth of a compiler who, in addition to his chief authority had consulted others as well, it is unobjectionable. On this question see the immediate sequel.

[5] Interesting is Manu's procedure in this respect. VII, 156 he teaches, what according to Kâmandaki, VIII, 28 is the view of Uśanas, and VII, 157 that of the Mânavas (*ib.* 35). Thus we have here a combination of the two views, which we may expect to find in the Bhṛguproktâ Manusmṛti. Beyond this, however, no direct connection of Manu with the doctrines of the Mânavas communicated by Kauṭilya is demonstrable, see above 1911, p. 743.

biassed partisan of his master. The second peculiarity of his work that deserves notice is that he presents only one small section of the Arthaśâstra (*yat kiṃcit*). He omits everything that is concerned with the actual reality of the life in the State, the State affairs proper, such as Administration, Control of Trade and Commerce, Administration of Justice, etc., in fact, those very things which impart to the Kauṭilîya an incomparable value in our eyes; or at least he does not go beyond the most general maxims. Surely he was no statesman but a typical Pandit; in fact, even his work is characterised by his commentator, p. 137, as *mahâkâvyasvarûpa, i.e.* didactic poetry. The subjects which chiefly interest him are those that bear on abstract concepts, and may be discussed even by laymen with a *vraisemblance* of political discernment : such parts of the Śâstra, for instance, as have offered material to Bhâravi in sarga 1 and 2 of the Kirâtârjunîya, and Mâgha in the 2nd sarga of the Śiśupâlavadha for their descriptions and for many ingenious *bons mots*. Such is not the case with a science that is handed down traditionally and studied in a school, but rather with a Śâstra which the author knows principally from books and from which he concocts his own. In any case we cannot appeal to Kâmandaki for establishing the actual existence of a school of the Kauṭilîyas, which is, in fact, here the point at issue.

So far we have been treating of the school "as an indefinite abstraction : it is absolutely necessary that we now come to the actual facts of the case and try to determine the importance of the school for the development of the Arthaśâstra. We find information regarding it [837] in what Kauṭilya says concerning the sources utilised by him. This question will now be subjected to a detailed examination.

As authorities are mentioned in the Kauṭilîya the following: the *âcâryâḥ* 53 times, *apare* twice, *eke* twice, Mânavâḥ 5 times, Bârhaspatyâḥ 6, Auśanasâḥ 6, Bhâradvâjaḥ 7, Viśâlâkṣaḥ 6, Pârâśaraḥ 4, Pârâśaraḥ once, Parâśaraḥ once (for the latter two we ought perhaps to read Pârâśarâḥ), Piśunaḥ 6, Kauṇapadantaḥ 4, Vâtavyâdhiḥ 5, Bâhudantîputraḥ 1. Âmbhîyâḥ (perhaps a mistake for *âcâryâḥ* ?); besides these, six authors are mentioned once each, but probably not as authors of Arthaśâstras, see above 1911, p. 959. Kauṭilya thus refers to his predecessors 114 times—all instances wherein either he differs from them, or they differ from one another—and then he expresses his own views with *iti Kauṭilyaḥ* or *ne'ti Kauṭilyaḥ* (altogether 72 times); only once, p. 17, we find in a verse *etat Kauṭilyadarśanam*.

This frequency of contradiction appears to me to disclose unmistakably an individual author with a pronounced critical tendency and is in entire harmony with the words of Kauṭilya quoted above, that he had reformed the Arthaśâstra without consideration in quite an independent manner (*amarṣeṇa uddhṛtam âśu*). If the Kauṭilîya had originated in his school a long time after Kauṭilya's death, and only reproduced those of his doctrines that in the meantime had attained general recognition, would people have taken the same interest in carefully noting all those points in which the doctrines of Kauṭilya differed from those of his predecessors? And would they have called his opponents *âcâryâḥ*; ought not the founder of the school to be the only *âcâryaḥ* for them?

Now it is highly remarkable that two rather large sections of the work, pp. 69-156 and pp. 197-253, contain no reference to divergent views. The former would have included the whole of the *adhyakṣapracâra* (pp. 45-147), if antagonistic views had not been mentioned on pp. 63 and 68. At both these latter places the question is about the measure of punishment for losses which the responsible overseers are guilty of (p. 63), and also about how to trace their crimes,[6] p. 68. Both these questions relate really to the Criminal Proce-

[6] Read *lakṣayati* for *bhakṣayati* of the printed edition.

dure and have nothing to do with Administration, the subject-matter of the *adhyakṣapracâra*. The other section includes the 4th and 5th *adhikaraṇas*: *kaṇṭakaśodhanam* and *yogavṛttam* upto the last *adhyâya* of the latter, which deals with a topic unconnected with the preceding one, namely, [838] what should be done in the event of a prospective vacancy of the throne. These two sections, in which no reference is made to any antagonistic views, have this in common that they do not deal so much with general principles as rather contain detailed practical hints: the *adhyakṣapracâra* regarding Administration, Inspection of Trade and Commerce, the other about Police, Budget and similar subjects. They are things about which the doctrinaire does not worry himself, but which for the practical politician are of the utmost importance; and on which after all only such a person can give an authoritative opinion as has taken an active part in the affairs of the State. If Kauṭilya does not avail himself of the opportunity of entering into controversy in connection with these parts of his work, the reason probably is that his predecessors never having dealt with these subjects, no opportunity offered itself. In the introductory remarks of his work the use of the expression *prâyaśas* appears to show that he had some such idea in his mind: *pṛthivyâ lâbhe pâlane ca yâvanty arthaśâstrâṇi pûrvâcâryaiḥ prasthâpitâni, prâyaśas tâni saṃhṛtyai 'kam idam arthaśâstram kṛtam.*

(*To be continued.*)

THE REVISED CHRONOLOGY OF THE LAST GUPTA EMPERORS.*

BY RAMESH CHANDRA MAJUMDAR, M.A.; CALCUTTA.

THE Bhitarî Seal of Kumâragupta II. has added three new names to the list of the Gupta Emperors. Dr. Hoernle who announced this important discovery in *JASB.*, Vol. LXVIII, Part I, p. 88, undertook at the same time a discussion about the chronology of these kings and arrived at the following conclusions about their dates:—

Puragupta, A.D. 470—485

Narasiṁhagupta (Bâlâditya), A.D. 485–530

Kumâragupta II, A.D. 530 (accession).

Dr. Hoernle's views have been generally accepted by scholars. Thus Mr. V. A. Smith placed the accession of the three kings respectively in 480, 485 and 535 A.D.,[1] while Mr. Allan refers it to A.D. 480, 485 and 530.[2]

A few inscriptions, recently discovered, seem however to invalidate the above conclusions. As none of these inscriptions has been published in detail, it will simplify matters if a short description of each of them is given at the outset.

1. The first in point of importance is an inscription on a Buddhist image discovered at Sârnâth. The announcement of this discovery together with a reading of the dated portion was published in the *Annual Report* of the Archæological Survey of India, Part I, p. 22.[3] Through the kindness of Mr. R. D. Banerjee of the Indian Museum I had an opportunity of examining the estampages of this and the two following inscriptions. I read the dated portion as follows:

Varsha Śate Guptânâṁ sa-chatuḥpañchâśaduttare bhûmiṁ rakshati Kumâragupte mâse Jyai(shṭhe). . .

"In the year one hundred and fifty-four of the Guptas, in the month Jyaishṭha, while Kumâragupta was protecting the earth."

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* This article was submitted for publication in August 1917.—D.R.B.

[1] *Early History of India*, 3rd Edition, pp. 311-12.[2] *Catalogue of Gupta Coins*, XLIX, LV, LX.

[3] See also *Annual Progress Report* of the Northern Circle, Buddhist and Hindu Monuments, 1914-15, p. 65.

2 & 3. The second and the third inscriptions were also incised on Buddhist images discovered at Sârnâth. The announcement of their discovery together with a translation of the dated portion was published in the *Annual Report* of the Archæological Survey referred to above.

In one of these inscriptions a considerable portion of the line containing the date is quite illegible but enough remains to show that the two inscriptions belonged to the same year and were probably dated in identical words. I read the second inscription as follows:

Guptânâṁ samatikkrânte sapta-pañchâ'ad-uttare śate samânâṁ pṛithivîṁ Budhagupte praśâsati.

"When one hundred and fifty-seven years of the Guptas had passed away, and Budhagupta was ruling the earth."

The third inscription reads: . . . . *pta pa(?)châ(?)śa(?)duttare śate samânâṁ pṛithivîm Budhagu × praśâsati Vaiśâkha-mâse saptame.*

4. A copperplate of the time of Budhagupta has been discovered at Damodarpur in the district of Dinâjpur, Bengal. It records a grant of land in the Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti. It is now in the possession of the Varendra Research Society along with four others belonging to the Gupta period. Short notices of these inscriptions have been published in p. 273 of the *Indo-Aryan Races* by Ramâ Prasâd Chanda.

Now the question arises about the identity of Kumâragupta mentioned in No. 1. We know of three kings of this name belonging to the Gupta Dynasty. The first Kumâragupta must have died before A.D. 456-7[4], the earliest recorded date of his son and successor Skandagupta. Kumâragupta of the later Gupta Dynasty is said in the Aphsaḍ Inscription to have defeated Îśânavarmman, whose reign is placed beyond all doubt in the middle of the 6th century A.D. by the recently discovered Hârâhâ Inscription. Kumâragupta of Inscription No. 1 with a date in 154 G. E. (A.D. 473-4) cannot, therefore, be identified with any of these, and must be identified with Kumâragupta II. of the Bhitarî Seal. For it cannot be maintained, without positive evidence, that a new ruling dynasty had sprung up within the home territories of the Guptas in less than six years after the death of Skandagupta.

If this is once admitted, the chronological scheme proposed by Dr. Hoernle and accepted by Mr. V. A. Smith and others at once falls to the ground. The invalidity of their chronological assumption is also definitely established on independent grounds. Inscription No. 4 plainly indicates that Budhagupta was not merely a local ruler of Malwa as has hitherto been supposed but that his empire extended to Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti or Northern Bengal. This conclusion is supported by the Sârnâth Inscription of the same king (Nos. 2 and 3). Now the latter places his reign in the year 158 (current) of the Gupta Era or A.D. 477-8. According to the accepted scheme of chronology, either Skandagupta or Puragupta must have been the Gupta Emperor at that time and there is no place for Budhagupta, king of Magadha, before A.D. 530, the date of Kumâragupta II, the last king in an unbroken line of succession that ruled over Magadha.

[4] It is generally assumed, on the authority of the Junâgaḍh Rock Inscription (Fleet's No. 14) that the earliest recorded date of Skandagupta is 136 G. E. or A.D. 455-6 (Allan's *Catalogue of Gupta Coins*, CXXXVIII). This view, however, does not seem to be quite correct. The inscription says that Chakrapâlita, an officer of Skandagupta, renewed, in the year 137, the embankment of the Sudarśana lake which had burst in the year 136 in consequence of excessive rain. It does not necessarily follow from this that Chakrapâlita was already an officer under Skandagupta, when the dam of the lake had actually burst, and there remains, therefore, no ground for the supposition that Skandagupta had ascended the throne as early as 136 G. E. or A.D. 455-6.

Let us now examine the grounds on which Dr. Hoernle[5] based his chronological theory. He accepted as true the statement recorded by Yuan Chwang that Mihirakula was defeated by king Bâlâditya of Magadha, and identified this Bâlâditya with Narasiṁhagupta of the Bhitarî Seal on the ground that the latter "calls himself Bâlâditya on his coins."[6] He then pointed out that as Mihirakula's final overthrow in India took place in about A.D. 530 "it follows, that Bâlâditya in whose reign Mihirakula's overthrow took place must have reigned down to about A.D. 530"[7] and accordingly adjusted the dates of Puragupta, Narasiṁhagupta and Kumâragupta II.

This argument is considerably weakened by two considerations. In the first place, we need not lay too much stress on a tradition recorded by Yuan Chwang, specially when we remember that his information about Mihirakula was anything but satisfactory[8] and that the credit of defeating Mihirakula is given to Yaśodharman in the Mandasor Inscription.[9]

In the second place, the identity of the Bâlâditya of Yuan Chwang and Narasiṁhagupta Bâlâditya is anything but certain, for we know from a Sârnâth stone inscription[10] that there were at least three kings of the same name. Under these circumstances the evidence on which Dr. Hoernle based his chronological scheme must be pronounced to be very weak. It might have been provisionally accepted in his days in the absence of any other evidence, but we must be prepared to give it up as soon as more definite information is forthcoming. Such informations are furnished by the inscriptions noticed above and it is therefore high time to reconstruct the whole chronological scheme on this new basis.

It will follow from what has been said above that the total period of the reign of Puragupta and Narasiṁhagupta cannot possibly be more than 18 years, from A.D. 455-6 the last recorded date of Kumâragupta I. to A.D. 473-4 the earliest date of Kumâragupta II. This in itself is not inadmissible but the difficulty is caused by the fact that we have to place during the same period, the great emperor Skandagupta whose known dates range from A.D. 456-7 to A.D. 467-68. This raises once more the question of relationship of Skandagupta to Puragupta, a question which has never been satisfactorily answered. As Skandagupta had certainly ascended the throne in less than a year's time within his father's death, Puragupta could not possibly have preceded him. Puragupta could therefore be either (1) the successor, (2) the contemporary or (3) identical with Skandagupta. Let us now consider the probability of each of these points of view.

(1) Dr. Hoernle[11] looked upon Puragupta as successor of Skandagupta and this view has been generally accepted. As he held that Narasiṁhagupta ruled in A.D. 530, he naturally argued that the interval of 75 years between this date and the earliest recorded date of Skandagupta "can be more easily filled up by two generations including three reigns than by two generations including only two reigns, *i.e.*, by assuming that Skandagupta and Puragupta

[5] Dr. Hoernle has now considerably modified his theory. See *JRAS.*, 1909, pp. 128-9. He would now identify Puragupta with Skandagupta and place the latter's death at about A.D. 485, the other portions of the chronological scheme remaining intact. The other scholars, however, have accepted the original chronological scheme laid down by Dr. Hoernle apparently on the same grounds as were put forward by him. It is therefore necessary to examine these grounds.

[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 97.

[7] *Op. cit.*, p. 96.

[8] This is clearly proved by the fact that he places Mihirakula "some centuries ago" although the latter must have flourished hardly more than a century before him.

[9] Fleet's Nos. 33, 34.

[10] Flee's *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 79.

[11] See footnotes above.

were brothers, succeeding one another and being themselves succeeded by Narasiṁhagupta."[12] According to the new scheme of chronology put forward above the interval between the latest date of Skandagupta and the earliest date of Kumâragupta II. is reduced to only 6 years, and not only does it invalidate Dr. Hoernle's arguments, but it seems also to be fatal to his conclusions. For if we hold Puragupta to be the successor of Skandagupta the two reigns of Puragupta and Narasiṁhagupta would have to be crowded in the short space of less than 6 years, a theory not deserving of serious consideration without strong evidence in its support.

(2) Dr. Fleet was of opinion that "there was a formal division of the Early Gupta territories in the generation of Skandagupta and Puragupta or some dissension between them."[13] This implies that both Skandagupta and Puragupta were contemporary kings over different portions of the Gupta Empire.

The Bhitarî Stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta records his achievement as crown prince and as well as emperor, and we are told that he erected there an image of the god Vishṇu in order to increase the religious merit of his father. It is, therefore, certain that he succeeded his father in those parts of his dominions.[14] The Junâgaḍh Rock Inscription of the year 138[15] records that Skandagupta selected Parṇadatta as his governor over Surâshṭra, and the latter appointed his son Chakrapâlita as the governor of the city. We are told that Chakrapâlita renewed the embankment of the Sudarśana lake in the year 137. Skandagupta must, therefore, have come into the possession of the western parts of his empire immediately after his father's death. These considerations seem to show that Skandagupta inherited the empire intact from his father and there could not possibly have been any formal division of the Gupta Empire on the death of Kumâragupta I.

It may be contended that Puragupta rebelled against his brother at a later date and carved out a dominion for himself and his successors. This view is, however, opposed to the testimony of coins.

It is a well-known fact that Kumâragupta I. introduced a new type of silver coinage for the home territories of the Gupta empire and this type is commonly found in the eastern portion of the Gupta empire. Skandagupta imitated this type of coins: four of them are dated in 141, four others in 146 and one in 148. This shows that Skandagupta was in possession of those parts down to the end of his reign. On the other hand, the available coins of Puragupta are all of the 'Archer' type and closely resemble in style Skandagupta's heavier issues which, according to Mr. Allan, belong to a later period of the reign and to the most eastern Gupta dominions.[16] These numismatic considerations certainly do not favour the theory of a division of the Gupta empire in Skandagupta's reign, or the contemporaneity of the reigns of Skandagupta and Puragupta.

(3) We next come to the question of the identity of Puragupta and Skandagupta. The Bhitarî seal of Kumargupta II. favours the supposition. It traces the genealogy of the Gupta dynasty from Gupta upto Kumâragupta I. and then continues: "His son (was) the Mahârâjâdhirâja the glorious Puragupta, who meditated on his feet (*tatpâdânudhyâta*) (and) who was begotten on the Mahâdevî Anantadevî."

[12] *Op. cit.*, p. 96.

[13] Above, 1890, p. 227.

[14] Allan's *Gupta Coins*, p. xlvi.

[15] Fleet's No. 14.

[16] Allan's *Gupta Coins* pp. xcv, cii, 129-133.

As Dr. Hoernle admitted, the expression *tatpâdânudhyâta*, applied to Puragupta in the Bhitarî seal, seems to indicate him as having been the immediate successor of his father rather than a remoter successor of him.[17] As Skandagupta is known to have been the immediate successor of his father, the natural presumption is that Puragupta was but another name of Skandagupta. This view was discarded by Dr. Hoernle on the ground that it seemed " hardly probable that in such genealogies the same person would be called by different names "[18] and even when later on he assumed the identity of the two[19] he was at a loss " how to account for the two names of the same person. "[20]

Such instances of double names are, however, not unknown even in the Gupta dynasty. Chandragupta II had a second name Devagupta and both the names occur in the genealogical list of the Vâkâṭaka kings. Thus in the Chammak village grant of Mahârâja Pravarasena II,[21] the donor's father, is said to have married Prabhâvatî-Guptâ, daughter of the Mahârâjâdhirâja Śrî-Devagupta, while a copperplate grant of Rudrasena[22] calls the same Prabhâvatî Guptâ, daughter of Chandragupta II. Another instance may be quoted from the inscriptions of the Pâla dynasty. The fourth king of this dynasty is generally known as Vigrahapâla, but in the Bâdal pillar inscription of the time of Nârâyaṇapâla[23] he is mentioned under the name of Śûrapâla. These instances are calculated to obviate the objection raised by Dr. Hoernle against the identity of Puragupta and Skandagupta.

Numismatic considerations also support the identity of Skandagupta and Puragupta. All the coins attributed to Puragupta are exactly similar to the coins of Skandagupta with the difference that on one coin alone the two letters *Pu, ra*, are written vertically beneath the left arm of the king in place of the letters *Ska, nda*. As a matter of fact, before the discovery of the coins with the letters *Pu ra* the other similar coins, now attributed to Puragupta, used to be attributed to Skandagupta.[24] If it is assumed that Skandagupta had a second name Puragupta, all these coins may be without any difficulty attributed to Skandagupta himself.

On the whole, therefore, the new inscriptions seem to be fatal to the accepted view that Puragupta succeeded Skandagupta. They certainly favour the supposition that the two names were identical although they do not absolutely preclude the theory that Skandagupta and Puragupta were rival kings.

As has been pointed out above, Budhagupta can no longer be looked upon as a mere local ruler. We learn from Inscription No. 4 that his kingdom included Puṇḍravardhana or Northern Bengal, from Nos. 2 and 3, that it extended up to Sârnâth, and from the Eraṇ stone pillar inscription [25] that it included the country between the rivers Narmadâ and Jamunâ. He must be said, therefore, to have been in possession of a fair portion of the Imperial Gupta territory, if not the whole of it, and there remains no ground for relegating him to the position of a local ruler.

Now, the Sârnâth inscriptions (Nos. 2 and 3) definitely prove that Budhagupta was ruling there in 158 G.E. or A.D. 477. The Bhitarî seal of Kamâragupta II places this monarch as well as his two predecessors in an unbroken line of succession from Kumâra-

17 *Op. cit.*, p. 93.
18 *Ibid.*
19 *JRAS.*, 1909, p. 129.
20 *Ibid.*
21 Fleet's No. 55.
22 Above, 1912, p. 215.
23 *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 161.
24 Allan's *Gupta Coins*, pl cii.
25 Fleet's No. 19.

gupta I. It would follow therefore that the reign of Kumâragupta II was closed before A.D. 477, at least in the Sârnâth regions, and this inference is in full agreement with the Sârnâth Inscription (No. 1) which gives us the date A.D. 473-4 for Kumâragupta II.

As a result of the foregoing discussions the following reconstruction of the chronology of the last Gupta emperors may be offered with confidence on the basis of the newly discovered inscriptions mentioned above:—

Kings.	Known dates.	Probable period.
1. Skandagupta or Puragupta, or Skandagupta and Puragupta	A.D. 456-7—467-8	A.D. 456-468
2. Narasiṁhagupta	Nil.	A.D. 468-472
3. Kumâragupta II.	A.D. 473-4	A.D. 472-477
4. Budhagupta	A.D. 477-8—494-5	A.D. 478-500

The relation of Budhagupta to his predecessor cannot be easily determined. It is natural to look upon him as the immediate successor, if not the son, of Kumâragupta II, but it is not impossible that he was a successful rebel in the west who had gradually forced his way to the imperial throne. The fact that no gold coins of Budhagupta have been discovered as yet, is certainly difficult to explain. It may be supposed that the coins bearing simply the 'Âditya legends' like Prakâśâditya and Dvâdaśâditya really belonged to him, though at present there is no evidence to show that they were so. On the other hand, it may very well be that he did not survive his usurpation of the imperial throne for a sufficiently long time to institute the gold coinage.

The reconstructed Gupta chronology clears up our knowledge about the history of the period in some respects. To take only one instance, the history of the so-called later Guptas becomes more definite and more consistent. The begining of this dynasty cannot be placed later than the commencement of the sixth century A.D., because the fourth king of this dynasty, Kumâragupta, who also belonged to the fourth generation of kings, was a contemporary of Îśânavarmman and therefore lived in the middle of the 6th century A.D. According to the hitherto accepted chronology of the last Gupta emperors, the first half of the 6th century is covered by the two reigns of Narasiṁhagupta and Kumâragupta II, the former of whom died in about A.D. 530. We have thus to suppose that the first four kings of the later Gupta dynasty were contemporaries of these Gupta emperors, although the available evidence shows that all of them ruled over Magadha. The scheme of Gupta chronology reconstructed above gives a very natural explanation of the origin of the later Guptas. The last lineal descendant of the mighty Gupta emperors died some time after A.D. 473-4. The throne was then occupied by Budhagupta whose latest known date is A.D. 494-5. We have no definite information of any other Gupta king occupying the imperial throne of Magadha and this is quite consistent with the supposition that a new dynasty of local kings, probably scions of the Gupta Emperors, was established at Magadha at the beginning of the 6th century A.D.

In conclusion, I may refer to an article on the "Gupta Era and Mihirakula" contributed by Mr. K. B. Pathak to the Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, recently published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. He has read the 5th word in the Sârnâth

Inscription No. 1 as *Sâsati* instead of *rakshati*, but the latter reading is quite clear on the estampage. Besides, he holds Kumâragupta of the Sârnâth inscription to be the son and successor of Skandagupta, and different from Kumâragupta of the Bhitarî seal. Further, he takes Budhagupta II (*sic*) as son and successor of Kumâragupta of the Sârnâth Inscription. As he furnishes no reasons for these hypotheses, I am unable to discuss them n the present paper. I do not know of any evidence which either establishes the existence of Budhagupta II or proves the relationship assumed to exist between Skandagupta, Kumâragupta of the Sârnâth Inscription, and the so-called Budhagupta II.

BOOK NOTICE.

THE SANSKRIT POEMS OF MAYÛRA AND BÂṆA'S CAṆḌÎŚATAKA, edited with a translation, notes and an introduction by G. P. QUACKENBOS, A.M., Ph.D. (Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series. vol. 9.) New York. 1917.

PROF. JACKSON, the general editor of the Series, is to be congratulated for the success of his pupil Dr. Quackenbos, who, by bringing out this critical edition of the poems of Mayûra and the *Caṇḍîśataka* has not only preserved the reputation of the Columbia editors but has actually increased it. To handle and study the artistic and nice volumes of this series is a pleasure to a Sanskrit scholar whose hard lot is to read old and worn-out MSS. or cheap Indian editions. In the Introduction Dr. Quackenbos has very ably discussed anything and everything concerning Mayûra, the contemporary and rival of Bâṇabhaṭṭa. His criticism of the poems is just. Original and romantic indeed are the following remarks on the origin of the *Caṇḍîśataka* :—" I cannot refrain from hazarding the suggestion that perhaps the *Caṇḍîśataka* was written by Bâṇa to propitiate the anger o fhis wife by praising the foot with which she had spurned him. The reader will remember how Mayûra, while eavesdropping, heard a lover's quarrel in progress between Bâṇa and his wife. Bâṇa was saying : 'O faithful one, pardon this one fault ; I will not again anger thee.' But she spurned him with her foot, and Mayûra heard her anklet tinkling. Then Bâṇa recited a propitiatory stanza (*Gataprâyâ râtriḥ kṛśatanu śaśî śiryata iva Pradîpo'yaṁ nidrâvaśam upayato ghûrṇita iva ; Praṇâmânto mânas tyajasi na tathâ'pi krudham aho Kuca-pratyâsattyâ hṛdayamapi te subhru kaṭhinam*) in which he addressed his angry spouse as *subhrû*, 'fairbrowed'. Thereupon Mayûra, unable to restrain his propensity for punning, interrupted the quarrel and said : 'Don't call her *subhrû* (Subhrû was one of the six *kṛttikâs*, the Pleiades, who were accounted the six mothers of Skanda ; Caṇḍi was his seventh mother) but *Caṇḍî*' which, punningly, means 'Don't call her fairbrowed, but a vixen.' May not, therefore, the title *Caṇḍîśataka* have the underlying meaning of 'The Hundred stanzas to the Vixen ?' The matter is all legend, or mostly all ; but speculation, even in legend, is not without interest." (p. 247. foot-note). Simultaneous propitiation of one's Deity and lady-love is not unknown in Sanskrit literature (*e. g.*, Kalhaṇa, in his *Râjataraṅgiṇî*, VII. 1, refers to Sivaś's simultaneous praise of *Sandhyâ* and of his consort) and *double entente* is the play of Sanskrit poets and commentators. If the suggestion of Dr. Quackenbos be communicated to orthodox Sanskrit paṇḍits, we may soon expect a *Śṛṅgârapakṣiyaṭikâ* of the *Caṇḍîśataka* which would be a parallel to the devotional interpretations of the *Amaruśataka*, the *Caura-pañcâśikâ* and the *Śṛṅgâratilaka* of Kâlidâsa. The text of the poems has been edited critically. The *Mayûrâṣṭaka* has been printed for the first time from the unique birch-bark *Śâradâ* MS. in the Tübingen University Library. The other poems were printed many times in India and Dr. Quackenbos has given all the different readings of those editions and also the readings of the *śokas* as quoted in the various anthologies, works on poetics, etc. The translation is a faithful one following the interpretation of the commentaries printed in the *Kâvyamâlâ* editions of the *Sûryaśataka* and *Caṇḍîśataka*. The editor has also added various explanatory notes.

We have noticed all its good features. As for its defects, there are a few mistranslations and a few misleading notes as examples of which we may mention the following : (1) p. 21—*purâ' marâvatîjayinyâṁ Śrî Ujjayinyâṁ puri* : 'Formerly in . . . Amarâvatî Ujjayini, Śrî Ujjayinî.' (It ought to be 'in Śrî Ujjayinî which surpassed Amarâvati—the city of the Lord of Devas.') (2) p. 272—

Kuvalayakalikâ-karṇapûrâdareṇa; 'out of. regard for her ear-ornament, an imitation lotus bud'— an ear-ornament in the shape of a lotus.' (The commentary explains '*Nilotpala-kalikâ-rûpaḥ Karṇapûraḥ*'; here *rûpa* does not mean shape but indicates identity of the two, *i.e.*, the lotus tself is the ear-ornament. For lotus as ear-ornament, cf. . . . . *Bhavânî putrapremṇâ Kuvalayadalaprâpi karṇe karoti.* Meghadûta I, 48). (3) p. 109—Dr. Quackenbos identifies the 'Mountain of Sunrise' (Udayagiri) with Mt. Meru. But these two are, according to the *Purâṇas*, different; Udayagiri is located to the east of Bhâratavarṣa, the southernmost country of the Jambudvîpa in the centre of which is Mt. Meru Thus Udayagiri is to the east of India, whereas Mt. Meru is to its north. (4) pp. 234-5—*Bhûpâlâḥ śaśi-bhâskarânvaya-bhuvaḥ ke nâma nâ"sâdita Bhartâram punar eka eva hi bhuvas tvâṃ deva manyâmahe; Yenâ'ṅgaṃ parimṛśya Kuntalam athâ'kṛṣya vyudasyâyatam Colam prâpya ca madhyadeśam adhunâ kâñcyâṃ karaḥ pâtitaḥ.* Dr. Peterson supposed that this *śloka* refers to the conquests of Harṣavardhana, Mayûra's patron. But as his conquest never extended to Southern India, Dr. Ettinghausen believes (and Dr. Quackenbos also seems to believe) it to be a stanza written before a campaign, forecasting what Harṣa intended to do. But it cannot be a *forecast*. The suffix *ta* (*kta*) of *pâtitaḥ* refers to past tense only. Here it has been used with *adhunâ* (now) and thus the past sense is modified a little so as to mean immediate past or in other words *Present Perfect Tense*. It cannot refer to future. Hence we must take the stanza not as a forecast but as 'Praise in the conventional exaggerated style of a poet given up to punning and without any reference to historical accuracy.'

SURENDRANATH MAJUMDAR SASTRI.

PÂRTHA-PARÂKRAMA VYÂYOGA OF PARAMÂRA PRAHLÂDANADEVA, edited with introduction by C. D. DALAL, M.A. Baroda, 1917. Price Annas six.

IT is the fourth volume of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series which was welcomed, a few months ago, in my review of the first volume—*Kâvya-mîmâmsâ*. The work under review is a *vyâyoga* or an one-act drama on military spectacle. The subject matter is the *parâkrama* of Pârtha (Arjuna) in defeating the army of the Kauravas and recovering the cows of Virâṭa. The author is Prahlâdanadeva, the younger brother and *Yuvarâja* (A.D. 1162-1207) of king Dhârâvarṣa, the Paramâra ruler of Chandrâvatî and Mount Abu. Prahlâdana was famous as a warrior, philanthropist and poet. The author of the *Kîrtikaumudî* says that this royal bard made the Goddess of Learning, who was afflicted with sorrow on account of the death of Muñja and Bhoja, again delightful by dramatizing a beautiful story. He also describes our poet in a *praśasti* as the incarnation of *Sarojâsanasambhavâ* (Goddess of Learning) or of the heavenly cow. Though these descriptions have been prompted by what Viśâkhâdatta refers to (in his *Mudrârâkṣasa*) as "*Stuvanti śrântâsyâḥ kṣitipatimabhûtairapi guṇaiḥ prabhâ vastṛṣṇâyâḥ sa khalu,*" this Vyâyoga exhibits our royal bard's skill in drawing word-pictures and in delineating the *Svabhâvokti alaṅkâra* as an example of which I quote :—

Gopân-astravraṇitavapuṣaḥ prekṣya bâṣpâyitâkṣyo—
Hambhârâvair-mukharitamahîkudhrarandhraṃ rudatyaḥ;
Udhorodhâd-alasagatayo'pyâśu bhîtyâ vrajantyas—
Tâmyanty-etâḥ Kurupatihatâ (hṛtâ?) mâtarastarṇakânâm.

It contains many fine passages some of which reminds the reader of similar incidents described in the *Veṇîsaṃhâra* and the *Dhanañjaya-vijaya-vyâyoga* which treats of the same subject. Though our poet is skilful in writing fine verses and is thus really a *prahlâdana* (gladdener), he is not very artistic in the manipulation and development of the plot. His style is *Gauḍî*. He introduces, in his *Prastâvanâ*, a *Sthâpaka* in addition to the *Sûtradhâra*. The Prâkrit passages insert *y* to avoid hiatus (the *Ya-śruti* of Jaina Prakrit)— a peculiarity probably due to the fact that the MSS belonged to Jaina Bhâṇḍâras. The editor has performed his duty very satisfactorily; his introduction is learned, and there are only a few printing mistakes (*e.g.*, read *hṛtâ* for *hatâ* in the *śloka* quoted above, *varṣavara* for *varṣadhara* in p. 13, *Âcârya, vicâryatâm* for *Âcâryavicâryatâm*.)

SURENDRANATH MAJUMDAR SASTRI.

THE VAULTING SYSTEM OF THE HINDOLA MAHAL AT MANDU.*

BY CAPTAIN K. A. C. CRESWELL, R.A.F.

LOOKING through the Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India for 1903, I was much struck with the interior of the Hindola Mahal at Mandû, which I think must possess one of the most remarkable vaulting systems in India. This building is T-shaped in plan, and consists of a great Durbar Hall (Plate I, A) 88½ feet long by 24¼ feet broad and 38½ feet high, forming the stem, and a cross-piece in two storeys. The ground floor of the latter is taken up by passages, storerooms, a stairway and a broad ramp leading to the upper floor, where there is another fine hall, a glimpse of which is seen through the window over the door at the end of the Durbar Hall.

As may be seen, the vaulting system of the great Durbar Hall consists of a series of transverse arches evenly spaced; the backs of these arches are filled up level, but the roofing between them had disappeared as long ago as 1842.[1] These transverse arches may have been connected either by a series of barrel-vaults running at right angles to the axis of the hall, or by means of beams of wood or stone. Mr. Cousens[2] suggests "that the roof was supported on wooden beams, which have been carried off, as has happened in so many buildings at Bijâpûr and other places." In view of the tremendous abutment provided (Plate I, B) it is difficult to believe that it can have been roofed with anything lighter than stone. I venture to suggest that it was roofed by a series of barrel vaults resting on the transverse arches, and my reason for doing so will become clear in the course of this article.

The great feature of this vaulting system which immediately strikes one is that, owing to the roof being carried on fixed points spaced well apart, the wall between them becomes merely a curtain wall, which may be pierced at will and lateral lighting obtained, as in Gothic vaulting. With a simple barrel-vault running from one end of the hall to the other it is very difficult to do this. I shall therefore attempt to trace this somewhat unusual solution to its earliest type, a type in which this potentiality for lateral lighting is not realised, and in which the arches, placed seldom more than six or seven feet apart, are roofed with stone slabs and never vaulted. This primitive type can be traced back to the commencement of the Christian era, when it is found in Nabatæan tombs still existing in the Jebel Ḥaurân (the country lying S. E. of Damascus).

The Nabatæans, who were once thought to have been Aramæans on account of their language, have been shown by Nöldeke and others to have been true Arabs who made use of Aramaic for literary purposes—all their inscriptions are in Aramaic because Arabic had not at that time developed into a literary language. Our knowledge of them may be said to date from the Hellenic period, when we hear of Antigonus sending his general Athenæus against them in 312 B.C., previous to which we know practically nothing about them. At this time they were nomads, without agriculture; nevertheless they were great traders. The first ruler (τυραννος) of whom we hear is Aretas, with whom Jason, the High Priest, sought refuge in 169 B.C.[3] The Nabatæans got their chance on the fall of the empire of the Ptolemies and the Seleucids, and their kingdom may be said to date from Erotimus,

* Reprinted with additions from the *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects.*

1 *A description of the Ruined City of Mandoo.* By a Subaltern. Bombay, 1854. (Preface dated June, 1842.) See pages 16-17.

2 *Archæological Survey, Annual Report.* 1903, p. 32 n.

3 Macc., V. 8.

about 110-100 B.C. In 84 B.C., the Nabatæan king Aretas III. took Damascus from Antiochus XII.; it was recovered by Herod, 23 B.C., but it again changed hands nineteen years later, being taken by Aretas IV. in 4 B.C. In A.D. 106 the Nabatæan kingdom, which now comprised Bostra (Ḥaurân) and Petra, was converted into a Roman province (Provincia Arabia) by Cornelius Palma, the Roman governor of Syria.[4]

As might be expected, the architecture of the Ḥaurân was governed by local conditions. Like the mountains of the Ḥaurân, the entire region is one in which black basalt is the only rock, except at its southernmost extremity, where limestone appears as a building stone in the ruins of Ḳuṣair al-Hallâbât.[5] The country does not produce any timber, and this quite material necessity became the mother of invention and led to the discovery of new constructive methods. Thus the arch, the sole means of covering wide spaces, became the principal element of construction and a series of parallel arches supporting ceiling slabs (Fig. 1) served to cover most of their halls.[6]

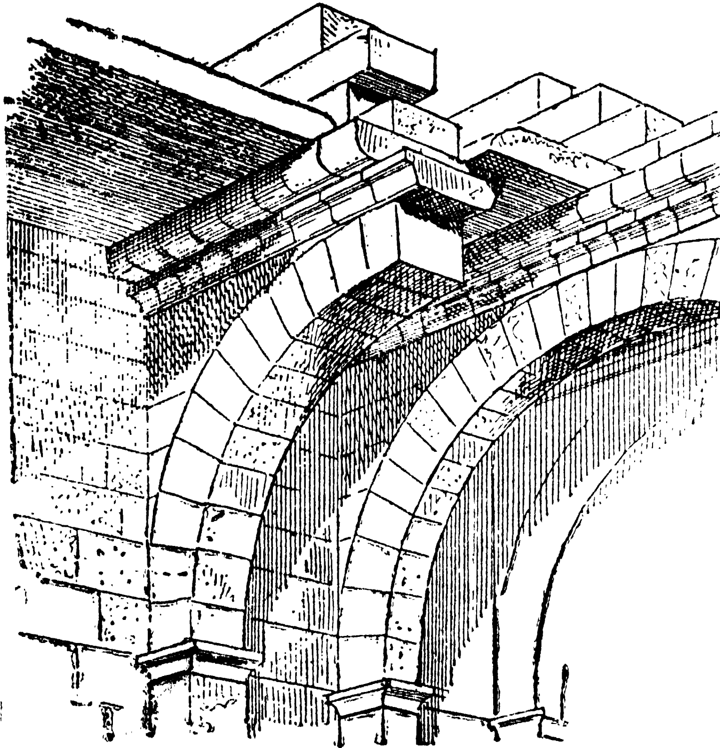


Fig. 1.

The architecture of this region is divided by Butler into five groups:—(1) The Prehistoric—a rough megalithic style without any indication of date; (2) The Nabatæan; (3) The Roman; (4) The Christian; (5) The Muhammadan. The first historical period is the Nabatæan, the earliest monument of which that can be accurately dated is placed by him c. 60 B.C. It may, of course, have begun somewhat earlier, and it lasted until A.D. 106 when the Roman period commenced, and continued until the time of Constantine. The Roman and Christian periods have much reduced the Nabatæan remains, but many scattered details of very characteristic ornament and numerous inscriptions in Nabatæan script remain.

[4] Schurer, (E.). *History of the Nabatæan Kings*, being Appendix II. to his *History of the Jewish People*, Div. I, Vol. 2.

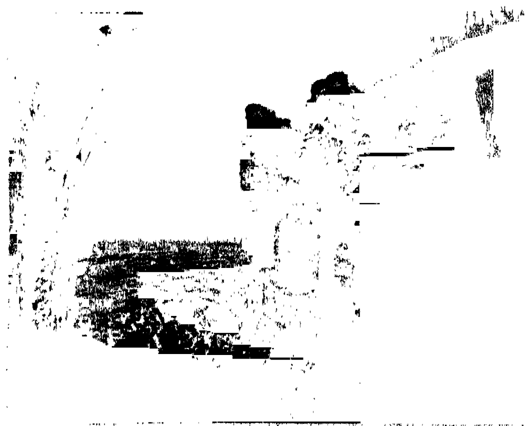
[5] Butler (H. C.). *Ancient Architecture in Syria*, Sect. A, pp. 63-64.

[6] De Vogüé. *Syrie Centrale*, tome I. p. 6.

A The Hindola Mahal (Interior).



B The Hindola Mahal (Exterior).



C. Tak Aiwān. (**From Dieulafoy:** ***L'Art antique de la Perse***).

Butler, like De Vogüé, emphasises the fact that "the architecture was the most truly lithic that the world has ever seen ; it was entirely of stone, sometimes even to the doors and window shutters."[7] It offers a marked contrast to that of Northern Syria in plan, principles of construction and ornamental details—in all those things that go to make up style.[8] For the roofing of all narrow apartments stone slabs were employed; when the width did not exceed 9 feet the space was reduced by corbels to about 6 feet, and slabs slightly over this length were placed across. The wall was always carried up above the corbels to weight them and keep them in place. When broader spaces were to be roofed an arch was thrown across, the haunches of the arch were filled up level with the side walls, and long slabs were laid from these side walls to the central line of support thus provided. Corbelling was used at the same time to further help the cross slabs. In roofing a space that was very long as well as over 9 feet in width, two or more transverse arches were used, giving a series of transverse supports all down the hall. The Druses of the Haurân build their houses in this fashion at the present day.

Tombs were wholly or partially excavated in the ground and paved, walled and roofed with stone. One of the earliest found is described and illustrated by Butler. It is roofed with arches which support slabs (Fig. 2), and eight stelæ with Nabataean inscriptions were found in it.[9]

Fig. 2.

7 Butler, *Ancient Architecture in Syria*, p. 68.

8 Butler, *Architecture and other Arts*, p. 310.

9 *Ancient Architecture in Syria*, p. 206 and ill. 185. Another p. 207, also illustrated.

Balqa, where so many of the Umayyad Khalifs passed a great part of their lives. Our vaulting system occurs in three halls on the upper floor, but although the transverse arches are joined with barrel-vaults, windows are *not* pierced in the bays (Plate II,C). In this respect it is unique among Muhammadan buildings vaulted in this fashion, which fact appears to me to lend further support to Prof. van Berchem's views as to its pre-Muhammadan date. As for the date of Kharâneh, a *terminus-ad quem* is fortunately provided by the preservation on its walls of the last three lines of an inscription painted in black and copied by Dr. Moritz,[22] which runs, " . . Amîr said it and Abd al-Malîk the son of Ubayd wrote it on Monday three days remaining from Muḥarram of the year ninety-two (=A.D. 710)." Dr. Moritz suggests that Abd al-Malîk was probably a member of al-Walîd's suite on his return from the visit to Mecca, which he made in A.H. 91, (709),and which is recorded by Tabari and Ibn al-Athir.

A few hours west of Kharâneh stands Kuṣair ' Amrah, first seen by Professor Musil in 1898, and completely surveyed by him in 1900 and 1901 under the auspices of the Imperial Academy of Sciences of Vienna. The feature, of course, which concerns us is the hall roofed with three barrel-vaults resting on transverse arches with windows in the bays between them (Plate II,D), but the unique feature of the building is its rich and well-preserved wall-paintings which are fortunately combined with inscriptions enabling us to fix its date within very narrow limits. The two most important pictures are one representing the Khalif enthroned, with an Arabic inscription too damaged to be deciphered, and another—a group of six figures—representing the enemies of Islam, four of whom may be identified by their inscriptions as Kaisar (the Emperor of Byzantium), Roderick (the Ostrogoth), Chosroes (King of Persia) and Negus (King of Abyssinia). It must therefore have been built after A.D. 711, when the Arabs first came in contact with Roderick at the battle of the Guadalete. On the other hand, Professor Musil has brought together detailed historical evidence from the *Kitâb al-Aghânî* and other works to show that it must have been built by the Umayyads, who have been shown both by him[23] and by Lammens[24] to have been real Arabs of the desert, fond of hunting, wine, poetry, and the free open-air life, hating towns and neglecting their capital, Damascus, whenever possible—Muhammadans in name but not by temperament. Especially was this the case with Walîd I., a half-Bedouin, who already, when heir to the throne, had selected the steppe of Balqa (Moab) as his dwelling place. He combined with this a real craze for building and the *Kitâb al-Aghânî* especially mentions pleasure palaces built by him. Professor Musil suggests that just as Ṭûba, lying in the Wâdi Ghadaf, probably corresponds with Aghdaf so it is probable that Kuṣair 'Amrah—half bath, half hunting-box—must be one of the Umayyad palaces mentioned in early Arabic literature, concealed under a name that is modern. As the Umayyad dynasty came to an end in A.D. 750, this fixes the other limit. Basing his opinion on convincing arguments as to the identification of the two remaining figures which, however, I cannot enter into here for want of space, Professor van Berchem has narrowed down the probable date to A.D. 712-715.[25]

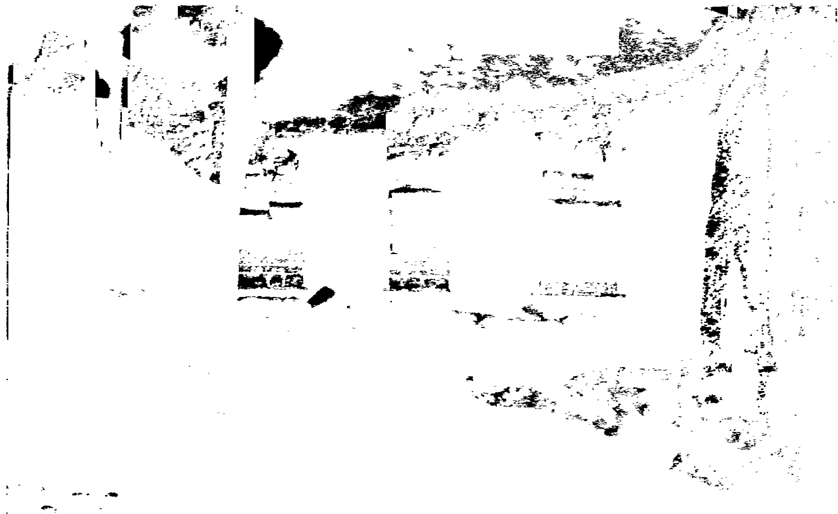
This fixes the date, more or less, for a building scarcely a mile away, known as Hammâm as-Ṣarakh[26], since its plan and dimensions, as well as the number and arrangement of its rooms, are almost identical. One chamber even is roofed with three barrel-vaults resting on transverse arches with windows in the bays, just as we have already seen (Plate II, D).

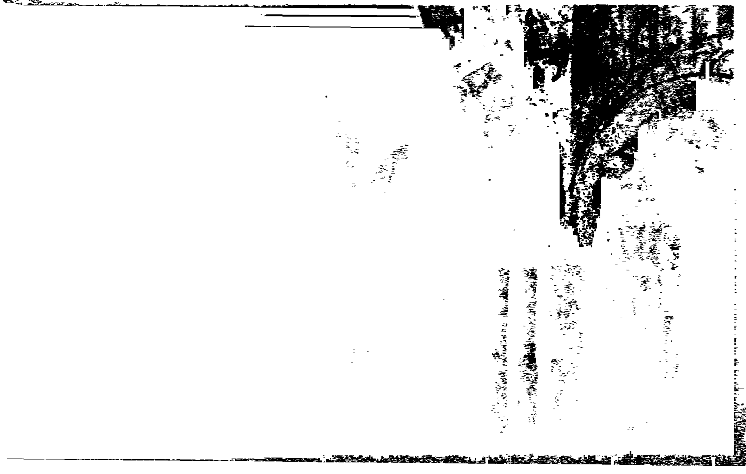
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22 *Ausfluge in der Arbia Petræa : Mélanges de la Faculté orientale, Beyrouth,* tome III, p. 422.
23 *Kuṣejr 'Amra*, pp. 151-160.
24 *La bâdia et la hîra sous les Omaiyades: Mélanges de la Faculté orientale, Beyrouth,* tome VI, pp. 91-112.
25 *Journal des Savants*, 1909, pp. 364-370.
26 Butler, *Ancient Architecture in Syria*, Sect. A, pp. 77, 78, and Appendix, pp. xix-xxv, with plan.



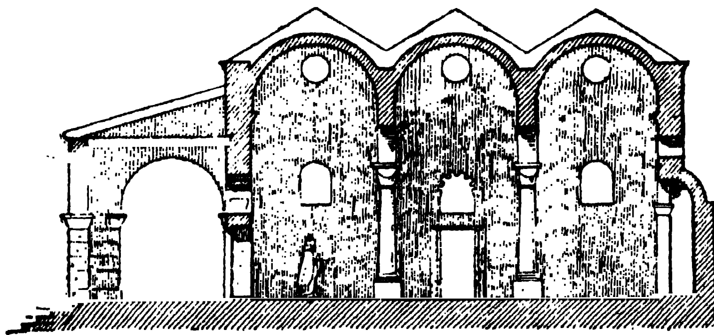
A Tak Eivan Restoration of Interior (From Dieulafoy)





B Hatra (From Dr W. Andrae. *Hatra*).

Butler has also published a description of an exceedingly early mosque at Kuṣair al-Hallâbât.[27] It measures 10.10 m. by 11.80 m. and is divided by two rows of five arches carried on columns and engaged piers (Fig. 5). The walls are levelled up above the arches and barrel-vaults are turned upon them. He suggests that it belongs to the eighth or ninth century. This mosque has a concave mihrâb, which he expressly states was built with the walls, and not added afterwards. As the concave mihrâb does not go back to the earliest days of Islam, this is important, as it gives us a clue to its date. According to Makrîzi, the first to introduce the concave mihrâb was 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Azîz when he restored the mosque at Medinah by order of the Khalif Walîd, A. H. 87-88 (705-706). The mihrâb was copied from the Christian apse and for this reason was received with some reluctance by Islam, in fact it is defined as the least holy part of the mosque and the Imâm is earnestly warned not to take up his station within it.[28] In keeping with this statement, the exceedingly early mihrâb in the mosque-courtyard of the eighth century palace of Ukhaiḍir is entirely without decoration, and is a simple rectangular recess roofed with a semi-dome set on horizontal brackets; the archivolt consists of a double ring of voussoirs. Though the first Egyptian mosque was built by 'Amr ibn al-Âṣ in A. D. 642 it was not given a concave mihrâb until its third enlargement in A. D. 710. The mosque at Kuṣair al-Hallâbât must therefore have been built after A. D. 706 at the earliest. On the other hand, it is scarcely likely to be later than the early part of the ninth century, as it has not a distinctively Muhammadan appearance, and we know from ninth-century buildings at Samarrâ, and from the mosque of Ibn-Ṭûlûn at Cairo (A. D. 876-879), that strong individuality had been acquired by that time.



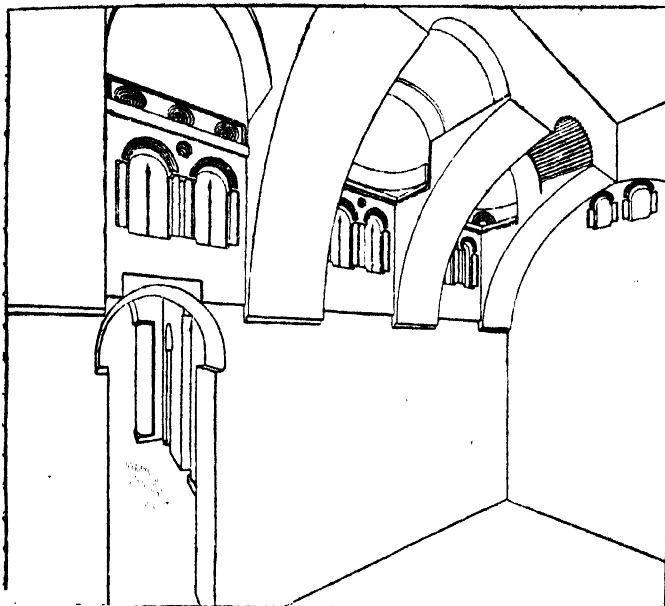
(Fig. 5.)

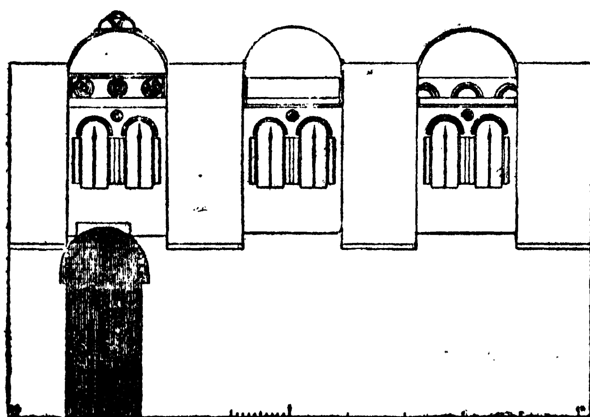
The last early instance that I shall quote occurs in the palace of Ukhaiḍir, discovered by Massignon in 1908, and by Miss Bell, independently, in 1909. An interesting example of our vaulting system is found in one room (Miss Bell's Room 32) in which the windows are not pierced, but simply blocked out (Plate III, A. and Fig. 6). This palace may be placed *c.* A.D. 750.

The finest and most beautiful example to be found in the Middle East is undoubtedly Khan Orthma at Baghdâd (Plate III, C). which will at once be recognised as having the closest possible affinity with the Hindola Mahal, indeed it would be difficult to find anywhere two interiors so nearly identical. Dieulafoy and General De Beylié[29] attribute this building to the twelfth century, and Baron von Oppenheim says that it doubtless belongs to the times of the Khalifate[30] (ended A.D. 1258). I find, however, that Commander J. F. Jones, who saw it in 1846, states that it bears the date 758 (= A. D. 1356-7).[31] This is

[27] *Ibid*, pp. 74-77 and Appendix xvii-xix.
[28] Bell (G. L.). *Palace and Mosque at Ukhaiḍir*, pp. 147-151.
[29] *Prome et Samarra*, p. 33. [30] *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, Band II, p. 241.
[31] *Memoir on the Province of Baghdad.* Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government, XLIII—New Series, p. 315.

the year in which the Merjaniyeh Mosque was built, of whose endowment Khan Orthma forms part. Perhaps the dating inscription may have since disappeared.





(Fig. 6.)

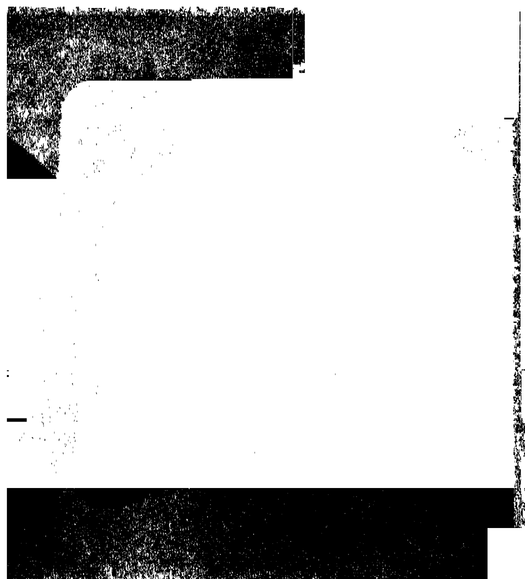
Regarding the date of the Hindola Maḥal, Capt. Barnes states[32] that it cannot be fixed with exactitude, as no inscriptions were discovered during the repairs, and he had not succeeded in finding a specific reference to it in any history. He considers it, however, to be one of the earliest Muhammadan buildings at Mândû. This is probable for two reasons, (*a*) its sloping walls which recall fourteenth-century buildings at Delhi, (*b*) the fact that a large number of the facing stones bear on their inner sides the images of Hindu gods or remains of Hindu ornament, while broken images were found mixed indiscriminately with the rubble core. He suggests that the building which it most resembles in its sloping walls and decorative features is the tomb of Muhammad Tughlaq at Delhi (d. 1324). However, I do not think we need assume that it is quite as old as that. Firstly, one would expect the style of a provincial building to lag some forty or fifty years behind that of the capital;[33] secondly, the tomb of Muhammad Tughlaq is the very earliest in Delhi with sloping walls; there are several later examples which may have influenced the Mândû architect.

[32] Conservation at Mândû and Dhâr. *A. S. Ind.*, *Annual Report*, 1903-4, p. 31.

[33] As an example of this I would cite the following case taken from the field of palæography. As is well known, the Kufic character was employed for all historical inscriptions in Egypt down to the fall of the Fatimide dynasty. The curved character, however, was employed in Syria before this event, *e.g.*, on the *minbar* made by order of Nûr ad-Dîn for the mosque at Aleppo. This *minbar* is dated H. 564 (1168), and was moved by Saladin to the mosque of el-Aksa at Jerusalem, where it still is. It is illustrated in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. I, plate VIII. The latest historical inscription in Kufic in Cairo is in the Mosque of as-Salîh Talâ'i and is dated H. 555 (1160). The earliest in the curved character is dated 576 (1180-1). In the large towns of the provinces the last Kufic inscription (Alexandria) is dated H. 583 (1187-8) and the first in the curved character (Alexandria) is dated in the same year. In the small towns of the provinces the last Kufic inscription (Kûs) is dated H. 568 (1172) and the first in the curved character (Desûḳ) is as late as H. 594 (1197). See M. van Berchem: *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, I, p. 719.



A Ukhaidir Miss Bell's Room 32
(From Dr. Oskar Reuther
Ocheidir).



B. Aiwān in the ruined palace of Machi,
near Hawzdar
(From G P. Tate: *Seistan*).

This view receives further support from the historical evidence. Mândû was finally conquered by the Muhammadans in 1305, and was ruled by governors appointed from Delhi until Dilâwar Khân declared himself independent in 1401. Like his predecessor, Dilâwar Khân, although he spent several months of the year at Mândû, resided at Dhâr, and Mândû only became the capital on the accession of Hûshang (1405-1434). Although Mândû owed most of its splendour to Hûshang, we know from inscriptions that Dilâwâr Khân also erected buildings there, viz., the Târâpur Gate[33] and the mosque named after him. This mosque,[34] as well as the Lat Masjid at Dhâr, built by him in 1405, are both constructed, like the Hindola Mahal, of Hindu remains. I think, therefore, on historical and archæological grounds, that the Hindola Mahal was probably built in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, either by Dilâwar Khân or Hûshang, the chances being in favour of the former.

Before closing I give here (Plate III, B) an interesting example of an aiwân vaulted in this fashion.[35] This building stands at Machi, near Hauzdâr on the trade route through Seistan, and was perhaps built about A. D. 1600.

Postscript.—In the first part of this article, when speaking of Kaṣr Khâraneh, I said that Prof. M. van Berchem did not accept the view that it is a Muhammadan building. His reasons for doing so are as follows. Kuṣair 'Amrah is not fortified, and no one would expect it to be since the Umayyads, masters of a great part of Asia, had no need to fortify their residences when these lay well within the boundaries of their empire. On the other hand Kharâneh as well as Mashîta, Ṭûba, 'Amman and Abyad, are fortified buildings of Mesopotamian type adapted to the plan of the *castra* of the Roman *limes*, such as Qastal. He discusses the matter at considerable length, and concludes that the hypothesis which attributes these buildings to the Ghassanides, who were Syrians and Christians, is improbable owing to the complete absence of Christian symbols and the presence of fragments of images at Mashîta, as well as the Dionysiac interpretation of the façade suggested by Clermont Ganneau. Further, Mashîta and Kharâneh are strongly influenced, if not entirely inspired, by Persia and Mesopotamia. Now the Lakhmids were of Mesopotamian origin, and the inscription of Nemâra proves that at the commencement of the fourth century the Lakhmid king Imrulqais was allied with the Romans and Persians, and that his rule extended to the Roman boundary east of the Haurân. He may well have felt the need of frontier forts and Ṭûba, Ammân, Mashîta and Kharâneh form just such a line of advanced posts towards the west. Prof. van Berchem therefore places them in the fourth century. I submit that in the series of buildings dealt with in this article, Kharâneh, by reason of the absence of windows in the bays, falls more naturally into the fourth than into the eighth century, and that support is thus lent to Prof. van Berchem's theory.

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[33] Zafar Hasan. *The Inscriptions of Dhâr and Mândû*: *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1909-10, pp. 18-19.

[34] Barnes (Capt E.), *Dhar and Mandû*: *Journ. Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. Vol. XXI, p. 384.

[35] Tate (G. P.) *Seistan*, plate to face, p. 136.

THE FARUQI DYNASTY OF KHANDESH.

BY LT.-COLONEL T. W. HAIG, C.M.G.

(*Continued from p.* 149.)

THE peace was not long kept between the imperial troops and the armies of the Dakan. Each side accused the other of bad faith, but there appears to have been some excusable difference of opinion as to the position of the southern frontier of Berar, and the Dakanîs, who accused the Mughuls of breaking the peace by occupying Pâthrî and other places beyond the limits of Berar, attacked some Mughul posts which were unquestionably within that province. The Mughuls could adduce some evidence to show that Pâthrî was included in Berar, and there seems to be no doubt that the responsibility for the renewal of hostilities lay with the rulers of Aḥmadnagar, who, having obtained help from Bîjâpûr and Golconda, decided to make an attempt to expel the imperial troops from Berar. Âbang Khân of Aḥmadnagar appealed for help to Ibrâhîm 'Adil Shâh II of Bîjâpûr, who sent to his assistance a force, well supplied with artillery, under the command of his best officer, the eunuch Suhail Khân. A contingent under Mahdî Qulî Khân was also supplied by Muḥammad Qulî Qutb Shâh of Golconda, and the allied army of the Dakanîs, 60,000 strong, marched towards Sonpat on the Godâvarî, about fifteen miles from the town of Pâthrî. The Khânkhânân, who had his headquarters at Jâlna, at once assembled his forces and himself went to Shâhpûr, to inform Sultân Murâd of the impending danger. The prince wished to take the field in person but the Khânkhânân, whether from selfish motives or in the interest of the imperial cause, dissuaded him from this course, and himself assumed command of the field force with Shâhrukh Mîrzâ. The imperial army, which mustered no more than 20,000 horse according to Firishta,[26] or 15,000 according to the *Akbarnâma*, marched to Âshtî, to the north of the Godâvarî, and there entrenched itself, halting for fifteen days before venturing to attack the enemy. The battle began on Feb. 8, 1597, according to Firishta, and on Feb. 17 according to the *Akbarnâma*. The various accounts of this extraordinarily complicated battle differ in detail, but agree in all the main particulars and display the lack of discipline and cohesion in oriental armies In the army of the Dakan the contingent of Aḥmadnagar occupied the centre, that of Bîjâpûr the right, and that of Golconda the left. In the imperial army the Khânkhânân and Shâhrukh Mîrzâ commanded the centre and Râja 'Alî Khân and Râja Jagannâth the right and left As the imperial troops advanced to the attack Suhail Khân opened fire with his artillery and put two or three thousand horse out of action, Râja 'Alî Khân with thirty of his principal officers and 500 of his men being slain. The two wings of the imperial army were defeated and put to flight so that many of the men hardly rested until they had reached Shâhpûr, more than a hundred miles distant, where their accounts of the total defeat of the imperial troops so alarmed Sultân Murâd and his tutor, Muḥammad Ṣâdiq Khân, that they prepared to retire from Berar. In the meantime the Khânkhânân and Shâhrukh Mîrzâ had not only stood their ground in the centre of the imperial army but had pushed back the army of Aḥmadnagar and captured the Bîjâpûr artillery, which they were enabled to do by the disposal of the Bîjâpûr contingent who, being assured of victory, and scattered in all directions in search of plunder. The battle had not begun until late in the afternoon, and when night fell the Khânkhânân and Shâhrukh Mîrzâ, with the small force that remained to them, held their ground on the field, while Suhail Khân, who, though he believed the defeat of the imperial army to be complete,

[26] ii, 320.

had retained the royal guards of Bîjâpûr near his person, bivouacked within a bowshot of the remnant of the Mughuls, neither party being aware of the propinquity of the other until, after a watch of the night was passed, the Bîjâpûrîs lit their fires. The Khânkhânân then opened fire with his artillery and that which he had captured on Suhail Khân's position, and at intervals through the night caused the great drums to be beaten, thereby rallying round him many fugitives, so that before the morning he had assembled 4,000 men to oppose to the 12,000 who had gathered round Suhail Khân. During the night the imperial troops, finding no trace of Râja 'Alî Khân or his contingent, hastily concluded that he had either fled or deserted to the enemy, and plundered his camp. Accounts of the circumstances in which the battle was renewed in the morning differ. According to one version the Khânkhânân refrained from taking the offensive, believing that Suhail Khân would ask for terms, and the Mughuls were attacked by the Dakanîs when they went down to the river in the morning to slake their thirst; but according to the other version the Mughuls attacked the enemy with loud shouts before it was light. There is no discrepancy regarding the result of the battle. The Bîjâpûrîs were utterly defeated and fled towards Naldrug, Suhail Khân who had been wounded, escaping with difficulty. The contingent of Ahmadnagar and Golconda, which had been put to flight on the previous day and had barely rallied where the Bîjâpûrîs were defeated, fled headlong and in sorry case to Ahmadnagar and Haidarâbâd. Forty elephants and all the artillery of the Dakanîs were captured.

When the corpses of Râja 'Alî Khân and his valiant contingent were discovered those who had plundered his camp were overwhelmed with confusion, and it would appear that his banner, kettle-drums, and elephants were restored. His body was carried to Burhânpûr and was there buried, with great pomp, in the Daulat Maidân. He was succeeded in Khândesh by his son Qadr Khân, who assumed and used the title of Bahâdur Shâh. The prince bitterly resented the unfounded suspicions of his father's good faith and the plundering of his camp and, with less wisdom but more honesty than his father, consistently opposed Akbar. Sultân Murâd sent him congratulations on his accession and invited him more than once to visit him at Shâhpûr, but Bahâdur Shâh evaded the invitation on each occasion, urging as his excuse the lack of a suitable force to accompany him,—a sufficiently pointed reference to the losses which his state had suffered by its activity in the imperial cause. He could not, however, refuse Murâd's offer of a contingent of 4,000 horse to be placed under his command, and his proposal to marry a daughter of the Fârûqî house, and he gave to the prince a cousin german of his own.

Bahâdur's reign was troubled by dissensions between his *amîrs*, but he was no *roi fainéant* and usually contrived to follow his own course, which was disastrous to him in the end.

On May 1, 1599, Shaikh Abul Fazl, Akbar's secretary, who had been appointed to the Dakan, arrived in the neighbourhood of Burhânpûr and was courteously welcomed by Bahâdur, who urged him to remain for some time in the city as his guest. Abul Fazl insisted, however, on continuing his march to join Sultân Murâd, but was delayed by wind and rain and was overtaken by Bahâdur Shâh. He took advantage of Bahâdur's forcing his company upon him to urge him to aid in the conquest of the Dakan, but Bahâdur temporized and suggested that he should send his son Kabîr Khân, with a contingent of 2,000 horse, to join the imperial camp. He again urged Abul Fazl to stay with him in Burhânpûr, but Abul Fazl again declined, saying that he would have acceded to the request had Bahâdur agreed to join the imperial army in person. Bahâdur then attempted to conciliate Abul

Fazl with gifts, but he declined them on the ground that his imperial master supplied all his needs.

Sultân Murâd, who had long been drinking heavily, succumbed to the effects of his intemperance before Abul Fazl, whom he was avoiding, could overtake him, and on May 12, 1599, died at Dîhârî, on the Purna, of *delirium tremens* or alcoholic poisoning.

It was at this time that Bahâdur for some reason, probably because it had virtually become an imperial city, conceived a dislike to Burhânpûr and resolved to destroy it and to build with its materials a city at a distance of about ten miles from it, which be proposed to name Bahâdurpur, but the people of Burhânpur protested strongly against this proposal. They had no objection, they said, to his building a new city for himself, but objected to the destruction of Burhânpûr, which had been founded in honour of the saint Burhân-al-dîn and bore his name. Bahâdur then denied that he had any intention of destroying Burhânpûr, but proceeded with the building of Bahâdurpûr, beginning with his own palace. When this was completed he assembled Sayyids, *amîrs*, and all the principal men of the state with poets, singers, and minstrels, and gave a great feast.

Sultân Dâniyâl, Akbar's youngest son, was appointed to the Dakan in the place of his brother, Sultân Murâd, but travelled in a very leisurely manner towards the seat of his new government, and did not reach Burhânpûr until January 1, 1600. After his arrival in Burhânpûr Bahâdur Shâh imprudently refused to wait on him or to acknowledge his arrival in any way. Dâniyâl was much enraged, and though he was understood to be marching southwards, under his father's orders, to besiege Ahmadnagar, and had already sent order to Abul Fazl to refrain from opening the campaign, which task had been reserved for him, he halted in Burhânpûr and summoned the *amîrs* of Berar to his aid, with a view to punishing Bahâdur for his insolence. To all demands for reparation for the insult, which included the payment of an indemnity, Bahâdur returned temporizing replies, and Dâniyâl would probably have besieged him in Asîrgarh, had he not received peremptory orders from his father to continue his march towards Ahmadnagar. Akbar was himself on the way to the Dakan, and was now at Ujjain. He had intended to spend some time in Mâlwa, but on learning of the attitude of Bahâdur resolved to march at once to Burhânpûr. In order to appease Dâniyâl and to leave Bahâdur a loophole for escape Akbar feigned to believe that Bahâdur, having learnt of the emperor's impending arrival, had scrupled to pay his respects to the prince before paying them to the emperor himself. On Dâniyâl's leaving Burhânpûr Bahâdur sent him a present and sent his son, Kabîr Khân, to set him on his way, but when Khvâja Maudûd arrived at his court, as Akbar's envoy, to inquire into the circumstances of the slight put upon the prince he found Bahâdur immovable. He took the position that it would have been derogatory to him, as a king, to make the first visit to a mere prince and instead of making the offerings which Akbar had expected, both as tribute and as reparation for the slight put upon his son, he sent only four inferior elephants. Akbar sent to Abul Fazl, who was hastening from Berar to join him, orders to visit Bahâdur Shâh and to offer him forgiveness on condition of his appearing at court and making his submission, but the mission failed and on April 8, 1600, Akbar arrived before Burhânpûr and on the following day sent Khân-i-A'zam and other officers to form the siege of Asîrgarh. 'Abul Fazl was appointed governor of Khândesh and sent his brother, Shaikh Abul Barakât, and his son, Shaikh 'Abd-al-Rahmân, in different directions with troops, to establish the imperial authority in the country. Muzaffar Husain Mîrzâ was sent to Laling where three of Bahâdur's *amirs*, Fûlâd Khân the African, Rûp Râî, and Malik Shîr, were assembled with their troops.

Fûlâd Khân submitted, and slew Rûp Râî, who attempted to prevent him from deserting, so that all Rûp Râî's elephants and other property fell into the hands of Muzaffar Husain Mîrzâ. At the end of May Bahâdur attempted to open negotiations with Akbar, sending his grandmother and his young son to the imperial camp with sixty elephants, and promising to give his daughter in marriage to Sultân Khusrav, the son of Sultân Salîm (Jahângîr), but it was evident that these negotiations were only a device to gain time until provisions should become so scarce and dear that Akbar would be obliged to retire, and Bahâdur was informed that nothing but unconditional personal submission would be accepted.

On June 21 a force under Qarâ Baig and other officers captured the Sâpan hill, from which the Khândeshîs had been able to harass the besiegers of Asîrgaṛh, and the whole of Bahâdur's forces were driven inside the fortress; and on August 13 Malik Shîr and the garrison of Laling, who had surrendered to Khvâjagî Fatḥallâh, were brought to court.

On Sept. 22, further overtures for peace made by Bahâdur were rejected, but the siege made slow progress, for many of the imperial officers had received bribes from Bahâdur, and Abul Fazl was sent to infuse fresh vigour into its prosecution. The garrison was reduced to great straits, for Bahâdur had permitted many refugees from his kingdom, to the number of 18,000, with their horses and cattle, to enter the fortress, and the insanitary conditions arising from the presence of so large a number of people and animals in a confined space were aggravated by the putrefaction of the vast stores of grain which the fortress contained, and a pestilence broke out among men and beasts, so that large numbers perished. The plight of the garrison facilitated the capture of the fort of Mâlîgaṛh, a large outwork situated to the north-west of the main fort and on the lower slopes of the hill, which fell on Dec. 9.

Bahâdur Shâh's chief anxiety was to escape the disgrace of formally surrendering Asîrgaṛh, but although he had been able to buy many of the officers in the besieging force it was evident that Akbar intended to remain in Khândesh until the fortress fell. It was therefore decided that an attempt should be made to evade the surrender by a stratagem. Bahâdur Shâh was to fulfil Akbar's conditions by appearing before him at Burhânpûr, in the hope that the emperor would be content with this formal act of submission on the part of the ruler and would confer the government of Khândesh on him as a vassal, following a common practice in such cases, so that the formal surrender of Asîrgaṛh would be avoided. In the event of this expectation being disappointed it was decided that the fortress should hold out and that Bahâdur should avert Akbar's wrath from himself by representing the garrison as rebels who defied his authority. Accordingly he agreed to wait upon Akbar on condition that the government of Khândesh was bestowed upon him and that he was allowed to release the imprisoned members of the Fârûqî family, for it was the custom in Khândesh to imprison all members of the ruling family except the reigning king.

No attempt at regulating the issue of rations in the fortress had been made and discontent was rife, for large numbers of those who had taken refuge there were suffering from scarcity and want. The garrison, learning that Bahâdur proposed to desert them, sent a deputation to him to announce that they would not permit him to leave the fortress alone, but would accompany him. At length Sâdât Khân, one of the leading *amîrs*, was permitted to go to the imperial camp to arrange preliminaries with the emperor, and carried with him a large quantity of treasure from the fortress to assist him in his negotiations. He was accompanied by his contingent of troops and a large retinue of private servants and turned traitor. Having made terms for himself he entered Akbar's service and disclosed the state

of affairs in the fortress. Muqarrab Khân was next sent to the imperial camp and, having obtained Akbar's promise that Bahâdur should be maintained in his kingdom, returned to the fortress and persuaded Bahâdur to descend to the imperial camp and make his submission. Bahâdur left the fortress with the leading men of his army and was received at some distance from Akbar's camp by the Khân-i-A'ẓam and by him conducted into the imperial presence. "And that," says the author of the *Ẓafar-al-Wâlih*, "was the end of his reign over his kingdom and his mountain."

Bahâdur's stratagem failed, for he soon discovered that Akbar's promise to maintain him in his kingdom was contingent on the surrender of Asîrgaṛh, and as the fortress continued to hold out the promise was held to be void. From the *Akbarnâma* it would appear that the obstinacy of the garrison was due to secret instructions from Bahâdur, but the author of the *Ẓafar-al-Wâlih* gives a different account. He says that among those who remained in the fortress was Malik Yâqût, Muqarrab Khân's father, who was old and blind, 'and he assembled in the royal palace in the fortress all the sons of Mubârak Shâh and their 'sons, and said to them. "The fortress is as it was and the garrison is as it was. Which of 'you will accept the throne and will protect the honour of your fathers?" And not one of 'them answered him anything, and he said to them, "Would to God that ye were women!" 'And they excused themselves; and it happened that as he was defending the fortress there 'came up to it his son Muqarrab Khân with a message from the king, and Malik Yâqût said 'to his son, "May God not show me thy face. Go down to Bahâdur and follow him." 'And he went down and obeyed his order, until at length in the assembly of Abul Faẓl he 'stabbed himself in the belly with his dagger, in abasement that his father was not content 'with him, and he died. But Malik Yâqût Sulṭânî, when he despaired of all the offspring 'of Mubârak Shâh, went out to his house, made his will, bathed himself, and had his shroud 'brought. Then he summoned his family and went out to the mosque which he had built, 'and prayed, and distributed benefits and gave alms, and he caused to be dug a grave in a 'spot which he desired, and then he ate opium, for his jealous patriotism was strong upon 'him, and he died and was buried there. And they said, "Search for a text in God's book," 'and this was found, "Say: O my servants who have transgressed to your own hurt, despair 'not of God's mercy, for all sins doth God forgive! Forgiving and merciful is He!" May 'God pardon him and have mercy upon him! Then the people of the fortress were summoned 'to come down and take assurance, and in accordance with their answer Shaikh Abul Faẓl 'of Dihlî went up the mountain and took his seat on the stone platform known as that of 'Tafâ'ul Khân, and gave permission to them to descend with their families, and this they 'did, and the reduction of the fortress in A.H. 1009 (A.D. 1600-01) was attributed officially 'to Shaikh Abul Faẓl.

'The beginning of the rule of the Farûqîs in Burhânpûr was in A.H. 784 (A.D. 1382) 'and from that date the name of Burhânpûr (as applied to the province) was disused, and 'the province was known from them as Khândesh ("the country of the Khâns") of the 'dependencies of Dihlî, and in the reign of Bahâdur Shâh, son of 'Adil Shâh, after 225 years, 'the province was again, as formerly, included among the dependencies of Dihlî. And the 'kingdom is God's, be He praised!'

The exact date of the surrender of Asîrgaṛh, as given in the *Akbarnâma*, was January 26, 1601, which may be taken as the date of the extinction of the dynasty founded in 1382 by Râja Aḥmad or Malik Râja, and according to the same authority it was not Shaikh Abul Faẓl himself, but his son, Shaikh 'Abd-al-Raḥmân, who received the surrender of the fortress.

According to Khâfî Khân, the author of the *Muntakhab-al-Lubâb*, all the treasure of the Fârûqîs and much buried treasure of the former Hindû chiefs of Asîrgarh fell into the hands of Akbar's officers, and in the same work there is an interesting story of a superstition connected with the fortress. It is said that there was a large rock in the Tâptî near Burhânpûr and that when the city was founded in obedience to the posthumous instructions of the saint Burhân-al-dîn, conveyed through the saint Zain-al-dîn, the latter said that so long as the rock should retain its shape the kingdom should belong to the Fârûqîs, but when it assumed the shape of an elephant the kingdom should pass from them. Akbar heard this story, and being impatient for the fall of Asîrgarh, the siege of which was long protracted, employed sculptors to cut the stone into the likeness of an elephant. His action, with the evidence of faith in the old prophecy which it displayed, disheartened Bahâdur and hastened the surrender of the fortress. It is evidently to this circumstance that Firishta refers when he says that the outbreak of sickness in the fortress was attributed by the besieged to the arts of sorcerers employed by Akbar.

The author of the *Muntakhab-al-Lubâb*[27] also says that the siege of the fortress lasted for nearly four years, beginning in the early part of A.H. 1008 (July-August 1599) and ending at the beginning of A.H. 1012 (June, 1603); but on this point the evidence of the *Akbarnâma*, written by Shaikh Abul Fazl, who took part in the siege, and of Firishta and the author of the *Zafar-al-Wâlih*, both of whom were contemporaries, while the latter had an intimate personal acquaintance with many of the principal actors, is conclusive.

The author of the *Zafar-al-Wâlih*, who was for a time in the service of Fûlâd Khân, one of the *amirs* of Râja 'Alî Khân ('Âdil Shâh IV) and Bahâdur Shâh, gives the following character of Bahâdur: 'In his reign the mighty were humbled and those of low degree 'were exalted, he who laboured not obtained advancement and he who was honest fell 'behind; and he divided among lewd fellows of the baser sort the jewels and rich stuffs which 'his fathers had amassed and collected together all that promoted sensual enjoyment, and 'all manner of unlawful pleasure became common; and he aroused wrath in the breasts of 'his father's ministers, so that they were prepared to welcome even a disaster that might 'bring peace. Nevertheless there were in Bahâdur some praiseworthy qualities, such as 'assiduity in alms-giving at fit seasons; and with equal justice he distributed alms to the 'well-being of those who were in want, and very willingly to Shaikhs and Sûfîs who 'claimed to work miracles, even though these were doubtful. Nor was he without trust in 'God, and would always say *mâshâ'llâh* ("please God") when he undertook any business.'

This sketch does not much exalt Bahâdur in our eyes. He was evidently weak, sensual, and strongly tinged with superstition. His petulant and foolish defiance of Akbar was evidence rather of lack of understanding than of strength of character, and he certainly entered upon the undertaking without counting the cost.

Mention has already been made of the Fârûqî princes whom it was the custom of the house to imprison lest the succession should be disturbed, and we have seen that the faithful Malik Yâqût, when Bahâdur left the fortress, assembled these princes and unsuccessfully tried to rouse their spirit by inviting one of them to ascend the vacant throne. The circumstances of their lives had not been such as to foster in them a spirit of enterprise. When the fortress was finally captured over fifty of these unfortunate princes, all of whom sprang from Mubârak Shâh II, the ninth ruler of the line, fell into Akbar's hands. Their genealogy is as follows.

27 i, 214.

Mubârak Shâh II, died 1566.

- I. Muḥammad Shâh II, died 1576.
  - 1. Ḥasan Khân.
    - i. Qâsim Khân.
    - ii. Ibrâhîm Khân.
- II. Râja 'Alî Khân ('Âdil Shâh IV.) died 1597.
  - 1. Bahâdur Shâh.
    - i. Kabîr Khân.
    - ii. Muḥammad Khân.
    - iii. Sikandar Khân.
    - iv. Muẓaffar Khân.
    - v. Mubârak Khân.
  - 2. Aḥmad Khân.
    - i. Muẓaffar Khân.
    - ii. 'Alî Khân.
    - iii. Muḥammad Khân.
  - 3. Maḥmûd Khân.
    - i. Valî Khân.
    - ii. Ibrâhîm Khân.
  - 4. Ṭâhir Khân.
  - 5. Mas'ûd Khân.
  - 6. Muḥammad Khân.
  - 7. Daughter married to Valî Khân.
  - 8. Daughter married to Naṣîr Khân.
  - 9. Daughter married to Sayyid Ismâ'îl.
- III. Dâ'ûd Khân.
  - 1. Fatḥ Khân.
  - 2. Muḥammad Khân.
- IV. Ḥâmid Khân.
  - 1. Bahâdur Khân.
- V. Qaiṣar Khân.
  - 1. Latîf Khân.
    - i. Ḥabîb Khân.
    - ii. Ibrâhîm Khân.
  - 2. Dilâvar Khân.
  - 3. Murtaẓâ Khân.
- VI. Bahrâm Khân.
  - 1. A'ẓam Khân.
  - 2. Mûsâ Khân.
  - 3. Jalâl Khân.
- VII. Shîr Khân.
  - 1. Ismâ'îl Khân.
  - 2. Aḥmad Khân.
- VIII. Ghaznî Khân.
  - 1. Aḥmad Khân.
- IX. Daryâ Khân.
  - 1. Muḥammad Khân.
  - 2. Maḥmûd Khân.
  - 3. Muẓaffar Khân.

X. Ṣâḥib Khân.
  1. Ṭâhir Khân.
    i. Sikandar Khân.
    ii. Ibrâhîm Khân.
  2. Ṣidq Allâh Khân.
XI. Daughter married to Farîd Khân.
  1. Dilâvar Khân.
    i. Tâj Khân.

In addition to these descendants there were.—

(1) Muḥammad Khân, son-in-law of Chând Khân, whose name does not appear in the genealogy, probably because he was dead, but who was evidently a member of the royal house.

(2) 'Alî Khân, son-in-law of Hasan Khân, only son of Muḥammad Shâh II.

From this genealogy we learn that the youthful Hasan Khân, son of Muḥammad II., was not, as the *Zafar-al-Wâlih* would lead us to suppose, put to death by his uncle, Râja 'Alî Khân, who supplanted him, but lived to marry and to have a family of at least two sons and a daughter.

The ultimate fate of all these princes is unknown, but according to the *Akbarnâma* they were presented to Akbar, who ordered that they should attend regularly at court in order that he might judge of their fitness for advancement.

Firishta, at the conclusion of his account of the rulers of Khândesh, makes one of his few original contributions to history. He tells us [28] that in A.H. 1023 (A.D. 1614) he visited the fort of Asîrgarh in company with Khvâja Husain Turbatî, who had held an important post in the service of Sultân Dâniyâl. After describing the fortress, he writes: 'They say that when Akbar Pâdshâh had conquered the fortress and returned to Agra, 'he, in consequence of his attachment to the ways of the unbelievers, sent orders that the 'great Friday mosque in the fortress should be destroyed, and an idol temple erected on 'its site, but Sultân Dâniyâl, who was then in Burhânpûr, did not obey the order, and 'purposely neglected to carry it out, so that it was never given effect to.'

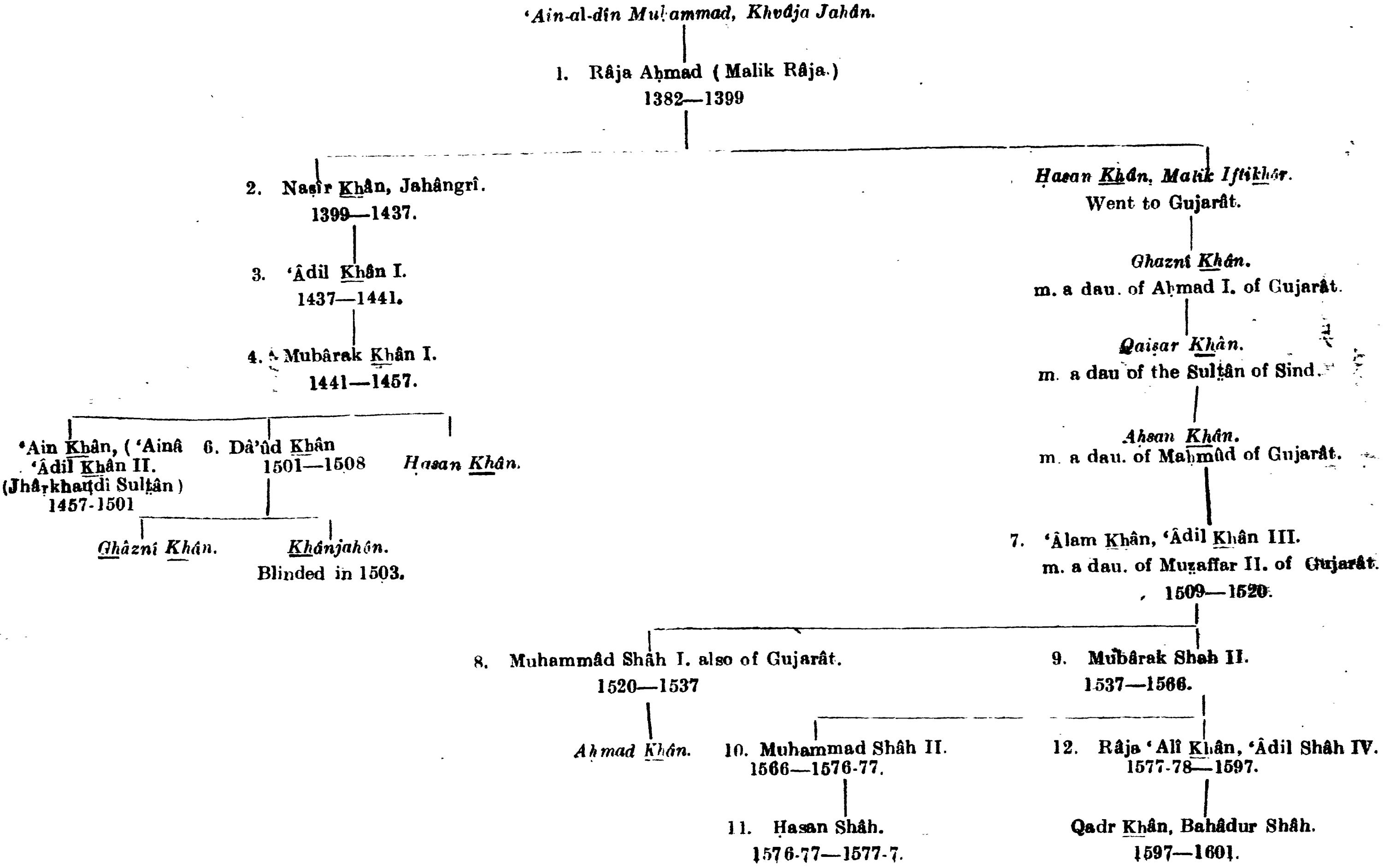
There is no reason to doubt this statement of Firishta. He was a good Muslim and was probably much scandalized by the report of the order which Akbar had issued, but he always writes with the highest respect of Akbar and his natural impulse would have been to conceal a fact so damaging to a great monarch whom all Muslims are anxious to claim as one of themselves, despite his well established unorthodoxy. The order is only one instance out of many, though perhaps the most marked, of Akbar's hostility to Islâm.

List of the Fârûqî Rulers of Khândesh.

1.	Râja Ahmad, or Malik Râja	.. 1382
2.	Naṣîr Khân, Jahângîr	April 29, 1399.
3.	'Âdil Khân I.	..Sept. 20, or Oct. 1, 1437.
4.	Mubârak Khân I.	..April 30, or May 4, 1441.
5.	'Ain Khân ('Ainâ), 'Âdil Khân II., Jhârkhandî Sultân ..	June 5, 1457.
6.	Dâ'ûd Khân	Sep. 28, 1501.
7.	'Âdil Khân III.	April 1, 150.
8.	Muḥammad Shâh I. (Muḥammad I. of Gujarât)	Aug. 25, 1520.
9.	Mubârak Shâh II.	May 4, 1537.
10.	Muḥammad Shâh II.	Dec. 19, 1566.
11.	Hasan Shâh	1576-77.
12.	Râja 'Alî Khân ('Adil Shâh IV.)	1577-97.
13.	Qadr Khân, Bahâdur Shâh	Feb. 17, 1597.
	[*Asîrgarh captured by Akbar.*]	Jan. 26, 1601.

[28] ii, 567.

Genealogy of the Fārūqī Rulers of Khandesh.



ON THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE KAUṬILÎYA.

BY HERMANN JACOBI, OF BONN.

(*Translated from the German* by V. S. SUKTHANKAR, PH.D. ; POONA.)

(*Continued from p.* 161.)

As is evident from this quotation, by *âcâryâḥ* Kauṭilya means his predecessors. And when he introduces a doctrine with the words *iti âcâryâḥ*, he must be referring to them all collectively or at any rate to the majority of them, except when he adds *ity eke* or *ity apare*, pp. 164, (185) 338. Only in one instance, p. 320 is the meaning of *âcâryâḥ* to be restricted to the three oldest schools which will presently be mentioned; because, after quoting the opinion of these *âcâryâḥ*, the author proceeds to enumerate the views of the rest of the authorities which differ from them.

The authorities that are actually mentioned by name are of two kinds: the schools and the individual authors; the former indicated by the name in the plural, the latter in the singular. Four schools have been named: the Mânavâḥ, Bârhaspatyâḥ, Auśanasâḥ and Pârâśarâḥ. The first three are connected with each other, because four times (pp. 6, 29, 177, 192) they are quoted one after the other, and once only (p. 69) in connection with the Pârâśaraḥ. One may, therefore, conclude that those three were looked upon as the older and the more respected schools and the Pârâśarâḥ as a later one. To the same conclusion point the names as well; for, the former are derived from divine persons but the latter only from a Ṛṣi. These six schools, however, were not exclusively schools of Arthaśâstra ; they dealt with the Dharmaśâstra at the same time. For, in the chapter of the Kauṭilîya dealing with Administration of Justice (*dharmasthîya*) the above-mentioned three schools have been quoted twice (pp. 177, 192), and the *âcâryâḥ*, *apare*, *eke* nine times. On the other hand, in many *Dharmaśâstras* as, for example, [839] Bodhâyana, Gautama, Vasiṣṭha, Viṣṇu, Manu, etc., have the duties of the king been laid down. We thus perceive that both subjects, Law and Politics, were intimately connected with each other and probably taught in one and the same school. Therefore a doubt may be entertained as to whether there were any schools exclusively for Arthaśâstra.

The remaining authorities, which are spoken of in the singular number, namely, Bhâradvâja, Viśâlâkṣaḥ, Piśunaḥ, Kauṇapadantaḥ, Vâtavyâdhiḥ, and Bahudantîputraḥ must refer to individual authors. For, if these persons had also been looked upon as founders of schools, then like *iti Parâśarâḥ*, also *iti Bhâradvâjaḥ* ought to have been said; but we invariably find only the singular *iti Bhâradvâjaḥ*. This difference of nomenclature makes it clear that Kauṭilya distinguished between schools and individual authors.

A close examination of the passages in which the later authorities have been named reveals a remarkable fact, namely, that they invariably occur in the order given above with the Pârâśaraḥ standing behind Viśâlâkṣaḥ. On one occasion (pp. 13 f.) the whole series is enumerated; three times (pp. 32 f., 320-322, 325-328), the first six members; once (pp. 27 f.) only the first four; and once (p. 380) only the first two. In two passages (pp. 320 ff., 325 ff.) Kauṭilya refutes them one after the other in succession; in the remaining places the refutation of each author is attributed to the next following. The idea that the sequence is meant to be chronological, which lies near at hand, must be abandoned after a close scrutiny of the first-named places. On pp. 320 ff. is discussed the relative value of the seven *prakṛtis* : *svâmin, amâtya, janapada, durga, koṣa, daṇḍa* and *mitra.* According to the *âcâryâḥ*, their importance diminishes in the order given above. On the

contrary Bhâradvâja exchanges the places of 1 and 2, Viśâlâkṣaḥ of 2 and 3, the Pârâśarâḥ of 3 and 4, and so on right through the series. In the other passage (pp. 325 ff.) the discussion is about the three *kopajâḥ* and the four *kâmâjâ doṣâḥ*; Bhâradvâja looks upon the *kâmajâ doṣâḥ* as more heinous than the *kopajâḥ*; Viśâlâkṣaḥ, the second *kopaja* as worse than the first; the Pârâśarâḥ, the third worse than the second; and in the same way the *kâmajâ doṣâḥ* are gone through maintaining the same stereotyped sequence of authors, and the same fixed scheme. The question whether the historical development could have taken place in this manner, according to an unalterable programme, need not be seriously discussed. That Kauṭilya had not meant the series to be a chronological one, can besides be demonstrated in another way. For, according to it, Bhâradvâja ought to be the oldest author. Now Bhâradvâja attacks (p. 253) a doctrine that is explicitly attributed to Kauṭilya and is subsequently [840] refuted by the latter. Bhâradvâja should accordingly have been not the oldest but the most modern author, and besides a contemporary of Kauṭilya himself! Probably the serial sequence expresses the degree of estimation which Kauṭilya entertained in regard to the respective predecessors, and Bhâradvâja stood in the eyes of Kauṭilya the lowest in the scale. Kauṭilya utilised, as is absolutely certain in two cases and more or less probable in the remaining, the names of his predecessors for staging an imaginary controversy as a means of enlivening his discourse! This solitary artifice strikes one as something extraordinary in a manual of instruction otherwise so sober and pertinent. It was the first step towards an artistic representation that was taken by a great writer and that remained without issue. Such liberty could be taken by a great master; it would be something unheard of in the case of a pedagogue.

From the data of the Kauṭilîya we can infer regarding the development of the Arthaśâstra that it was at first cultivated and handed down in schools and that subsequently individual authors wrote on the subject. This evolution was already completed before the time of Kauṭilya, whose work bears the stamp of a strong individuality, both as regards the form and the contents. This same development, first only a scholastic tradition and then individual productions, may be demonstrated also for the Kâmaśâstra, which, as was shown above 1911, p. 962, belongs to the same literary category as the Arthaśâstra. Thus, if we except the mythical founder of the Kâmaśâstra, Nandin, the attendant of Śiva, and the semi-legendary[6] author Śvetaketu, son of Uddâlaka, then the first writer on Kâmaśâstra, whose work was known to and [841] used by Vâtsyâyana, according to his own testimony (pp. 6

[6] Vâtsyâyana mentions, pp. 78 f., a doctrine of Auddâlaki; the commentary also one on p. 77, and p. 80 assigns a verse to him. Further, p. 4, the commentary quotes two verses according to which Auddâlaki did away with the promiscuity of wives and with the consent of his father composed, as an ascetic, the Kâmaśâstra (*sukhaṃ śâstram*). Uddâlaka sets forth *Bṛh. Âr.* VI. 4, 2 ff., the doctrine of *rite coeundum* and teaches the use of two *mantras* from which it follows that a man was permitted to have sexual relation with any woman during her menses. There must have thus actually existed a certain promiscuity of wives. We ought also perhaps to interpret the story of Jabâlâ and her son Satyakâma, *Chand. Up.* IV. 4, 2 in the same way (and not as rendered by **Deussen** that Jabâlâ in her youth knocked about a good deal working as a maid-servant). According to *MBh.* I. 122, Śvetaketu did away with the promiscuity of wives, because he was indignant at seeing that a strange Brahman should actually avail himself of the right which his father (theoretically) recognised. From what tradition has to report concerning the father and son, it is therefore explicable why the composition of a Kâmaśâstra was attributed to Śvetaketu. Nor do I wish to question the fact that doctrines relating to the Kâmaśâstra were current under his name. In this connection it may be mentioned that *Âpastamba* I. 5, 14 ff. counts Śvetaketu among the modern authors, **Jolly**, *Recht und Sitte*, p. 3 (Grundriss).

and 371), was Bâbhravya Pâñcâla. Now it is very remarkable indeed that Vâtsyâyana quotes the Bâbhravîyas four times (pp. 70, 96, 247, 303). The conclusion is that here we have a school in which the doctrines of its supposed or actual founder, Bâbhravya Pâñcâla, were traditionally handed down. The rest of the authorities named by Vâtsyâyana, treat of the seven parts of the Kâmaśâstra severally, which cannot therefore be looked upon as products of distinct schools. For, it is indeed not possible to assume that there ever existed distinct schools which had specialised only in subjects like the Science of Courtesans, Seduction of a Maiden or Intercourse with Prostitutes. The respective works are, as Vâtsyâyana himself unequivocally states, written by definite individuals: Dattaka, Çârâyaṇa, Suvarṇanâbha, Ghoṭakamukha, Gonardîya and Kucumâra. As was shown above, 1911, p. 959, note 2, Ghoṭakamukha and Cârâyaṇa are also mentioned in the Kauṭilîya and Gonardîya in the Mahâbhâṣya. As out of the above-named authors Dattaka is, according to Vâtsyâyana, the oldest and had been commissioned by the courtesans of Pâṭaliputra to write his work, therefore he must have lived, as I have stated in the above-cited place, at the earliest in the second half of the fifth century B.C.; for Pâṭaliputra became the capital of Magadha only in the middle of that century. It clearly follows, therefore, that individual authors had begun writing on the subject already in the fourth century B.C.[7]

Vâtsyâyana himself finally being the last author is now to be considered. Vâtsyâyana is the *gotra* name, the personal name is Mallanâga (Com. p. 17: *Vâtsyâyana iti svagotranimittâ samâkhyâ, Mallanâga iti sâṃskârikâ*). Already Subandhu calls the author of the *Kâmasûtra* Mallanâga, (p. 89) to which passage the commentator adds a quotation from the *Viśvakoṣa*. The personal name renders it indubitable that the *Kâmasûtra* is not the work of a school but that of an individual writer. Moreover, Vâtsyâyana was the regenerator of the Kâmaśâstra, which in his time was *utsannakalpam*, all but extinct. That he is much later than Kauṭilya, I have shown above, 1911, pp. 962-3, foot-note 1; he can scarcely be prior to the third century A.D.

7 To the reasons already adduced for assuming a considerable difference in point of time between Kauṭilya and Vâtsyâyana may be added that the latter looked upon abstention from meat diet as meritorious (*mâṃsabhakṣaṇâdibhyaḥ śâstrâd eva nivâraṇaṃ dharmaḥ*, p. 12), while in Kauṭilya's time there was no such thing. In the *sûnâdhyakṣa* a number of animals are named which should not be slaughtered (especially in the *abhayavanas*), but meat diet was not tabooed. For, otherwise Kauṭilya would not give rules regarding the sale of meat, *e.g.*, "only the flesh of freshly slaughtered animals and cattle (*mṛgapaśûnâm*) should be sold, and it should be devoid of bones; the bones ought to be compensated with meat of the same weight. No animal should be sold of which the head, feet and bones have been severed, which has an offensive smell or had fallen dead." The disinclination towards meat-eating has been on the increase since very early times. In the time of Brâhmaṇas some already forbid beef; while, on the other hand, Yâjñavalkya raises no objection to tender beef, *Śatapatha Brâhm.* III 1. 2. 21; in later times many Brahman ascetics were converted to complete vegetarianism. The motive power in this movement appears to be the duty of *ahiṃsâ* imposed upon the fourth Âśrama, the *parivrâjakas* (also in *Kauṭilîya*, p. 8: *sarveṣâm ahiṃsâ*). Buddhists and Jainas raised the *ahiṃsâ*, though not at the outset, still with certainty in later times, to a general religious commandment. Asoka's example and edicts must have exercised the most powerful influence. In the *Mahâbhârata* occurs a polemic against animal sacrifice and the recommendation of vegetable sacrifice as a substitute for it. The prohibition of meat-eating follows naturally the abstention from killing. In India extreme principles become established in the long run: the more stringent rule appears to be the more correct one; the Indians fight shy of cultivating lax habits. An important rôle was played in these matters probably by the women. Do they not appear even nowadays as the guardians of the orthodox tradition, though the men might be prepared to renounce it?

[842] The transition from the scholastic treatment of a 'discipline' to its presentation in literary works, which we can follow in equal measure in two separate subjects, was caused probably by the growth of these sciences, which rendered their separate treatment and specialisation inevitable. Simultaneously a change in the form of its presentation must have set in. While those text-books which were the products of schools, such as the śrauta-, dharma-, gṛhyasûtras, the two Mîmâṃsâ sûtras, exhibit the *sûtra* style, the works of individual authors such as Yâska's Nirukta, Patañjali's Mahâbhâṣya, Vâtsyâyana's Kâmasûtra (in spite of its designation as sûtra) are of a different type. By the side of dogmatic exposition discussion comes more and more into prominence. The sûtra style changes into the bhâṣya style. The Kauṭilîya has also its place in these stages of development: alongside of sections in which the author attempts the shortness of the sûtras, there are others where the author indulges in a certain amount of breadth and prolixity after the manner of the Bhâṣyas. In point of fact the author of an old Ṭîkâ [8] on Kâmandaki's Nîtisâra (pp. 136 and 138) designates the Kauṭilîya as Kauṭalyabhâṣya [9] and an anonymous âryâ of unknown origin added at the end of the Kauṭilîya says:

[843] *dṛṣṭvâ vipratipattim bahudhâ śâstreṣu bhâṣyakârâṇâm |*
svayam eva Viṣṇuguptaś cakâra sûtraṃ ca bhâṣyaṃ ca ||

If then our Kauṭilîya is the Bhâṣya and we know nothing about another work, a Sûtra, of Kauṭilya, nor can we even imagine what that Sûtra should be like, to which the Kauṭilîya could stand in the relation of a Bhâṣya, it appears to me that the above statement that Viṣṇugupta himself is the author of a Sûtra and a Bhâṣya must be interpreted to mean that the Kauṭilîya is at once Sûtra and Bhâṣya. It would not be, for that matter, the only instance of a Bhâṣya that was not a commentary to any Sûtra: another example is the Praśastapâdabhâṣya, which is an entirely independent treatise on the Vaiśeṣika system and in no sense a commentary on the Sûtra of Kaṇâda. The designation Bhâṣya for those kinds of works did not, however, come into vogue, as we see that Vâtsyâyana on the contrary gives the title Kâmasûtra to his work.[10]

Generally speaking it must be emphasised that the free exposition of the sciences in the form of literary works does not import a complete breakdown of the primeval institution of the Vedic school. People may have adhered to the old method in Vedic 'disciplines' and others similar to these, and given that method a scholastic turn, conformable to the particular subject in hand, in the case of others. The first might have been the case with the two

8 For the age of the Upâdhyâyanirapekṣâ Tîkâ, from which the editors have given in the *Bibl. Ind.* extracts with their own additions (see bhûmikâ, p. 1), the fact that the author calls Vâtsyâyana *asmadguru* appears to be decisive (p. 136 where he quotes a passage from the Kâmasûtra, p. 3 of the edition). This statement could not very well have been smuggled into the text by the editors. On the other hand the quotations from Kullûkabhaṭṭa to Manu, VIII. 155-157 on pp. 211 ff., from Sâhityadarpaṇa (III. 146 f.) on p. 278, from Mudrârâkṣasa, p. 223 (cited according to a printed edition of the drama!) are undoubtedly additions by the respective editors: *arthaprakâśârtham.*

9 The spelling Kauṭalya is rendered certain through the derivation of the name from *kuṭala* (*kuṭalâh kumbhîdhânyâḥ = kuṭaṃ lânti*); com. to Kâmandaki I. 2 and Hemacandra Abhidhânac. III. 517 com. Does perhaps the form Kauṭilya rest on a popular etymologie? *Kauṭilya* denotes 'falsity, cunning,' and, in the tradition, that is just the prominent characteristic of Câṇakya, cf. the stories about him in the Pariśiṣṭaparva, VIII. 194 ff., particularly 352-376, as also the Mudrârâkṣasa.

10 The case is quite different with the use of the designation *sûtra* with the Jainas and Buddhists. They were influenced by the religious literature of the Brahmans. The name *aṅga* for the oldest portions of the Jaina canon shows that most clearly; for it the *vedâṅgas* had evidently served as model.

Mîmâṃsâs, of which it was noted above that both the alleged authors quote each other. For, as the exegesis of the Vedas, theoretically dealt with in the Pûrva-Mîmâṃsâ, was developed in the schools of the Śrauta-Sûtra and followed in practice, it is probable that the scholastic method of the latter was introduced into the former. Later the Uttara-Mîmâṃsâ followed in the wake of the older branch.

With the Vedic schools should not be confounded the academic schools, even though the latter were moulded after the pattern of the former. We shall elucidate the difference by a reference to the later philosophic schools, about which we are better informed. A philosophical system must have been originally the vigilantly guarded property of a school; for, as in accordance with the Indian custom [844] the disputant that was vanquished in public disputation had to acknowledge the victor as his *guru*, it was disadvantageous that the train of thought of any disputant should be known beforehand to his antagonist. At a later stage of development when the knowledge of the system could no longer be kept secret, there took place the composition of the respective Sûtras. Here we find the actual authors mentioned by name in the case of the Vaiśeṣika—and Nyâyadarśana: Kaṇâda the Kâśyapa for the former, and Akṣapâda the Gotama for the latter. Now the *interpretation* of the Sûtra became the task of the school, while, on the other hand, in the case of the Vedic school it consisted in its traditional *preservation*. When therefore ultimately the exegetical activity of the school results in a written exposition in the form of a Bhâṣya, the science acquires a standing independent of a school exclusively devoted to it; henceforth its cultivation lies mostly in the hands of Pandits who do not form a corporate school in the original sense.[11] It may be that the scheme roughly sketched here has to be modified in details in regard to other 'disciplines'; but in every case one may assume the following three stages: 1. during the initial stages of development of a 'discipline', its existence is bound up with the school or schools devoted to it; 2. through the composition of the Sûtra a certain amount of completion is attained and the activity of the school is, in the first place, directed towards the interpretation of the Sûtra but is incidentally also concerned with supplementing the material contained in it; 3. the composition of the Bhâṣya ushers in the dissolution of the school as such, in place of which steps in the scholastic and scientific study.[12] It may here be added that eventually the Sûtra becomes a purely

11 For a science the living tradition is naturally of great importance in India. But it does happen that the *âgama* becomes extinct and is subsequently revived. So Bhartṛhari appends at the end of the second book of the Vâkyapadîya a *résumé* of the history of grammatical studies upto his own time. He relates among other things how the study of the Mahâbhâṣya, which then existed only in manuscript, was revived by the Acâryâ Candra and others (**B. Liebich**, *Das Datum Candragomins und Kalidasa*, p. 7). Also similarly, as Prof. **Von Stcherbatskoi** informs me, the study of the ancient Nyâya in Sûtra, Bhâṣya, Vârttika and Tâtparyaṭîkâ has been brought into vogue again in our time through the editions of these works, after being supplanted for centuries by the Tattvacintâmaṇî and the literature connected with it.

12 One of the most modern schools that we know of, that of the Dhvani-doctrine has gone through the three stages set forth above in barely a century, see my remarks in *ZDMG.*, vol. 56, pp. 405 ff. (pp. 14 ff. of the off-print). Through the Dhvanyâloka the Dhvani-doctrine became the common property of the Pandits; thenceforward one can speak of a Dhvani-school only in the figurative sense of *tanmatânusâritâ*. In the grammatical school of Pâṇini the activity of the individual authors appears to have attained great importance already in the second phase. The case of the medical schools may again have been quite different; if, that is, we might believe in the intimations of the Upamitibhavaprapañcâ Kathâ, pp. 1210 f., a medical school was constituted through the *pâṭha* of a Saṃhitâ.

literary form, especially when [845] its author writes simultaneously also a commentary; this took place when the sciences detached themselves entirely from the school proper.

We have set forth the foregoing reflections regarding the different kinds of schools in India in order to clear up the point whether the Kauṭilîya could be the product of a school. If such were the case, we ought to expect a Sûtra-work, as, however, the Kauṭilîya is not a Sûtra but rather a Bhâṣya, which designation is also expressly given to it by an ancient author; therefore the work is presumably that of an individual author, as shown by many a peculiarity, material and formal, which has come to our notice in the course of our inquiry. We must now investigate if there is reason for doubting the common Indian tradition that Kauṭilya himself is the author of the work under discussion.

In the first place, it must be emphasised that, as already shown by **Hillebrandt**, throughout the Indian middle ages Kauṭilya was with one accord looked upon as the author of the Arthaśâstra under reference. I single out only the evidence of Daṇḍin, who places in the mouth of a character in the Daśakumârac. Chap. VIII, the words: *iyam* (scil. *daṇḍanîtiḥ*) *idânîm âcârya-Viṣṇuguptena Mauryârthe ṣaḍbhiḥ ślokasahasraiḥ saṃkṣiptâ*; here with is the time, the author, purpose, extent of the work most definitely given, in complete accordance with the data of the Kauṭilîya itself. The passages in which the facts in question are given are, in addition to the opening sentence of the work quoted above *verbatim*, the last verse of I 1, of II 10, and the last three verses at the very end of the work. The first question is: whether these verses may not be later additions. This supposition is impossible in the case of the end verses of I 1 and II 10. For were we to strike off these verses, then those chapters would lack the usual metrical conclusion. There is in the Kauṭilîya (as in the Kâmasûtra) the rule that every chapter must end with at least one verse.[13] Further, as regards the three verses at the end of the work, it is well-known that that is the place where authors give information about themselves and their work; it must be specially emphasised that the Kâmasûtra, which in other respects also agrees [846] in outward form with the Arthaśâstra, ends with eight verses containing information about the work, the sources, the author, the purpose and the justification. Lastly, the introductory words, which, indeed, do not contain Kauṭilya's name, cannot be dispensed with and find besides their parallel in the Kâmasûtra, where similarly, before the enumeration of the Prakaraṇas, but in greater detail, the relation of the work to its sources has been set forth. Accordingly the expunging of the doubtful passages would result in gaping blanks; the amputation is therefore not feasible.

Let us now examine the contents of the above passages. The introductory words say that the contents of the works of all previous masters have been compressed in the Arthaśâstra before us. If the Kauṭilîya were the product of a school it would have in that case appealed to the tradition of the school itself and not to older teachers, who would be looked upon as the leaders of rival schools. The wording of this passage points thus to an individual author, independent of every school. The same follows from the end verse of I 1, which reads as follows:

sukhagrahaṇavijñeyaṃ tattvârthapadaniścitam |
Kauṭilyena kṛtaṃ śâstraṃ vimuktagranthavistaram ||

[13] Only an apparent exception to this rule is XIV 1, where a *mantra* in prose follows the last verse; for, this *mantra* is probably a gloss intended to supplement the *agnimantra* mentioned in that verse. Otherwise when *mantras* are laid down (XIV 3), the directions for use are always appended to them introduced by the words: *etasya prayogaḥ*. There are no such directions in this instance.

"Kauṭilya has composed this manual easy to understand and to study; exact as regards subject, ideas and words; free from prolixity." These appear to be the words of the author of a book intended for self-instruction. A text-book intended for the use of schools does not need to be *sukhagrahaṇavijñeya*: the teacher, the school is concerned with its exposition.

The second verse runs:

sarvaśâstrâṇy anukramya prayogam upalabhya ca |
Kauṭilyena narendrârthe śâsanasya vidhiḥ kṛtaḥ ||

"After scrutinising all Śâstras and with due regard to practice, Kauṭilya has formulated these instructions concerning documents for the benefit of kings." This verse refers only to the particular chapter *śâsanâdhikâra*; Kauṭilya claims special credit for it, probably as this subject was either not dealt with at all before him or at any rate not dealt with sufficiently well. The personal note is here unmistakable. Would a school compiler boast of having provided for the wants of a king?

The verses at the end of the work read:

evaṃ śâstram idaṃ yuktam etâbhis tantrayuktibhiḥ |
avâptau pâlane co'ktaṃ lokasyâ'sya parasya ca ||
dharmam arthaṃ ca kâmaṃ ca pravartayati pâti ca |
[847] *adharmânarthavidveṣân idaṃ śâstraṃ nihanti ca ||*
yena śâstraṃ ca śâstraṃ ca Nandarâja-gatâ ca bhûḥ |
amarṣeṇo'ddhṛtâny âśu tena śâstram idaṃ kṛtam ||

"Thus has this Śâstra that leads to the acquisition and preservation of this and the other world been set forth along with these methodic concepts. This Śâstra brings about and protects Justice, Prosperity and Enjoyment and also dispels Injustice, Detriment and Displeasure. This manual has been composed by him who quickly and angrily rescued at once the Science, the Art of War and the Earth that had passed to the Nanda King."

The first of these three verses refers to the last chapter (concerning methodic concepts) and to the first words of the book *pṛthivyā lâbhe pâlane ca*. The second verse promises the attainment of the *trivarga* to him who knows this Śâstra, as is done in a similar way, in partly identical words in the Kâmasûtra, p. 370. *dharmam arthaṃ ca kâmaṃ ca*, etc. Lastly, the end verse tells us, with surpassing conciseness who the author is, not through the specification of his name, which had occurred already twice, but through the recounting of his distinguished services. That is not self-praise: they are the words of a man who stands at the pinnacle of his fame. But in spite of his self-consciousness, which is not veiled by any sham modesty, one does feel in the words of the Chancellor of Candragupta a certain amount of courteous consideration in so far that he does not specify the name of the master whom he has raised to the throne: for, it might in this connection have called forth his disfavour. Kâmandaki, on the other hand, who could glorify the great master irrespective of any such consideration, praises as his work the overthrow of the Nandas and the raising to the throne of Candragupta, each in one stanza (I 4. 5). If some one in later times had added a *praśasti* to the book, it would surely have been a lengthy eulogium like Kâmandaki's.—What the words *amarṣeṇo 'ddhṛtâny âśu* in the last verse referred to the Arthaśâstra imply, deserves to be discussed more fully. *Amarṣa* is, taking

it in its widest sense, the irritation caused by the conduct of the opponent; [14] the primary meaning of *uddhṛta* is something like "restoring to its rights" and is according to its object to be translated differently: with reference to the Science it may be rendered with something like "reform." The sense of Kauṭilya's words very probably is that he [848] is vexed over the narrow-mindedness of his predecessors, and that he has without a moment's hesitation (*âśu*) thrown overboard their dogmatism: it implies the sense of contempt in which the "Professors" are held by the statesman, which even Bismarck was at no pains to conceal. This standpoint of Kauṭilya finds expression in his work, on the one hand in the frequent rejection of the doctrines of the *âcâryas*, on the other hand, in the admittance of important matters into the Śâstra which his predecessors did not deal with there, but which in a serviceable hand-book of Politics could not very well be left out. The agreement obtaining between the words of Kauṭilya and the character of his work, and the personality that characterises them would be difficult to understand, if those were not the very words of the author. A later writer who wanted to palm off his own lucubration or that of his school on the name of the famous statesman, would surely have faltered somewhere. From this view-point the higher criticism must acknowledge the authenticity of the Kauṭilîya.

Many will perhaps find it difficult to bring themselves to believe in the authenticity of the Kauṭilîya for the reason that literary forgeries have been in India the order of the day from time immemorial on an extensive scale. For is it not a forgery when a work is given out as revealed (*prokta*) by Manu, Yâjñavalkya, Vyâsa or some god or Ṛṣi? But a forgery in the name of a historical personality with studied adaptation of the work on that of the latter would be no longer a *pia fraus* but a refined imposture, which has no counterpart in the Indian method. For this case would be quite different from that when, for instance, some tractate or commentary is attributed to Śaṅkara through the putting down of his name at the end of the chapter; the Kauṭilîya is a masterly product of the highest rank and recognised as such through a long series of centuries. He who could write such a work must have suffered from a morbid lack of self-consciousness, were he to send it out into the world under the name of another in order to assure its recognition.—Another mis-statement commonly made by authors in India is one which is rather a *suppressio veri* than a direct falsification, and consists in the publishing of the work under the name of the patron who brought about the composition, more or less influences or even supervises it, instead of under that of the author himself; a well-known instance is that of the works going under the name of Bhoja, king of Dhârâ. Such an origin is impossible in the case of the Kauṭilîya on account of the way explained above in which Kauṭilya looks upon the composition of the work as a personal achievement; and even if such were the case, the question of the age of the work would not be affected by it. On the other hand, I do not wish [849] to dispute that Kauṭilya may have had collaborators for certain parts of his work, especially for such as deal with technical details; officers engaged in the respective branches of administration may have supplied the material and he may have only attended to its editing. A similar state of things may be observed elsewhere, for example, in the commentary of

[14] Compare the definition in the Rasagaṅgâdhara, p. 88: *parakṛtâvajñâdinânâparâdhajanyo maunavâkpârusyâ-dikâraṇîbhûtaś cittavṛttiviśeṣo 'marṣaḥ.* Similarly already in Bharata, p. 80: *amarṣo nâma vidyaiśvaryadhanabalâkṣiptasyâ 'pamânitasya vâ samutpadyate.* These definitions are applicable primarily to poems and dramas.

Arjunavarmadeva to the Amaruka, in which one believes to be in a position to distinguish between the words of the princely author and the learned disquisitions of his Pandits. But even this reservation does not vitiate the authenticity of the Kauṭilîya.

Lastly, one might hesitate to accept the fact that just the Kauṭilîya should survive as the only literary monument of those early times,[15] for which the "*habent sua fata libelli*" would offer no satisfactory explanation. I too do not look upon its preservation merely as a matter of an unexpected, lucky chance, but would emphasise that epoch-making works of master-minds, to which category the Kauṭilîya undoubtedly belongs, have this advantage over other merely creditable productions that they do not get antiquated but, on the contrary, attain the dignity of a canon. Similarly out of a slightly older epoch has been preserved the Nirukta of Yâska, and from slightly more modern times the Mahâbhâṣya of Patañjali. The high esteem in which these works are held protects them not merely from the tooth of time but also from the hand of the meddlesome interpolater. In the latter respect was the Kauṭilîya further protected through the enumeration of the Prakaraṇas contained in it and the specification of its extent like similar data in the Kâmasûtra also. We have, therefore, a certain guarantee for the fact that our text has not undergone any considerable addition; whether any curtailment has taken place will be revealed by a critical study of the work.

The outcome of our investigation is, on the one hand, that the suspicion against the authenticity of the Kauṭilîya is unfounded, and, on the other, that the unanimous Indian tradition according to which the Kauṭilîya is the work of the famous minister of Candragupta, is most emphatically confirmed through a series of internal proofs.[16]

MISCELLANEA.

VÂTSYÂYANA AND KÂLIDÂSA.

IN Act IV of the *Śâkuntala* Kâlidâsa has got the famous verse, *Suśrûshasva gurûn*, etc. Kâśyapa in this verse advises Śâkuntala as to how she should behave herself in her husband's house. The third foot of the verse *bhûyishṭhaṃ bhava dakshiṇâ parijane bhogeshu = anutsekinî* is rather interesting as it clearly shows that Kâlidâsa was indebted to Vâtsyâyana for the idea and language of this passage. A lady who is *eka-châriṇî* must possess according to Vâtsyâyana, among other qualities, *bhogeshu anutsekaḥ* and *parijane dâkshiṇyam* (*Kâmasûtra*, IV, 1, 39-40). This similarity of language and idea seems to be a clear proof of Kâlidâsa's borrowing from Vâtsyâyana.

In the third foot of the verse from the *Śâkuntala* quoted above, according to some reading we get *bhâgyeshu* instead of *bhogeshu*. In the light of the *Kâmasûtra* it would be now justifiable to alter *bhâgyeshu* into *bhogeshu* once for all.

Accepting Prof. Jacobi's theory that the third century A.D. should be fixed as the date of Vâtsyâyana, the same period should also be now put down as the lower limit of the date of Kâlidâsa.

N. G. MAJUMDAR.

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[15] It may further be emphasised here that in the later classical period there was no longer any certain tradition concerning the pre- and early classical writers and that therefore they could not be distinguished in that period. Thus the lexicographers (Trikâṇḍaśeṣa, II 365 f., Abhidhânacintâmani, III 517 f.) identify the following writers with Kauṭilya: both the Vâtsyâyanas (Mallanâga and Pakṣilasvâmin), Drâmila and Aṅgula. Is it perhaps due to this confounding of Vâtsyâyana with Kauṭilya that the commentator to the Kâmandakîya, as remarked above p. 19), note 8, calls the author of the Kâmasûtra *asmadguru*?

[16] The above article of Prof. Hermann Jacobi appeared in the *Sitzungsberichte der königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1912, No. XXXVIII.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SPREAD OF HOBSON-JOBSON IN MESOPOTAMIA.

THE war has naturally brought about a new crop of Hobson-Jobsons and corruptions of English and European languages which are beginning to be reported and are worth collecting from the commencement for the sake of future students of philology.

Mr. Edmund Candler, the representative of the British Press in Mesopotamia, is responsible for those contained in the following extracts taken rom a letter published in the (London) *Observer* on the 12th May 1918.

A.—Hobson-Jobsons.

1. **Imshi**. Imperative of Ar. verb *mashi*, to go: go, get out. To vanish, a vanisher (one who vanishes). "There was a small port on the Euphrates where the villagers were called 'imshis' by the British rank and file. The word, with its Djinn-like [Ar. *jinn*, generic term for supernatural beings of darkness] suggestion of disappearance, is very apt."

2. **Makoo**. Contracted form of Ar. *mâ yakûn*, it is becoming nothing. There is none, not to be had, out of stock. "I only know of one instance in which 'makoo' has been applied to an individual, and that is Makoo Effendi of——[Mr. Never has], a picturesque dignified old gentleman, a sort of general factotum, contractor and agent, whom we have inherited from the Turk. He stands with the palms of his hands turned up and resting on his hips, his eyes fixed on the far horizon empty of hope, the personification of 'makoo.' 'If you talk about work,' said a subaltern to me, 'he falls all of a tremble and spins out 'makoos' by the yard.'"

3. **Bill-bellum**. Ar. *b'il-balam*, in the river-boat. Any kind of river-boat. "In Basrah you have soldiers calling out for a 'bill-bellum.'"

4. **Marionette**. Ar. *manârat*, a turret: the minarets of a mosque. "The other day I heard a corporal talking about the 'domes and marionettes of Baghdad.'"

B.—Corruptions of European words.

1. **Shamîn dafar**. Fr. *chemin-de-fer*: a railway. "An Arab asked me the other day where the new 'shemin duffer was going to be.'"

2. **Satarônbil, terumbil**. An automobile, motor car. "The men of the desert call our motors 'stronbills' or 'terumbills,' a truly onomatopœic word."

3. **Antika**. Any "antique." "The urchin who holds out a faked curio at Babylon asks you to buy an 'antica." [This is an old expression in the Near East through the Italian *antica*. The Editor heard it used continually in the bazaar in Cairo 50 years ago. The expression used in enquiries then was usually, *andak hâja antica*? Is there any antique with you? Have you any ancient gems?].

4. **Kuntrâchî**. A contractor. Fr. *contrat* and Turki *chi*, an agent, a handler. "The contractor is the 'contrachi' (*contrat* and *chi*, the Turkish termination that implies agent)." [Cf. *mash alchi*, the 'lamp man,' the 'male kitchen-maid,' or 'tweenie' of the Anglo-Indian household: *lit.* the man who handles the lamps (properly torches, *mash al*).—ED.].

5. **Damful**. To deceive. "At Aden I hear the Arabs have coined a verb from an English expletive, 'damful,' which is conjugated in all its moods and tenses. 'I damfuled you' [*damfaltuk*], 'you damfuled me' [*damfaltanî*], with the Arab inflection."

6. **Finish**. To finish, end, be done for. "It has spread from Basrah to Samarrah and to the remotest villages of the desert. A familiar greeting from the Arabs as we went up the Tigris was 'Turk finish,' and it was always accompanied with an eloquent gesture of finality."

R. C. TEMPLE.

RELIGION IN SIND.

BY G. E. L. CARTER, I.C.S.

Part I.

(Continued from Vol. XLVI, p. **208** *of* 1917.)

HAVING formulated our hypothesis let us proceed to examine a few legends which clearly refer to pre-Mussalman times. In the History of Gujerat [1] we read that the Brahmins of Sind refused to become Shrimâli Brahmans. "The angry Sindh Brahmans in their own country worshipped the sea. At their request Samudra sent the demon Sarika to ruin Shrimal. Sarika carried off the marriageable Brahman girls . . . . . Shrimal became waste . . . . When they heard that the Shrimal Brahmans had returned to their old city and were prospering, the Brahmans of Sind once more sent Sarika to carry away their marriageable daughters. One girl, as she was being haled away, called on her house-goddess and Sarika was spell-bound to the spot. King Shripunj came up and was about to slay Sarika with an arrow when Sarika said "Do not kill me . . . . . let your Brahmans at their weddings give a dinner in my honour and let them also marry their daughters in unwashed clothes . . . . On this Sarika fled to Sindh. And in her honour the people both of Shrimal and of Jodhpur still marry their daughters in unwashed clothes."

This extract clearly indicates that in Sindh the orthodox Hindus had given up the worship of celestial deities and were water worshippers. It is true the sea is specified but the connotation is vague. Even Punjabi Mahommedans to this day call the Indus the "sea".

That the crocodile was demonic may be gathered from the strange lycanthropic tale incorporated in the *Mahâbhârata*.[2] Arjun was roving through Western India in search of adventure and had apparently reached the lakes of the Lower Indus flood plain. "Dragged by the renowned Arjuna to the land, that crocodile became a beautiful damsel . . . . "Who art thou, O beautiful one? What for hadst thou been a ranger of the Waters?" . . . . The damsel replied, saying, "I am, Oh mighty armed one, an Apsara sporting in the celestial woods. I am, Oh mighty one, Varga by name" . . . and then she describes how she and four others (dear to Kuvera), Sauraveyi, Samichi, Vudonda and Latâ, tempted a Brahman, who cursed them. "Becoming crocodiles range ye the waters for a hundred years . . . An exalted individual will drag ye all from the water to the land. Then ye will have back your real forms."

Now this tale is pure lycanthropy and is all the stranger because this form of magic is so rare in India. The name of the leader of the Apsaras, Varga, is to be noted. One must assume that the Beast, the terror of the jungle, the incarnation of foul murder, is not in Sind either the panther (Marathi *wâgh*), or the tiger (Sk. *vyâghra*), but the crocodile (Si. *wâgho*). In Europe the Beast was the wolf (Norse *vargr*, Saxon *varag*) and from the terror inspired by its ferocity was evolved the whole conception of the werwolf. In Sind the Beast was eventually lost in an all-embracing Hinduism. A curious parallel of absorption in Catholic Christianity will be found in the most holy miracle, which St. Francis wrought when he converted the very fierce wolf of Agobio.[3]

[1] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, p. 462.

[2] Trans. by P. C. Roy, Calcutta, 1883. *Âdi Parva*, ch. 218.

[3] *Little Flowers of St. Francis*, ch. XXI. For the terror inspired by the crocodiles among the Jews, see *Job*, ch. 41 R.V.

Does the mythical 'makara' represent the contribution of Brahmanical Sind to catholic Hinduism? One Puranic legend, quoted in the History of Gujerat,[4] refers to the conquest of Mayûradhvaja of Gujerat by Makaradhvaja of Sind. This fight is considered to represent the contest in which the Mers from Sind, as allies of the Huns, overthrew the Gupta viceroy of Kathiawar. It is significant that the Mers fought under so repellent a standard.

What the classical idea of the Makara was may be gathered from the gloss incorporated in Sir William Jones' translation of the *Institutes of Manu* (VII. 187). "On the march let him form his troops . . . . like a macara or sea-monster, that is, *in a double triangle with apices joined*. In the *Mahâbhârata* [5] the formation literally reproduces the crocodile form.

Part II.

Introduction.

The first part of this article was based on customs observed in Lower Sind regarding the river cult and the few remarks of reticent villagers. In central Sind the attraction of the shrine of Uderolal results in less reticence and fuller details are available. The problem is, *how* did the cult survive the subtle blandishments of Buddhism and the more violent methods of the Arabs. Regarding the former, Hiuen Tsang is clear, though a Sindhi characteristic appears, then as now—no tale, no religion. It took an aeronaut *arhat* to convert the denizens of the Indus flood plain. "Since then generations have passed and the changed times have weakened their virtue, but as for the rest they retain their old customs." Arab methods may be conveniently studied in the *Chachnâma*.

In the story of the Incarnation of the River God not only have the details of the cult at Uderolal been described in full but the caste customs of the Thakurs have been elaborated —not because of an essential connection with religion as illustrative of how completely a foreign control has been established over a purely local religion, centuries after it might reasonably be supposed to have died out, and of how it is maintained by the custom of **exogamy**.

In the cult of Khwâja Khizr the Thakur was less successful. Apparently it had already become esoteric before the Thakur arrived and the most he could do was to assert that the deity worshipped near Sukkur was identical with the incarnate Uderolal.

The Story of the Incarnation of the River God.

At the beginning of the eleventh century, when Marakh was king of Tatta and Aho was his *vazir*, the Hindus of Sind were greatly oppressed—so much so that their sacred threads were removed and their top-knots cut off that they might be converted into Islam. Tatta was at that time the capital of Sind. The Hindu *panchâyat* of Tatta thereupon approached the king with a request that they might be relieved from so great a tyranny, but the king utterly refused saying that they must obey his order for he desired only one religion in his realm. Then the *panchâyat* asked for a respite of three days on the expiry of which they would make a final reply. The older members of the *panchâyat*, who were learned in the *Śâstras* and the *Bhagawad Gîtâ*, the most holy books of the Hindus,

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 135.

[5] *Op. cit. Karṇa Parva*, XI. 14-21.

called to mind a *śloka* of the third book of the *Bhagavad Gitâ*, wherein it is written, "Whenever the dearest ones of God are oppressed or their ritual interfered with, God, becoming incarnate, will protect those dear to him." [6]

Remembering, then, this *śloka* they resolved to go in a band to the bank of the river at Tatta, where they offered prayers for three days continually. At the close of the third day a voice was heard coming from the River, saying, "Eight days from to-day I shall be born at Nasarpur in the house of Ratanrai Arora, who is Asharm by Viran and Tina by caste. I shall be called Uderolâl. My mother's name is Deoki. Do you therefore request the king that after eight days he and his *vazir* should come to me there to discuss your religious differences. I shall gladly dispose of them. Meanwhile the king should stay his hand."

The *panchâyat* became of good cheer and with hearts emboldened returned to the city strewing flowers on the road. They related their tale to the king who agreed to postpone matters. After eight days on Friday the first day of *Chaitra* in the year 1007 *Samvat* Uderolâl was born in the aforementioned house at Nasarpur. The king then sent his *vazir* Aho to Nasarpur to enquire into the statement of the Hindus: first asking the name of the father he came to the house of Ratanrai, where he learnt that a child named Uderolâl had actually been born. In those days Nasarpur was also on the bank of the Indus. Aho entered the house with some of the elders of Nasarpur and indeed found the child in a cradle. After a few moments the babe had become a youth of sixteen years of age, again he became a black-bearded man, and yet again after a short while a grave old white-bearded man. Much astonished he humbly requested the babe to accompany him to Tatta for the king had summoned Him in connection with a dispute regarding the Hindu religion. He replied that the *vazir* should go in advance to Tatta and then He Himself would appear on the bank of the river at Tatta what time the *vazir* remembered Him. The *vazir* set out from Nasarpur and after three days reached Tatta. On the fourth day while standing on the bank of the river he remembered the words of Uderolâl Sahib and to his surprise at once saw Him emerging from the river at the head of a regiment armed with swords and other weapons. The *vazir* was astonished to see such an army coming from the river and begged Uderolâl to send it back again as there was no question of a fight ; the king merely desired His presence. Uderolâl thereupon commanded the army to return to the river, while he accompanied the *vazir* to visit the king.

On seeing God thus incarnate the Hindus collected in large numbers, rejoicing in Him and conducted him with great pomp to the king. The *vazir* then related all that he had seen, introducing Uderolâl by name and reporting that he was considered as the *guru* of the Hindus. The king arose to receive Him and enquired of the *vazir* the name of the new incarnation. The *vazir* replied that He was known both as Uderolâl and as Zinda Pir. He was called Zinda Pir because He was their personal God, though the meaning of Zinda Pir is this, that *Zinda* means living and *Pir* means a *guru* or a teacher. The king thereupon addressed Uderolâl, saying that as He was held to be an incarnation by the Hindus, He should advise them to give up the worship of stocks and stones and become Mahomedans

6 The reference is perhaps to *Bhagavad Gitâ*, III, 35: There's more happiness in doing one's own Law without excellence than in doing another's Law well. It is happier to die in one's own Law; another's Law brings dread.—(L. D. BARNETT, *Temple Classics*).

whereby there would be one religion throughout the country. Uderolâl replied that the world is the creation of God and all is according to His nature, wherefore he should abandon his plan and cease from tyrannising over the Hindus. A reference to the *Śâstras* or to the *Koran* would show that God had created all things in His wisdom and in the fullness of His wisdom had He created many religions. To Him Hindus and Turks were alike. Those who remember Him are those who are nearest and dearest to Him. It would be better therefore for the king to follow His (Uderolâl's) advice and abandon his plans.

The king asked the *vazir* as to what should be done to Uderolâl ; he replied that the king should be firm, that he should bind Uderolâl and cast him into prison. The king issued orders accordingly but his men could not capture Uderolâl. At times his body changed to air, at times to water, at times it was itself ; thus their efforts were fruitless.

Failing in this the king and his *vazir* turned their thoughts to converting the Hindus to Islam by force. On hearing this they became terrified but Uderolâl calmed their fears and commanded Fire to destroy the houses and places of the Turks. While this fire was raging through the town the king and the *vazir* with all the Mahomedan ryots bowed before Uderolâl and begged for pardon, offering to obey all His orders. Uderolâl commanded that all should be free in their own religion and that Hindus should not be persecuted for the future. The king submitted to this and Uderolâl, first consoling the Hindus, returned to Nasarpur and lived with his father.

On reaching the age of twelve he asked his brothers Somo and Bhandar to give up their worldly affairs and to join him in founding their new *Thakurai* or *Daryâpanthi* religion. This they refused to do and remained in their business. Uderolâl then ordered his cousin Pugar to bear his commands and to found the new religion. He agreed and was led to the bank of the river, where, while bathing, he saw the true form of Uderolâl and many other wonders. By the grace of Uderolâl his mind and heart were open and, understanding, he saw what remained to be seen.

Returning from the river Uderolâl made him his disciple and gave him seven things:—

(i) *Jot*	... ...	جوت or lamp.
(ii) *Timahli* or *jhari*	..	A pot containing sacrificial water for distribution in cups to Hindus.
(iii) Robe	... ...	
(iv) Drum	... ...	Capable of emitting various notes.
(v) Crown	... ...	
(vi) *Deg*	... ...	دیگ A large metal pot for cooking rice.
(vii) *Teg* [7]	... ...	A sword.

Somo and Bhandar, the brothers of Lâl Sahib, now became jealous of Pugar and wished to drive him away. Lâl Sahib, however, informed them that Pugar was the only person fit to be his disciple ; if they wished to share in his service and its rewards and to be respected as was Pugar, let them take the *Timahli* and distribute water from it to the

[7] At the present day the *jot* is in the possession of the Thakurs of Sehwan and the crown with the chief of the Thakurs, who resides at Alipur (Punjab). There is no trace of the other gifts.

Hindus, whereby they too would be respected as Thakurs and obtain wealth, reputation, and believers. [8]

After the establishment of the new religion Uderolâl Sahib came riding on horseback, spear in hand, to Jhai-jo-Goth, some eight miles from Nasarpur, and halted in a large open space. A Mahomedan, who was there, on being asked who the owner was, replied that he himself was. Uderolâl informed him that he wished to purchase the land, but the Mahomedan before selling wished to consult his wife. He went off to do so and on his return found Uderolâl, whom he had left in the full blaze of the sun, standing beneath a large tree that had suddenly grown up on the land. The Mahomedan was astonished particularly by the miracle, and offered the land gratis to Him, provided he might receive the income accruing to the temple, which would be built on the spot. Uderolâl granted the request. Further, he struck his spear in the ground and, bringing to light many diamonds and rubies, told him that all was his for the gathering. The Mahomedan declined everything except the income of the temple. Uderolâl confirmed the grant and was immediately swallowed up by the ground, himself, his horse and his spear and was never seen again.

When the news of this event spread abroad, the king, Marakh, sent his *vazir* to enquire into the matter; if the information was true he should build a fine mausoleum over the spot in commemoration of Uderolâl. The Thakur Pugar also arrived at the place and as they could not agree among themselves about the construction of the mausoleum they decided to watch during one whole night and to carry out whatever orders a voice from underground should give. While keeping their vigil they heard a voice declare that the king, wealthy as he was, should build the mausoleum in fitting style and that the Hindus should build another place adjoining it in which should be maintained the lamps. In fact, it is said Uderolâl considers Hindus and Mahomedans alike and would rejoice if both would worship at his tomb, adding that He is not dead; His name of Uderolâl or Amarlâl indeed signifies the everlasting one.

The order was obeyed and the two places, still in existence, were built side by side. Mahomedans do not go to the *jot* building, but Hindus go to both. Five lamps are maintained up to the present time and lit at night-fall in the tomb, where a Mahomedan sits to collect the offerings. These lamps are lit by the Hindus and all service is done by them, such as sweeping the floor, cleaning the tomb and offering flowers. The Mahomedans only collect the money offerings. In the *jot* building lights are kept burning day and night.

The holy tree, which grew up while the original owner went to consult his wife, still survives. It is worshipped and no common person is allowed to touch it. The seeds of this tree, if swallowed like pills, are a certain specific for sonlessness. Pugar Sahib had also constructed a well and a rest-house (*bhandâro*) for travellers, which still exist. The well is considered sacred as the Ganga or Jumna.[6]

A fair is held annually on the first day of *Chaitr* (*Cheti chand*) at Jhai-jo-goth (Uderolâl) and all Uderolâl's followers from Sind, the Punjab, Cutch and elsewhere come.

[8] The Thakurs of Nasarpur are in consequence known as Somais. The followers of Pugar are Bhudai Thakurs. These latter are so called from Budhô, the son of Pugar in his old age. The Thakurs of Sehwan and of the Punjab are Budhais. There are Budhais also in other parts of Sind.

A large market is opened during the fair. A fair is also held on the first day of every month at Uderolâl and a mid-yearly fair is held on *Asu chand*. At Nasarpur also fairs are held as at Uderolâl at the place where he was born, the place being considered holy and *jot* being maintained there.

On the island of Bukkur a fair is also held on *Cheti chand*. After Uderolâl had disappeared at Jhai-jo-Goth he appeared again at Bukkur emerging from the rock. He was seen and people still worship Him as Zinda Pir in the temple built over the spot. Here a light is perpetually maintained in a cave. From the *Sakrant* of *Srawan* to the *Sakrant* of *Bado* the Hindus at Sukkur lock the doors of the holy place of Zinda Pir for forty days and no one but the care-taker is allowed to enter. He too approaches the place not in a boat but swimming on an earthenware pot (*mati*) with his eyes bandaged. He but adds oil to the lamp and trims the wick. After the expiry of forty days a great fair is held when many *baharânas* (بهراڻو a ball of spiced dough) and much sweet rice are distributed.

At Uderolâl the service is in the hands of a *Bairagi*, who has been placed in charge by the Thakurs. From him no accounts are taken and he is in fact his own master with his own *chelas* to succeed him. He, however, serves all Thakurs who visit Uderolâl. It is he who adorns the tomb with its rich trappings on every day of the new moon, on every Friday, and on every thirteenth day of the moon a golden turban and a rich piece of cloth are laid upon the tomb. At the same time people offer rice cooked with sugar (*gur*) and *baharanas*, of which the former is eaten and the latter thrown into the well.

At other places where there are disciples, as at Sehwan and Shikarpur, will be found temples for the *jot* where lamps are maintained night and day. At every temple or, as in Hyderabad city, at every road-side shrine, a *jhari* full of water is also maintained near the *jot*. Both are worshipped symbolically and equally. Morning and evening prayers must be offered before the *jot* and the *jhari*, or, if possible, on the river-side before running water. A Thakur as part of his worship should morning and evening ceremonially cast rice and sugarcandy into the river. At "Uderolâl" He is addressed as Lâl Udero Sâin (the holy leader), Ratnani Sher (the lion of the house of Ratanrai, and Baga Bahar Sher (Lion of the white sea).

The *Daryâpanthis* are monotheists and worship no other gods nor are they idolaters. Their only religious books are the *Janam bakhi* (the story of Uderolâl, in verse from which the foregoing story is taken) and other poems and writings in praise of Uderolâl.

Women partake in the worship of Uderolâl. From ancient times they visit the central place of the cult to pray for children, seating and bumping themselves at the time of prayer on a wishing-stone. They pray too on many accounts, on behalf of their husbands, for wealth or for health. When going to the river to ask such requests they carry sweet rice in a *jhari* which must not be opened on the way. The whole is thrown into the river as also other offerings of rice and sugar to the accompaniment of hymns in praise of Uderolâl. Finally, they draw their *sâri* (*rava* or *châdar*, the body cloth) slightly across their breast and beg for the required boon. Such prayers should be offered on Friday, the 13th day or a new-moon day. In other respects there is no special ritual or place specially set apart for women.

Mahomedans do not go to Nasarpur, they never eat with Hindus either at Nasarpur or Uderolâl.

In this religion there is no place for Brahmins though a few Brahmin mendicants may be found at Uderolâl. The controlling persons are Thakurs, who maintain their position by the most unusual custom of exogamy.

It has already been noted that the two principal sections of the Thakurs are the Somâi and the Budhâis. The latter centre upon Sehwan and are the more respected persons. There is a third sub-division known as the Ghoṛâis, who centre around Mehar and have their own followers. The story runs that they are the descendants and disciples of a poor man who lived with some Budhâis (who are known also as Vardharis) as a temple servant. One day when the Thakur arose early in the morning and ordered his horse to be prepared as he wished to go to the river, this man came and knelt before him like a horse saying that he was the horse and that the Thakur Sahib should ride him to the river. The Thakur rejoiced and told him that he might now leave the temple and obtain his own disciples who should henceforth be known as Ghoṛâis. When Ghoṛâis approach a village where other Ghoṛâis live they neigh like a horse before entering it.

The custom of marriage among Thakurs is this. No Thakur may marry from a Thakur family; more especially a Budhâi may not marry from a Somâi Thakur family for all Thakurs are brothers. A Thakur may not even marry from a *Daryâpanthi* family which is reckoned among his own disciples. A Thakur may marry from any Punjabi-Hindu family, *e.g.*, Arora, Lanjâra (لنجارا), Supareja (سپریجا), Khirâṛa (کراڑا), Rabar (ربر); Kukareja (ککریجا), Chânwala (چانولا). They do not marry from among Sindhi Lohanas nor from among the Thakurs of Punjab. Conversely, too, Thakur daughters must be given to Punjabi families. Among the rank and file of the *Daryâpanthi* religion marriage is a question of social position. Daughters may be given to castes or sub-sections of equal standing but not to those of lower esteem though daughters may be taken from such (hypergamy) or from within the same section (endogamy). Socially Budhâis will have no intercourse with Somais, as Pugar, their ancestor, was the honoured disciple of Uderolâl.

Thakurs are, ordinarily speaking, a priestly class and when personally they have a sufficient number of followers they are absolved from the necessity of working for their living. Otherwise they enter Government or private service or engage in trade.

The story of Uderolâl, Lâl Wadero, the holy chieftain, is remarkable from many points of view. The incarnation of the God of Nature, the God of Sind, the River God, is assigned a definite and comparatively recent date. It may be that the Hindu revival spring from the persecution of a petty Sumro prince during the latter part of the 10th century just previous to the inroads of Mahomed of Ghazni; it may be, however, rather later and represented a reaction against the strength of the agents of Ghazni kings. Probably the latter is a better explanation in view of the close connection of the Thakur family with the Punjab. One may picture to oneself the break up of Brahmanical rule in the Punjab, the flight of large classes to Sind, the "capture" of local Hinduism in the 11th century, just as in the 17th and 18th centuries a new swarm of Uttarâdis came, partly to avoid local persecution and partly to avail themselves of trading facilities under the Mogul régimé.

Nextly the great and persistent strength of a non-Brahmanical religion, purely monotheist and still pure in its worship, not at all idolatrous, yet essentially Hindu in its connection and philosophy, is a feature which cannot be passed over. Strangely enough Sehwan, Shivistan, one great home of the Thakurs, was a religious settlement of the Guptas, whence the cult of the great god Siva was to spread over Sind. The cult did not spread far. Only one daughter-colony, that of Pir Patho, is known and their elements of both the Saivite and *Daryâpanthi* religions have been caught up with Buddhism and Sufi-ism and remoulded into a strange Moslem cult.

Again, the unsuccessful attempt to connect up the religion with the cult of Kṛishṇa must be noted.

The revival of religion preparatory to the Incarnation is professedly inspired by the *Bhagavad Gîtâ* but this is again nowhere referred to nor does it form any part in the modern *Daryâpanthi* religion or in any branch of it except at Bohâra. Yet another and, apparently, a Vishnuvite attack was made on the worship of the God of the Waters. Jhimpir is a popular place of resort for Hindus in the old Mogul *pargana* of Soṇda or Sondro. The story, as related in the *Tuhfat-ul-kirâm*, is as follows:—" Sondro "[9] is another important place. Until recent times there was a large fort here. Its name was Bhim-kot and Hindus frequently visit it as a place of pilgrimage. There is a spring of water at the place; the water trickles from beneath a cliff. The spring is an interesting phenomenon of nature. The locality is commonly known as Jhim. The place also possesses a stone which the Hindus worship as a deity.

The servants of this place say that a party of virgins took this stone and threw it into the river. On their return they found the stone on the exact spot whence they had removed it. Seeing this the virgins thrust their hands into the sleeves of connivance (*i.e.*, they were ashamed to touch it again)."[10]

The geography of the story calls for some notice. In the *Tuhfat-ul-kirâm* Nasarpur is stated to have been founded on the banks of the Sangro Wah in the 16th century and that its glory had departed by the 18th century. The topographical maps still show the old course of the Sangro Wah and Dhoro Phital running due south parallel with the line of the Ganja Hills but far to the east of them. Does the Sangro Wah represent an old course of the Indus and, if so, how could it run from Nasarpur to Tatta, which lies far to the south west? The vagaries of the river constitute of course the only problem in Sind and in the days before it was harnessed by huge riverain embankments nothing definite could ever be postulated as to its course. The move from Nasarpur to Jhai-jo-Goth probably represents an attempt to keep the cult located on the river bank though the river is now many miles west of Uderolâl. Curiously enough the canal running past Shahdâdpur towards Brahmanâbâd is still known as Marakh Wah. This disposes of the possibility of the Indus lying east of Shahdâdpur and gives respectability to the history of the tale.

Khwâja Khizr.

On a small island near Bukkur stands the *ziarat* of Khwâja Khizr. He is identified by Mussalmans with the River God, the Living God, Zinda Pir as he became manifest there.

[9] The town of Sonda is eight miles from Jhimpir station and midway between it and Jherruck to the north-east are some Buddhist ruins. There is no trace of Bhim-kot. A large tumulus, unexplored, overlooks Jhimpir. Any spring is a phenomenon in Sind.

[10] As evidence of the pre-Mussalman existence of Vishnuvism, see the name of the capital of (Central) Sind in Hiuen Tsang's account. P'i-shen-p'o-pu-lo = Bishṇavpur or Vishṇupur.—Beal, II. p. 272.

This identification is based on the similarities of the two personalities, on the fact that both are eternal, that both derive their power from the fountain of life. Here there was no Mussalman buried on a spot held sacred by Hindus, as at Sehwan, no attempt as at Uderolâl to combine persons of both religions as servants of one incarnation. The identification was complete, the cult was esoteric and uncongenial ritual, such as the cult of the Satyun or Virgins, was separated out.

The period of the identification is an extremely difficult problem. Does it date from the days of the Arab conquest or from the time when Multan was a centre of Sufi learning and missionaries of all types wandered through the land working subtly as leaven.

Who Zinda Pir was we have discussed. El Khizr, in Arabic legend, was the *vazir* of Dhoulkarnaim, the two-horned one, Alexander the Great, who drank of the Fountain of Life, through the virtue of which he will live till the day of judgment. To Mussalmans in distress he appears clad in green robes—whence his name. [11]

In the fourth book of the adventures of Hatim Tai will be found a life-like picture of Khwâja Khizr in the character of a "white magician." He was a man of venerable appearance dressed in green apparel, who guided Hatim Tai from an enchanted desert, who released him from the clutches of a magic tree, who taught him the charm of the ninety-nine names of God, which is however of no avail unless "you keep yourself pure and never utter a falsehood; every day you must devoutly purify yourself with water, and never break your fast till set of sun, nor must you repeat the charm at an improper time." Later when he finally released Hatim Tai from Sam Ahmar's power, Iblis, the Devil (on whom be curses) informed the latter that they should fight no more—"over the unerring decrees of the Almighty I have no power or control. The Eternal hath willed that Hatim's fame should be perpetual and he hath commissioned the prophet Khwâja Khizr (on whom be peace) to assist him in his bold undertakings." This Moslem charm finds such a strange analogue in Hinduism that one is tempted to believe that it is a borrowed one. "O Illustrious one, listen to the one hundred and eight names of the sun as they were disclosed of old by Dhanmye to the high-souled son of Pritta! Dhanmye said 'Surya, Aryamen, Bhaga . . . . . the merciful Maitreya.' These are the 108 names of Surya of immeasurable energy as told by the self-create. For the acquisition of prosperity I bow down to thee, Oh Bhaskara, blazing like unto gold or fire, who is worshipped of the gods and the Pitris and the Yakhas and who is adored by the Asuras, Nisacharas and Siddhas. He that with fixed attention reciteth this hymn at sunrise obtaineth wife and offspring and riches. . . ." [12]

Once in this guise of a divine helper Khwâja Khizr appears in Sindhi legend. Mullah Daud of Sehwan was an accomplished and learned man; his son Nur-ul-haq, when a child, was very weak in mind and forgetful; his father tried hard to teach him the *Koran* but the boy could remember nothing. His father then shut him up in a cell and paid no heed to his lamentations and weeping. The boy was indeed a blessed soul, for in that confinement he had a vision of Khwâja Khizr, who addressed him: "Child, why liest thou low thus? Get up. Henceforth whatever thou readest will remain in your memory." At once the *Koran* shone in his mind, there and then he repeated them aloud and shouted to his father and mother who took him out; their instructions were welcomed by him; he remembered promptly whatever he was taught and gradually became a very learned man. He was surnamed Ta'lib-i-ibn Ustad—the seeker of the Preceptor's knowledge—and Mushta'qi—

[11] *The Koran*, Everyman Ed., p. 186.

[12] *Mahâbhârata. Vana Parva*, ch. III.

enthusiastic—was his nom-de-plume. His poetry was greatly appreciated by Mirza Sahib —that illustrious poet of Persia, when he saw this poet of Sind in the course of his travels in Persia.

Simple though this identification may be, there is still considerable doubt attached to it, as though the Baloches are in some measure disciples of the River God, a cult which they seem to have adopted in Sind several centuries ago, they are unable to fix their choice of the personality of their Pir.[13] Khwâja Khizr in one Baloch ballad takes the place of the archangel Mikail in the heavenly hierarchy and is at times variously identified with Elijah or Ilias and the River God. In the delta of the Indus Khwâja Khizr is held to be the brother of Ilias.

The Khulâsat has no reference to this *ziarat* but Manucci mentions it[14] though under an ill-written name. "At a short distance from the fort (of Bakkur) towards the north was a little island known as Coia Khitan, where is a tomb held in great veneration by the Moors."

According to an "ex-Political"[15] the date on the mosque of Khwâja Khizr *ziarat* is A.H. 341 (= 952 A.D.) The story of its being built is that "a shepherd named Baji, whose hut stood where the Mahal of Baji, one of the divisions of the town of Rohri, now stands, observed at night a bright flame burning at some distance from him. Thinking it had been kindled by travellers, he sent his wife to procure a light from it but, as often as she approached, it vanished. She returned and told her husband; and he disbelieving the report went himself and then discovered that it was indeed a miraculous manifestation. Awe-struck with what he had seen he erected a *takiyah*, or hermit's hut, on the spot and devoted himself as the *fakir* to the religious care of the place. Soon after this the Indus altered its course and abandoning the walls of Alor, encircled the ground on which the *takiyah* of Baji stood and which is now called the island of Khwâja Khizr.

"There is another story which relates that the Rajah of Alor was desirous of possessing the beautiful daughter of a merchant who resided in his city. The unhappy father, unable to oppose the wishes of the king, entreated that a respite of eight days might be allowed to him, and having spent that time in fasting and prayer he was miraculously conveyed with his daughter and all his wealth to the island Khizr, the river at the same time deserting the city of Alor."

The violence of the river has given rise to a characteristic Sindhi proverb—"Who has drowned the place? Khwâja Khizr," which means that one must not grumble at the tyranny of a great man but submit.

Khwâja Khizr appears once in history. Qutb Saheb, Qutb-uddin Bakhtyar Kaki of Ush, settled at Delhi and died in the year A. D. 1236. He obtained his name Kaki from his ability to produce hot cakes (*kak*) from his armpits. Khwâja Khizr, who "still regulates the wealth and the price current of grains," appeared to him in a dream and gave him the power of prophecy.

Now it is very remarkable that the date quoted by Mr. Eastwick corresponds very closely with that given in the Uderolâl legend. At the same time the story of Qutb Saheb shows that by the beginning of the 13th century the identification of Khwâja Khizr with the River God (? Nature God) was complete. It seems indeed that the invasions of Mahomed of Ghazni must have hammered into the understandings of the Sindhis that,

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[13] L. Dames, *Popular Poetry of the Baloches*, p. 141. [14] *Storia do Mogor*, I, 326.

[15] *Dry Leaves from Young Egypt*, by an ex-Political. H. B. Eastwick.

Hindu or Mussalman, they were of one stock supported by the same river and bound together by common interests. Whether matters were clinched by a sudden diversion of the river is doubtful in spite of the persistence of the legend, for no sudden diversion or catastrophe could carve a way of the river of the size of the Indus across a range of hills or line of high ground.

We must think rather of political events moulding and reviving old creeds, think of the Hindus as worshipping the river and of the Mahomedans with a veneer of Arabic learning, carrying on to the full all their old customs and folklore What spot should be holy if not that to which the *pulla* went on pilgrimage annually, that which breasted every year the floods which overwhelmed the land. The early years of the 11th century gave the Sindhi much to think about and one result was the realisation by Hindus and Mahomedans that both could worship at the same shrine and pray for help, for both worshipped the living God. The cult of Uderolâl was developed by foreigners who brought their own ideas of their saviour as a warrior ; that of Khwâja Khizr was more primitive and aboriginal. In it the God moves through the rivers seated on a *pulla*, and so every year the first *pulla* caught in the season must be offered as a sacrifice to the River God. In both cases the religion is the same but the background is different, the setting is different. The Uderolâl legend clearly shows how the effort was made by the Thakurs to capture the earlier form of their own religion and to what extent they succeeded, for they can but assert that Zinda Pir is the same as Uderolâl. The cult of Uderolâl has become purely anthropomorphic in the hands of the Thakurs. From the cult of Zinda Pir by a few stages of evolution a true conception of Godhead may still be developed.

Part III.

Within a mile of Mai Pir's coppice is the shrine of Ahmed Pir or Hot Hakim—the Pir of the Jackals. This composite saint has two *Khalifas*, a Sheikh and a Murghar Baloch. The *Khalifa* of Mai Pir is a Sheikh. In both cases the annual ceremony depends upon the Hindu calendar and my Mussalman informants were in doubt as to whether the anniversary of Mai Pir fell in *Naheri* (*Mârga*) or *Poh* (*Pausha*). It is probably in *Naheri* as the Jackal Pir's anniversary is *Poh* 12th.

The first point of interest is that a certain cure for rabies is for the person bitten to go to Hot Hakim's shrine and drink holy water and ashes. This form of medicine is a common one ; Pir Patho's ashes are a specific for any ordinary complaint. The "ashes" are simply wood ashes prepared on a sanctified spot. Now in Balochistan Bibi Dost [16] is the popular physician for this terrible illness of rabies and it was not by mere chance that Baloches captured one-half of the cult of Mai Pir and set up their own *Khalifa* (a Murghar) and invented their own saint (Hot Hakim). It would appear that the strict rule preserving the virginity of Mai Pir had necessitated the separation of "Ahmed Pir." A former connection is certainly indicated by a Sheikh being *Khalifa* at either shrine, while though the medicine is obtainable at Ahmed Pir's shrine, it is at Mai Pir's that the jackals are fed ritually. It is illustrative of Baloch superstition that they did not attempt to restore Mai Pir's cult but were satisfied with that of Ahmed Pir (Hot Hakim), however much they had formerly had faith in Bibi Dost.

In fact, one is tempted to believe that the jackal almost became the Beast associated with the Vegetation Deity, but did not, being too contemptible. It is formidable only

[16] *Frontiers of Balochistan*, by G. P. Tate, pp. 193, 200, 204.

when rabid and Bibi Dost, Madonna, healed her votaries—if, as Mr. Tate sagely remarks, they are not fated to die.

That the whole ritual is of great antiquity is obvious.

(*a*) It occurs separately in Sind and Balochistan.

(*b*) In Sind it is part of the cult of the Virgin *Mai.*

(*c*) It depends upon the Hindu calendar.

(*d*) Rice is the only offering made to the jackals at Mai Pir's shrine.

The question is at what stage of pre-history the cult arose.

In this character as "wolf-god", Apollo is usually regarded as he who keeps away wolves from the flock, yet offerings were laid out in his honour just as in Mai Pir's case. A still closer parallel in ritual will be found in the association of jackals with the Roman Ceres, a "Mediterranean" deity, linking up whose cult with the East is the well-known incident in the legend of Samson, where "fox" is noted in the margin to connote "jackal." Further, one may cite the elaborate discussion by Mr. B. A. Gupte in his work on Hindu Holidays, where the details of the worship of Lakshmî are related at considerable length and a not unreasonable conclusion drawn that Lakshmî was purely a vegetation goddess. Thus, diffused throughout the Middle East is a popular Ceres cult; to fix its origin or development would throw considerable light on the wanderings of people.

We may at least draw our own conclusions with regard to Sind; they require primitive man to be neither a believer in totems nor altogether animistic. He was of necessity very matter-of-fact, childish and fearful for good reason of the bigness of the world.

(i) Tribal religion is indissolubly connected with economics.

(ii) Nature, red in tooth and claw, was a reality to primitive man.

(iii) Divine help was the only remedy for rabies, or, in other words, rabies was one (? the only) illness that mattered that he could not understand.

The first and second propositions are truisms, though often forgotten, and the third is but a special case of the second. Others barely need elucidation. One obviously is the classification of the genus *canis* as dog and non-dog, the dog being the domestic servant and non-dog all the allied wild species. This classification is presumably still that of the N.-W. Frontier, where wolves are said to be inbred with dogs in every third generation. Another is the dependence of medicine upon religion, this subject opening up a wide field for discussion on the psychological aspect of Fate, it being the residuum, the Incomprehensible, after all the old wives' medicines, the "tried remedies" of *hakims* and *vaids* have proved ineffective. We are no more advanced in "Physician, heal thyself."

One further conclusion remains. It is a favourite axiom of anthropologists that the concept of maternity as a matter of observation precedes that of paternity, which is, *pace* Mendel, a matter of conjecture. It naturally follows that, the worship of the River being local and that of Ceres general, the worship of the Living God of the Indus was grafted upon the worship of Mother Nature, by a more advanced race, who ventured into the flood plains and waxed fat upon agriculture. One might talk of Aryans and non-Aryans, for we think we know the Aryans, but criticism has dulled the virtues of the Aryan touchstone and the non-Aryans have still to be classified. One non-Aryan race we certainly know of locally, a pigmy brachycephalic race of hunters, who worshipped the sun after their Prometheus had taught them the use of fire, builders of dolmens and—but the subject of the Stone Age requires separate treatment.

ALLEGED BUDDHIST INFLUENCE IN THE SUN TEMPLE AT KONARAK.

BY GURU DAS SARKAR, M.A.; CALCUTTA.

It was Raja Rajendra Lala Mitra who seems to have first suggested in his *Antiquities of Orissa* that like Darpan, the place of Ganesha, Konarak, the place of the Sun, "may fairly be suggested to have been Buddhist" (*Ant. Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 148). In his much earlier work Stirling—the first western worker in the field of Orissa History—makes no mention of such a theory in the chapter dealing with the great temple of the Sun, though he expatiates at some length on the architectural remains and the beauties of the door-frame carved in black chlorite.

Dr. Mitra apparently based his theory on the existence of a car-festival in Konarak. Popular belief and the accounts in the existing religious works like *Kapila Saṁhitâ* seem to indicate that this extinct festival was one of some importance. It appears to have been once a sort of article of faith in these parts—that the person who witnessed the car-festival held in this sea-side shrine had the privilege of seeing the Sun God in a corporeal existence (*Sârîri Rûpa*). "Maitreyâkshye vane puṇye rathayâtrâ-mahotsavam je paśyanti narâ bhaktyâ te paśyanti tanu raveḥ" (*Kapila Saṁhitâ*, Chap. VI).

The presence of an Asoka inscription at Dhauli not far from Bhubaneswar—the city of numerous temples—and the mention in Yuan Chwang's work of about a dozen *stûpas* built by the Emperor Asoka in the Odra tract was regarded in Dr. Mitra's times as a sufficient basis for holding many of the principal shrines in Orissa as primarily of Buddhist origin.

In the passage referred to above (quoted by Dr. Mitra from the translation of Stanislaus Julien) there is a reference to the extraordinary prodigies exhibited at some of these *stûpas*, and to the scholastic activities of some ten thousand monks who studied 'the great vehicle' in some hundred local monasteries where heretics and men of the faith lived 'pell mell'. It seemed to have been argued that as Buddhism was once in such a flourishing condition in the province of Orissa, it was quite reasonable to suppose that other shrines within 3 or 4 days journey from Dhauli would still contain lingering traces of their Buddhist origin either in ceremonials or in the architecture and sculpture. Dr. Mitra also lays considerable stress on a passage from the *Foe-ku-ki*, of which an English translation from the French rendering by MM. Remusat, Klaproth and Landresse seems to have been available in Calcutta at least 27 years before Dr. Mitra published his great pioneer work. The passage in question refers to the observance in ancient Pâtaliputra of a car-festival, a close analogue of which the Chinese Pilgrim saw in a festival in Buddhist Khotan on his way to India. The description of the ceremony seems to have made a deep impression on the Indian Orientalist and the car-festival *per se* seems to have been regarded as a special feature of the Buddhist faith.

The Khaṇḍagiri caves lying within a few hours journey from Dhauli—once regarded as the habitation of Buddhist monks—have now been proved to be of Jaina origin from the *Hâthigumphâ* inscription of King Khâravela supposed by Bhagwânlâl Indraji to be of the 2nd century B.C. (Actes du sixième congrès des Orientalistes, Vol. III, pp. 174–77, and Mr. K. P. Jayaswal's paper in *JBORS.*, December, 1917) and the following three minor inscriptions: (1) the inscription referring to the Jaina Monk

Śubha-chandra (in Navamuni Gumphâ), (2) the inscription of the Chief Queen of Khâravela (in the Manchapuri cave), and the (3) Udyota Keśari inscription in the Lalatendra Keśari Gumphâ supposed on epigraphical grounds to date from the 10th century A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 160, 165-166).

The emperor Aśoka flourished in the 3rd century B.C. If only after the lapse of a century or two, Jainism could leave such lasting evidence of its long continuance in the Kumâra and Kumârî Hills in close proximity to Dhauli,[1] it is difficult to understand why Buddhism should be dragged in to account for the existence of a thirteenth century Solar Temple which copper-plates of Gaṅga Kings (Narasiṁha Deva II and IV, *JASB.*, 1906 and 1905) agree in attributing to Narasiṁha Deva I (Langulya Narasiṁha or Narasiṁha of the tail), a king whose name is also mentioned in this connection in Abul Fazal's *Ain-i-Akbari.*

Mr. M. M. Chakravarty has, after very minute and careful calculations, ascertained the periods of reign of the respective kings of the Ganga dynasty in Orissa and there cannot be the least hesitation in accepting (1238-64) as the period of first Narasiṁha's reign—(*JASB.*, part I, 1903). Mr. V. A. Smith also agrees in holding that the Konarak temple was built in the 13th century though he assigns the period between A.D. 1240 to 1280. The only inscription found at Konarak on the pedestal of an image since removed to the Indian Museum, though undated, may safely be assigned on paleographic and other grounds to the third quarter of the 13th century as has been done by Mr. M. M. Chakravarty in his note in the *JBORS.*, Vol. III, part II, p. 283.

Though the palm-leaf record at Puri ascribes the erection of the temple to a mythical king of the Keśari dynasty—one of the so-called Caesars of Orissa as Dr. Râjendra Lâla Mitra was pleased to style them—there are in the remains at Konarak no trace of any earlier structure which might reasonably lead to the presumption that the present foundations were laid on the ruins of an earlier shrine.

The late Dr. Fleet, in his paper on the Somavaṃśî Kings of Katak, rightly disbelieves the temple-chronicles and puts forth convincing arguments in favour of the supposition that except the two Somavaṃśî kings[2] of the 11th century—Yayâti Keśarî or Mahâśiva Gupta and Janmejaya Mahâbhava Gupta—the other Keśarîs styled Kûrma, Varâha, &c., are mere figments of the chronicler's imagination (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 324, 336, *et seq.*). Except the inscription of Udyota Keśarî mentioned above no other inscription or copper-plate has been found of any other Keśarî king. In Sandhyâkara Nandî's *Râmacarita* (*Asiatic Society Memoirs*, Vol. I, p. 146, and p. 36, *ṭîkâ* of śloka 5),[3] there is mention of one Karṇa Keśarî. But of this king also no inscription or any

[1] Mr. Jayaswal says in his paper on the Hâthigumphâ inscription of the emperor Khâravela (*JBORS.*, December, 1917, p. 448), that before the time of Khâravela there were temples of the Arhats on the Udayagiri Hills as they are mentioned in the inscription as institutions which had been previously in existence.

[2] Mr. B. C. Majumdar is of opinion that these kings had their *raj* at Sambalpore although their territories extended to Chandwar or Cuttack in Orissa (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 102).

[3] Siṃha iti Daṇḍabhûktîbhûpatîradbhûtaprabhavâkarakarakamalamûkula—tulitotkaleśakarṇa—keśarî saritvallabha-kumbhasamvabo Jayasiṃhaḥ.

other reliable epigraphic evidence has yet been discovered. If Purandara Keśarî, referred to in the Palm-leaf record, had really existed and been the builder of this important temple, Choḍa Ganga's descendants would hardly have tried to filch the honour from him and in all likelihood some of the inscriptions of these monarchs would have set forth details about the earlier origin of the temple. It may be argued that as the Keśarî kings were staunch Hindus according to tradition and popular belief, their connection with the temple, even if proved to be a historical fact, would not be of much help to the supporters of the theory of Buddhist origin. But even in this regard there seems to be a divergence of opinion. Some architectural ornaments on the temple such as Gaja-Siṃha or elephants surmounted by lions or leogriffs, have been explained in a manner more clever than convincing—as the symbols of the triumph of the Hindu Keśarî kings, represented by the lions, over Buddhistic faith—of which elephant representations are said to be the special symbols. It is thus suggested, inspite of reliable evidence to the contrary, that the mythical Keśarî transformed or built up anew in parts a shrine originally Buddhist, and in token of his dominance put up these huge figures on the pyramidal roof of the temple as prominent sculptural decorations. The assertion that lions were the symbols (*Lâñchhana*) of the Keśarî kings, still remains to be proved.[4] The seal of the Murañjamura copper-plate of Yayâti Keśarî (*JBORS.*, March, 1916) is a figure of *Śrî* or *Kamalâtmikâ* and that on the copper-plate of Janamejaya (described in *Ep. Indi.*, Vol. XI, p. 95, *et. seq.*) is the representation of a man in a squatting posture. It would thus appear that no evidence is forthcoming at present to connect the temples with any line of kings anterior to Ganga Dynasty. The Udytoa Keśarî Jaina inscription at Khaṇḍagiri further proves that during the reign of this king with the Keśarî title (of about the 10th century A.D.), no intolerant persecution of heretical sects had taken place. In India it is hardly safe to theorize about the creed of the builders of a sacred shrine merely from the way the temple is fashioned or from its architectural or sculptural remains. Like Buddhist *stûpas*, Jaina *stûpas* have also been discovered, and Hindu curvilinear temples like those of the Jainas are by no means uncommon. It has therefore been rightly held by modern authorities like Mr. V. Smith that works of art and architecture should be classified with regard to their age and geographical position only, and arbitrary divisions formerly favoured by specialists like the late Mr. Fergusson according to the so-called religious styles have now been abandoned. We have so far been able to show that there is nothing in the geographical position of Konarak or in the age or style of the temple which would lead to a reasonable inference as to any Buddhist influence. We shall now examine the so-called Buddhist indications which are said to be still lingering in the name of the place, the traditions regarding past ceremonies, the

[4] The stone image of an elephant surmounted by a lion is also met with in the Doumar Layna (grotto), one of the Hindu Śaiva caves in Ellora (*Monuments de L'Hindusthan* par M. Langlés, Tome II, plate *contra*, p. 87). Mr. B. C. Majumdar has kindly suggested to me that the fabulous strength of the king of beasts could best be indicated by a design in which he is shown as tearing open the skull of huge elephants. In Sanskrit literature the capacity of lions to strike down the huge pachyderms of the forest seem to be emphasisd in passagos such as *bhinatti nityaṃ kari-râja kumbham.*

peculiar style of architecture and the subject of some of the principal decorative sculptures.

As regard traditions, as to the so-called Buddhist ceremonies, much has been made of the car-festival or Ratha Yâtrâ, as already alluded to. Whatever may be the origin of this festival there is no doubt about the fact that the system of perambulation in cars and other conveyances appear to have been early adopted as an integral part of some of the Hindu observances.

In the *Agni Purâna*, we find, even in connection with such a rather unimportant affair as the consecration of hand-written books or manuscripts that after the Pratisṭhâ ceremony the book is to be perambulated (apparently round the city or town) in cars or elephants '*Rathena hastinâ vâpi bhrâmayet pustakaṃ naraiḥ.*' (Vol. I, p. 186, chap. 63, v. 16, *Biblioth. Indic.*) Thus it would appear that mere perambulation or carrying to and fro in cars of an image or simulacrum cannot always be taken as a Buddhist observance—specially in a period when Buddhism had no longer any hold on the province.

In his otherwise excellent monograph on Konarak published under the authority of Government Mr. Bishan Swarup tries to make out a strong case in favour of the "Buddhistic" theory. The name Kona Kone or Kona Kona occurs in certain verses in the copper-plates of Narasiṁha Deva II (*JASB.*, 1896, p. 251, and of Nṛisiṁha Deva IV, (*JASB.*, 1895) referred to above (Koṇâ Koṇe Kutir Kamachikara Dushṇa rashme) कोणा कोण कुटिर कमश्चिकर दुष्ण रश्मे. The common-sense inference from this is that the place was known at the time as Kona Kone or Koṇa and the word Konaraka means only the Arka or Sun God at Kona. This explanation (simple as it is) has met with the approval of so careful a scholar as Mr. V. A. Smith (*History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 28, foot-note). Mr. Bishan Swarup, however, makes bold to assert that Konakona is an abbreviated or corrupted form of Koṇâ Kamana or Koṇâ Gamana, the name of one of the previous Buddhas (*Konarka*, p. 85). Whether phonetic decay can account for this change seems to be very much open to doubt, but when the ingenious author of *Konarka* proceeds to account for the last two syllables in Konaraka by bringing forward from the Sanskrit dictionary, *Amarakosha* (1, 1, 15), the word Arka Bandhu as one of the appellations of Buddha—one though convinced of the ingenuity of the explanation can hardly accept it as a correct or scientific statement of actual facts.

Then as regards the form, the temple looks like a huge car furnished with wheels—beautifully sculptured in the plinth. There are still some remains of big stone horses, which Mr. Havell regards as splendid specimens of Indian sculpture. Any one acquainted with Indian iconography would admit that the Sun God is represented as being drawn by seven horses in a car driven by his charioteer Aruṇa. Though there is nothing to show that the number of these horses at Konarak were increased at any subsequent date, Mr. Bishan Swarup supposes—I do not know on what authority—that the number of horses in this car pagoda was originally four and was increased to seven at some later date (*Konarka*, p. 89). He was apparently thinking of some sculpture at Bodh-gayâ, reference to which will be made in a subsequent part of the paper, wherein Apollo is said to be represented as being drawn in a car with a team of four horses.

The key-stone of the Buddhistic theory appears to be the subject represented in some of the sculptures in the temple and it is necessary to consider them *seriatim*.

Much has been made of the abundance of elephant figures not only in the various friezes of the temple, but also in the elaborately sculptured altar or Ratna-Vedî.

In Konarak there are not only elephant friezes, but goose friezes as well, and there are cornices containing rows of processions of horsemen and infantry. While it must be admitted that elephant figures are met with in some of the oldest Buddhist remains such as the Aśokan cave known as the *Lomasa Rishi Guhâ* in the Barabar Hills, similar sculptures are also to be found in structures almost contemporaneous with Konarak temple such as the temple of Hoysaleswar, an undisputed Hindu shrine supposed to have been built between A.D. 1117 and 1288. In the Hoysaleswara temple in Southern India there are amongst the animals depicted, figures of horses, elephants and Śârdûlas (lions) and the last were believed by some to be the symbols of Hoysala Ballalas, even as the lions or leogriffs in Konarak sculptures were taken to be the emblems of the Keśarîs. Architectural ornaments of this description are also not quite uncommon in Ellora Caves. M. Langlés says in describing the Âdinâtha Sabhâ in Ellora (Tome II, p. 79), "on a aussi pratiqué de petites retraitês (Nos. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18) couvertes d'une multitude innombrable de sculptures. L'exterior est orné, d'elephants de lions et autres animaux." A careful study of these with reference to Sanskrit works has convinced the modern scholars of the prevalence of "a *canonical scheme of decoration*" of which such frieze-borne figures formed a part. (*History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, by V. Smith, p. 42, foot-note 2.)

The Khajuraho group of temples are believed to have been erected between the 4th and 8th century of the Christian era and in the precincts of one of them—the temple of Viśvanâtha—there is a colossal elephant carved out of stone. Elephant figures are also to be met with in the Ellora Caves. The huge stone-elephants at Konarak considered by connoisseurs to be not less vigorous in execution than the much-belauded horses of the Sun cannot therefore be regarded as something singular or exceptional. The picture of a boy and elephant in the Konarak altar reminds Mr. Bishan Swarup of the Jâtaka story which describes how the mother of the future Buddha saw in a prophetic dream that a white elephant was entering into her womb by piercing one of her sides. Mr. Swarup further mentions that Buddha himself was born as an elephant-keeper or driver in one of his incarnations (*Konarka*, p. 88). On this slender foundation is based the identification of the sculpture as illustrative of the Jâtaka story. Mr. Swarup identifies another part of this very altar as depicting the meeting of Sâmba—the son of Krishna—and the Sun God, after the former had been cured by the special favour of the latter—of the dread disease of leprosy—the result of paternal curse for a thoughtless indiscretion. If the boy and elephant had merely been illustrative of a Jâtaka story, it is only natural to suppose that the continuity of the subject should be maintained in the adjoining panels as well—as is said to be the case in regard to some of the far-famed sculptures at Boro Budur, but to identify at the same breath two such neighbouring sculptures, forming component parts of a single altar piece, as depicting the Buddhist Jâtaka and Hindu Pauranic legends, can hardly be regarded as a satisfactory way of reconciling facts with theory. The prevalance of so-called Buddhist ornaments like the goose-frieze, the elephant-frieze and the *Barâjhânji* ornament consisting of reproductions of a water-weed on the pilasters,[5] the scroll work of Nâgas and

[5] The goose-frieze is found in the Aśokan pillars, *e.g.*, the pillar at the entrance of the Indian Museum, and *Barâjhânji* decorations are met with in the remains at Bodh-Gaya. There is a prominent goose-frieze in the semi-circular moonstone at Anuradhapura. which is over-topped by a mixed frieze of lions. horses, elephants and bullocks (Plate 90, *Viśvakarma*, pt. VII, published by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy).

Nâgakanyâs, and the figure of Lakshmî on the lintel, seem only to indicate that like that of Makara in Hindu ornaments, in Toraṇas (gateways) and water-spouts (*Annual Report of Archæological Survey of India*, 1903-4, p. 227), the use of these architectural devices extended far back into the Buddhist age. In the mediæval period these conventional ornaments and decorations seem to have been adopted by architects in southern and south-eastern part of India. Similarly in some Buddhist *stûpas* miniature productions of these sacred structures are found in the ornamental pilasters. It would be as safe to ascribe the existence of a temple to Buddhist influence because of the existence of the *Baṛâjhânji* decoration, goose-friezes or elephant friezes as it would be to attempt to lay at the door of Buddhism the type of Śaiva temple of the Bengal School[6] (of 17th century) which are still to be found in some parts of Nadia and other Bengal districts—simply because the pilasters of these buildings contain reproductions of temples in miniature.

The sculptural representation of trees found in the plinth have been taken to stand for the sacred *Bodhi-Tree* of the Buddhists. In the Jaina caves at Khaṇḍagiri, trees enclosed in railings are also found carved in relief. Tree-worship is prevalent among the Hindus to this very day. Kalpadruma, the legendary Tree of Desire described in sacred literature, the model of which used to be constructed in gold and given away as *Mahâ-dâna*, may also have some influence in determining the *motif* of such architectural ornaments. That a Kalpadruma existed at Konarak like the *Vaṭeśvara* at Puri appears clear from the *Kapila Saṃhitâ* from which the following translation of an extract is given in Dr. Mitra's work. "There exists an all-granting tree named Arka-Vaṭa adorned by numerous birds and at its foot dwell many saints and whoever goes to the salvation-giving *banian* tree becomes, for certain, indestructible. For the good of animated beings Sûryya himself has become the tree and those who recite the excellent *mantras* of Sûryya under its shade in three fortnights attain perfection." (*Ant. Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 147.) Under the circumstance these trees, should, I think, be taken as conventional decorations only. As regards the semi-ophide *Nâga* and *Nâgini* figures represented singly and in couples, usually forming part of the beautiful scroll work and said to be an evidence of Buddhist Architecture (*Konarka*, p. 86), Mr. M. Ganguly in his work on Orissa has pointed out (Ganguly's *Orissa*, p. 177-78), that in the *Mahâbhârata Âdiparba*, mention is made of the thousand Nâgas, the offsprings of Kaśyapa. Even to this day when performing *pûjâ* of the Serpent Goddess Manasâ, the name of the principal eight Nâgas—Vasukî, Padma, Mahâpadma, Takshaka, Kulira, Karkata Śankha, &c.—are duly recited. Mr. Ganguly holds—I think with the majority of Hindu opinion in his favour—that these demigod-like Nâgas were probably borrowed by Buddhism from Hindu sources. At any rate there is no reason to suppose that every Nâga representation found in Hindu temple should be the outcome of Buddhist cult, simply because there is mention of Nâgas in Buddhist sacred books. this does not in any way militate againt the generally accepted opinion that a certain amount of resemblance is noticed among the Buddhist Nâga figures as represented on the *topes* of Sanchi and Bharhut, and the Nâga representations of the later Brahminical period as found in the south-eastern (Orissa) temples.

[6] Mr. R. K. Mukerji, referring to this class of temples in the chapter on "Building and Carving" in his *Foundation of Indian Economics*, observes: "In the older brick temples the spaces between the curved lines and roof-base and on the sides are covered with carvings......there are also mixed panels of rosettes or geometrical patterns and in some instances miniature temples are piled one above the other along the arched openings" (p. 247). A temple of this kind has been described by the present writer in his article on the remains at Srinagar (Nadia) in the *Journal of the Sâhitya-Parishad* (Vol. XIII, p. 259).

The Indian sculptors of old never carved their names underneath the works of art coming from their chisels nor described the subject which they represented in the various sculptures. Hindu iconography as a science is still of recent origin. To this may be ascribed the conflict of opinion which is so often noticed in regard to the identification of sculptures by different scholars and sometimes ludicrous mistakes are made because of the partiality or bias towards a particular theory.

Instances of such clashing opinions are by no means uncommon in regard to the Konarak sculptures. The well-known "Teaching Scene" has been taken by Mr. Swarup to represent Buddha in the act of delivering a sermon or imparting religious teaching to some of his disciples (*op. cit.*, p. 86). Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, a scholar well learned in Hindu and Buddhistic lore, describes this in his *Viśvakarma*, Part VII, plate 72, as Vaishṇava Guru. Any one who has the opportunity of examining this picture carved in chlorite or the beautiful reproduction of it as given by Dr. Coomaraswamy will admit that there is nothing in it peculiarly Buddhistic, which may confirm Mr. Swarup's identification.

There is another representation, known as the "Archery Scene," which Mr. Swarup considers to be the illustration of an incident from *Sarabhaṅga Jâtaka* (*op. cit.*, p. 87). Buddha, though he was without any previous training, is said to have defeated all his competitors in an archery competition. Among the local people this sculpture is said to illustrate the shooting of arrows by Paraśurâma. In the Hindu sacred books there is mention of an incident referring to Paraśurâma's reclaiming land from the sea-bed by shooting arrows. Whether the mound or projection in the sculpture which the arrows are represented as piercing through is meant for a sea-side cliff or is due merely to a wrong idea of perspective is more than what can be asserted with confidence. As instances are not wanting of representations of purely secular incidents—such as hunting scenes—among the Konarak sculptures there need be no objection in taking this at least as a secular feat in archery. Among these sculptures some have been identified as pictures of *Pauranic* incidents such as marriage of Sita and killing of Mahishâsura and accepted as such without cavil even by Mr. Bishan Swarup. A numbe of images of Hindu deities such as Bishnu, Sûrya, Ganga, Bâlagopala and Brihaspati, &c., have also been discovered among the ruins. It does not seem therefore probable that among Hindu *Pauranic* sculptures of this description, illustrations of Buddhist Jâtaka stories would also find a place in a scattered disconnected sort of way. Mr. Bishan Swarup identified one of these stone-carved pictures as Buddha with Muchalinda the Serpent God (*op. cit.*, p. 87) and the two small female figures standing on two sides were declared to be Sujâtâ the wife of the rich *Sresthi*, who brought the Enlightened One food after his prolonged abstinence, and her maid-servant Punna. Mr. Swarup's objection to the group being a Hindu Vaishnavite image lies in the fact that ordinarily Vishṇu is depicted as lying on the Ocean of Milk with the serpent Sesha or Ananta spreading its hoods over his head.

In the catalogue of exhibits published on the occasion of the centenary of the Indian Museum, 1913, there is a description of an authentic Buddha and *Muchalinda* image (No. 6290 of the Catalogue). It is noticeable that in this sculpture Buddha is represented as seated on the head of the Serpent God. Serpent hoods are found also on the head of the image of the Jaina Tîrthaṅkara Pârśvanâtha. It does not seem quite safe, therefore, to classify an image as Buddhistic merely from the accompanying serpent symbol. In his comprehensive work on Hindu Iconography, Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao describes a Vishṇu image of the *Bhogasthânaka* order, in which the god is shown in a standing posture with the serpent's hood over his head, flanked on two

sides by the figures of Lakshmî (Goddess of Wealth) and Pṛithvî (The Earth Goddess). In a silver statuette of Vishṇu discovered in the village of Churâi in Bengal (given in plate No. 24, of Mr. R. D. Banerji's *History of Bengal*) the god is shown as standing upright and has over his head a sort of arch which seems to be made of hoods of serpents. While there may be still some doubt as to the definite classification of this so-called Muchalinda sculpture, the statement that it is an image of Buddha cannot be held to have been established. On the lintel of the beautifully carved chlorite doorway of the temple well-known as a memorable production of Orissa art, is depicted the image of *Śrî* or *Mahâ Lakshmî*, a fact which is sought to be made one of the strongest proofs of the theory of the Buddhist origin of Konarak ruins. The goddess *Śrî* has been described in the *Matsya Purâna* in the chapter dealing with the Sun God and other minor gods and goddesses (Chap. 26, Slokas 40 to 46) and it mainly agrees with the noticeable features of the deity ordinarily depicted in the sculptures.[7] As Mr. B. C. Majumdar has shown in one of his learned articles in the Bengali magazine, *Sâhitya* (*Sâhitya* 1312 B. S., p. 131-138), these *Śrî* images are identical with Kamalâtmikâ, one of the Daśamahâvidyâs of the Hindu Pantheon. It will appear from Mr. M. Chakravarty's learned notes on Dhauli and the caves of Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri (Calcutta, 1903), that the images of *Śrî*, *Gaja-Lakshmî* or *Mahâlakshmî* and pictures of trees, &c., are common alike to Hindus, Buddhists and Jainas. Even to this day trees, are represented in Jaina places of worship and Kalpadruma of the sacred lore[8] has by no means fallen into oblivion. *Śrîmûrtis* are not peculiar only to Buddhist *stûpas* at Sanchi, but reproductions of these figures are met with in Orissa as in the Lakshmî temple in Jagannâtha enclosure, Puri.

Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar, in the *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey, Western Circle*, 1904, gives an interesting account of the Hindu temple of Narasiṁha Nâtha situated in another part of the province of Orissa. The temple which he ascribes to 9th century or to an earlier period has got a chlorite door-frame somewhat resembling the one at Konarak and in the lintel is depicted the image of Lâkshmi and two female attendants bearing flyskips and over the head of the goddess are represented two elephants holding aloft two water-jugs in their trunks. Professor Bhandarkar referring to plate No. 1, and p. 71, of Fergusson and Burgess's *Cave-Temples of India*, observes: "It is no wonder that Lakshmî image should be found on the lintel of the temple—as these are met with alike in the ancient caves of Katak and the temples of Southern Orissa." Like the *Svâstika*, *Śrî* or *Kamalâtmikâ* figure seems to have been looked upon as a beneficient symbol and as such came to be adopted as a sort of conventional decoration by Hindu architects, especially in connection with sacred places of worship.

The erotic sculptures at Konarak—the likes of which are also found in other Orissa temples—have also been brought into requisition in the attempt to establish the Buddhist claims. These pairs of human figures in various attitudes (*bandhas*) are taken to be due to the influence of the *Tântriks* of the *Left Path School*. The pro-Buddhist

[7] श्रियं देवीं प्रवक्ष्यामि नवे वयसि संस्थिताम् ।
सुयौवनां पीनगण्डां रक्तोष्ठीं कुञ्चितभ्रुवम् ॥ ४० ॥
पार्श्वे तस्याः स्त्रियः कार्य्याश्चामरव्यग्रपाणयः ।
पद्मासनोपविष्टा तु पद्मसिंहासनस्थिता ॥ ४५ ॥
करिभ्यां स्नाप्यमाना सौ भृङ्गाराभ्यामनेकशः
प्रक्षालयन्तौ करिणौ भृङ्गाराभ्यां तथापरौ ॥ ४६ ॥
मत्स्यपुराणे प्रतिमालक्षणं नामैकषष्ठ्यधिकद्विशततमोऽध्यायः

[8] In Khâravela's inscription there is mention of a Kalpa Tree (in gold) given away by the Emperor with leaves on (*JBORS.*, December 1917; p. 463). Mr. K. P. Jayaswal refers to Hemâdri's *Chaturvarga Chintâmaṇi* for description of this *Mahâdâna* (*Dânakhaṇḍa* 5), a fact which seems to show that ceremonies of this kind like the conception of the tree itself were essentially Hinduistic in character.

arguers assert that the union of these erotic pairs is a crude way of representing the union of Buddha and *Prajñâ* (wisdom) (*Konarka*, p. 63). In direct contradiction to this theory it has been stated by a writer in a vernacular journal that the object of these carvings was to prevent the austere devotees of Buddhism from approaching the neighbourhood of the temple. This view may be dismissed without much comment as under some of its degraded *Tântrik* forms, a good deal of license seems to have been allowed to followers of the faith. Sir J. G. Woodroffe in his preface to Mr. M. Ganguly's book on Orissa, has referred to Dr. Maeterlink's mention of the occasional existence of a type of erotic representation on the walls of Gothic cathedrals. It has been justly held that mere sentimental or spiritual explanation of these sculptures do not explain away their bearing as a natural land-mark in the evolution of human faith and morality, and one is reminded of Kraft Ebbing's well-known dictum that "sexual feeling is really the root of all ethics and no doubt of aestheticism and religion" (*Psycho. Sex*, p. 2). Messrs. Stephen and Catherwood in the course of their explorations in Central America discovered ruins of huge edifices in the cornices of which were found depicted symbols of an erotic character 'membra conjuncta in coitu' (Squier's *Serpent Symbols*, p. 48). Mr. Westropp, mentions having met with the symbol in temples and public buildings at Panuco (*Primitive Symbolism*, p. 33). It is interesting to observe that like the sculptors illustrating the descriptions in *Kâmâśâstra* on the steps of *Mahâmâyâ* or *Râmchaṇḍî* temple, and on the porch of the Sun Temple at Konarak, he explains these pictures as representing in various manners the union of two sexes. Another remarkable feature of similarity in religions so diverse as Mexican and East Indian is the worship of the Sun God in Mexico, which appears to have been interconnected with the worship of the Phallic symbol. Representations similar to those which Dulaure found carved or painted at Panuco were observed by Bertram on the sacred edifices at Tlascalla, where among the local creek tribe heliolatry was strongly in evidence. No connection has yet been established between the religious cults of India and Mexico and what appears to have been a stage in the natural evolution of human faith or as it has been called—a 'cosmic process,' should not be hastily ascribed to a degraded form of any particular religion. One is therefore inclined to hold that these erotic figures by no means establish the Buddhist origin which is claimed for Konarak. It may be stated in this connection that according to Hindu works like *Utkalakhaṇḍa* (Chap. XI) sculptures of this description are carved with a view to prevent the buildings being struck by lightning (*Vajrâpâtâdi-bhityâdi-vâraṇârtham*, वज्रपातादि-भीत्यादि वारणार्थं । &c.). Mr. V. Smith whose attention seems to have been drawn to such Sanskrit texts has also remarked that "such sculptures are said to be a protection against evil spirits and so serve the purpose of lightning-conductors" (*History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 190, foot-note). In the *Agnipurâṇa* also, we find directions regarding the representations of these human couples in certain parts of sacred buildings (*Agni*. Vol. I, p. 356, Ed. *Biblioth. Indic.* Ch, 104—30. *Mithunai pâdavarṇâbhi Śâkhâśeshaṁ vibhûshâyet* मिथुनैः पादवर्णाभिः शाखा शेषं विभूषयेत). It has also been asserted that according to the *Śilpa Śâstras*, it was customary to depict on the temple buildings scenes portraying the nine principal sentiments (*Rasa*) and the erotic passion or *Śringâra Rasa* being the first in the category, has naturally come to occupy a more prominent place. These explanations coming as they do from Hindu sources, certainly go to show that carvings of this kind were not the hall-mark of any particular creed. Not content with the so-called indirect evidence of once prevailing Buddhism, an attempt has been made to silence all dissentients by making a bold assertion to the effect that there is an image of Buddha at Puri which can be traced to Konarak. The image of Sun in the Sun Temple at Puri is said to have been removed from the Konarak temple and there is also

a tradition recorded in the Palm-Leaf Temple annals (*Mâdlâ Pañji*) which lend support to this. In the Sun Temple there is another partly mutilated image which the *Pâṇḍâs* or the custodians of the temple declare to be that of Indra, the Hindu Jupiter Pluvius. Mr. Swarup declares this image to be that of Buddha (*Konarka*, p. 84), an identification which would naturally lend a strong support to his own theory. Mr. Swarup's opinion in this matter cannot, however, be accepted as final as we find that a very different view has been put forth by an independent scholar, after a minute and careful personal inspection. In an article in the *Modern World*, July 1913, Mr. Himangshu Sekhar Banerji, B.L., who took careful measurements of the altar at Konarak and the pedestal of the images in the Puri Sun-Temple, has described the similarity of the so-called Buddha, with that of the Moon-god, in the Navagraha frieze at Konarak and in view of the tradition that the Moon was also worshipped there along with the Sun, he is inclined to hold that the image in question is that of the Moon. If there had been anything peculiary Buddhistic about the image which was likely to lead to a satisfactory identification, the fact would hardly have escaped the attention of modern researchers. Mr. M. Ganguly, whose work on Orissa is probably the latest of its kind from the pen of an Indian scholar, has also been careful not not to hazard such a guess. Mr. Swarup's identification can therefore only be regarded as 'proven' under the circumstance.

Some of the Indian writers are so much obsessed with 'Buddhist' theories that we find in a vernacular work on Puri Shrines (*Purî Tîrtha*) by Mr. Nagendra Nath Mitra, a statement to the effect that there are big images of Buddha on the pyramidal roof of the Konarak porch or Jagmohan. We had an opportunity of inspecting these images at close quarters, having risked a climb to the roof with the help of the local *chowkidar*. Being four-headed they are popularly believed to be representations of Brahman. Mr. Swarup with Mr. Longhurst of the Archæological Survey (*Arch. Survey Report, E. Circle*, 1906) so far differs from the popular identification as to take these images for representation of Śiva or Maheśvara, the matted locks being considered a fifth head on the strength of certain passages quoted from Hindu Texts. The author of "Konarka" monograph seems to be under no illusion that these images were made to represent the founder of Buddhism in any of the varying attitudes (*Mudrâ*), but Mr. N. Mitra seems to go a step further even than other theorists of this school. Mr. Swarup, in view of his own peculiar views, seems to be anxious to relegate the Solar cult to a very subordinate position, and enunciates the view that it could never make a stand as a distinct or separate creed having subsequently become absorbed in the Saivite faith—the Sun God coming to be regarded as one of the eight forms of Śiva or Rudra. To an unsophisticated person the obvious object of this assertion would appear to be that if Sun-worship were reduced to a mere 'subsidiary cult,' it would be easier to attribute the building of this famous fane to a once flourishing and widely prevalent faith like Buddhism. Heliolatry seems to have once been fairly established in this land—from the temple of Martand [9] in Kashmir in the far north to that of Konarak in the southern shore. In Punjab, Multan (Mulasthn) on the Chenab (Chandrabhâgâ) was an ancient seat of Sun-worship. (Cunningham's *The Ancient Geography of India*, p. 232). Mr. N. N. Vasu quotes *Varâha Purâṇa* (178, 49-55) to show that Sun images were consecrated by Śambu, the Pauranic founder of the cult at Muttra, Multan, and Ujjain (Introd. to *Vraja Parikramâ*), and in *Vabishya Purâṇa* also there is mention of Multan and Chandrabhâgâ in connection with heliolatrous rites (*Viaṣṇavism, Saivism, &c.*, by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, p. 153). In Central India the shrines of the Sun God were not quite a negligible factor (*Report Arch. Survey, W. India*, Vol. IX, pp. 73-74, one of the interesting remains of early

[9] Built by king Lalitâditya in the 8th century between A.D. 24 to 760.

heliolatry in the Gwalior inscription of Mihirakula, now *in situ* in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, which records the erection of a Sun temple by this blood-thirsty son of the White Hun Toramana, in the 15th year of his reign, *i. e.* about A. D. 530. (Fleet No. 37.) Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar in his interesting progress report of the *Archæological Survey, W. Circle,* 1905-06, pp. 51-52, describes a 7th century Sun temple at Basantgaḍh in Sirohi, and a 8th century one at Osiah in Jodhpur State, both of which are rich in artistic sculptures. M. Langlés describes a Sun God in the peristyle or verandah of the cave at Ellora Djenouassa (Jânwâśâ)—a Śaiva cave which may be ascribed to 8th or 9th century (Le toit du verandah ou peristyle sur les murailles du quel on a sculptê . . . Souria (le soleil) tranée dans son char par sept chevaux, p. 89, Tome II).

There is an old Sun Temple at Gaya to the north of the Vishṇupâda Temple, the sacred fane which contains according to Hindu belief the foot-print of Vishṇu.[10] The Sun in this temple is as usual shown as being drawn in a seven-horse car. The image is important in the sense that the sculptor has followed the description of the God as given in the Hindu scriptures instead of taking for his model the standing figure with two archer companions said to be an adoption of Greek Apollo found on an Aśoka railing in Bodh-Gaya, to which reference has already been made.

If the Apollo model had no influence in determining the nature of the image at Gaya itself, it is not likely that it would have any influence on the 13th century artists at Konarak. Gaya is not the only place in Bihar containing traces of Solar worship. In an open courtyard inside the temple of goddess Pattaneśvarî, the guardian deity, according to the local Hindus of the city of Patna, was found a big image of the Sun God.[11]

A twelfth century chlorite Sun image found at Rajmahal on the border of Bengal, has been thought deserving of a notice in Mr. V. Smith's *History of Fine Art and Sculpture.* In Bengal itself instances are not unknown of the Sun God being worshipped under a totally different name as the result of forgetfulness or misconception on the part of local inhabitants.[12] Mr. Brajendra Nath Banerji in the *Journal of the Sâhitya Parishad,* describes the so-called image of Shasṭhi (the guardian goddess of infants) worshipped at Chinsurah which is in reality an image of the Sun God with the usual top-boots and lotuses in both hands (*Journal of the Bangiya Sâhitya Parishad,* Vol. XVIII, p. 193). Mr. Nikhil Nath Roy in his history of Murshidabad, describes an image of a Sun God seated on a horse known as *Gangâditya,* which is still worshipped in the village Amarakuṇḍu, lying not far from Berhampore, the headquarters of the Murshidabad district. In the Kandi subdivision in the same district the Sun God is regularly worshipped at Jemo Rajbati, and also at Gokarṇa, Pâtândâ, under the name of Kuśaditya (*Journal of the Sahitya Parishad,* Vol. XIV, p. 144). Not long ago the late Dr. Bloch discovered at Maldah the image of a Sun God of the Âditya class. Some of the Sen Kings of Bengal—who flourished before the Mahomedan conquest—were Sun-worshippers and Keśava Sena in the Edilpur Grant (*JASB.,* Vol. X, 1914, p. 103),

[10] The shrine evidently belongs to Buddhist times, and proves that Sun-worship as a distinct cult was even then in vigorous existence. Inside the temple is an inscription in the era of Buddha's *Nirvâna,* year 1813. (*List of Ancient Monuments of Bengal,* p. 280. Above Vol. X, p. 341.)

[11] The image is no longer worshipped and was lying neglected when the writer of this note visited the shrine with some delegates to the last Bengali Literary Conference held at Bankipur.

[12] It is interesting to note that lingering traces of heliolatrous rites are still to be observed in the *Chhat* (Sansk. *Chhata* ?] festival of Bihari and up-country women.

describes himself as *Parama Saura*. The Solar cult which was once so wide-spread and has left such important archæological evidence of its influence cannot be called a 'subsidiary' one, and there appears to be no proper foundation for the idea that at Konarak the Sun worship had flourished like a parasite on the ruins of a once popular Buddhist place of worship.

It is not the place to discuss the relative merits of the theories as to whether the Sun worship ultimately got merged or incorporated in Narayanic or Vaishnavic cult or in the Saivaic one, though certain facts are certainly in favour of the former supposition. It is worthy of note that at Vrindaban, one of the principal seats of modern Vaishnavism, Sun is even now worshipped in a temple on the *tilâ* of twelve Adityas, and at Muttra another sacred place of Vaishnavite pilgrimage there is a Sun temple on the Surya Ghât or Surya tirtha where accordiñg to Hindu belief Balî, the lord of the Pâtâla regions, obtained from the Sun God the jewel Chintâmanî as a reward of the austerities practised by him. In the copper-plate grants of Keśava Sena, and Viśvarûpa Sena (*JASB.*, Vol. LXV, Pt. I, p. 9), after the opening words *Namo Nârâyaṇâya* नमो नारायणाय (Salutation to Nâr·âyaṇa) occurs the *śloka* (*vande Arabindabana-vândhabam=andhakâra-kârânibaddhabhubanatrayamuktihetum*) वन्दे अरविन्दवन बान्धवमन्धकार कारानिबद्धभुवनत्रयमुक्तिहेतुम् । Salutations to Thee Thou friend of the lotus plants and deliverer of the three worlds from the prison of darkness, &c. That the stanza is to be taken as referring only to the Sun God hardly requires any comment. In reference to the Martand temple is also mentioned 'the local name of Vishṇu as the Sun God.' In popular parlance the Sun God is even to this day referred to in Bengal as Sûrya Nârâyaṇa. A carved stone in the Indian Museum—known as Sûrya Nârâyaṇ a Śilâ—on the top of which is sculptured the lotus symbol of the Sun seems to bear convincing testimony to the union of the two tenets. At any rate, so far as Konarak is concerned, there seems to have been no such clashing of rival Hindu sects and the claims now rashly advanced on behalf of Buddhism restricts the discussion to the actual influence, if any, exercised in this part of Orissa by the Buddhist faith alone. In the *Arch. Survey* reports there is no mention of any Buddhist remains found at Konarak. Nowhere on the temple do we find any representation of the characteristic Buddhist symbol of *Tri-ratna*. Messrs. Vincent Smith and Havell in their well-known works on Indian Art and Sculpture have made no observations on this point. Mr. R. D. Banerji, now Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Western Circle, who had on more than one occasion studied the Konarak remains on the spot declared to me that nothing Buddhistic has yet been found on the site in the course of excavations made by the officers of the Archæological Survey. Mr. M. Ganguly also maintains a discreet silence and does not commit himself to the views enunciated by Mr. Bishan Swarup.

As we have shown above the so-called evidence adduced in support of the pro-Buddhist theory is exceedingly unsatisfactory, as Dr. Râjendra Lâla Mitra himself admits,[11] and so long as no new results of archæological or epigraphical discoveries are forthcoming to corroborate such statements no accurate or scientific writer should speak of Buddhism or Buddhistic influence in connection with the Konarak ruins.

[13] "The evidence available is certainly exceedingly m agre and unsatisfactory, but without the assumption of previous sanctity and celebrity it becomes difficult to account for the selection of a sea-beach for the dedication of so costly and magnificent a temple as the Black Pagoda" (*Ant. Orissa*, Vol II, p. 148). As regards the inaccessibility or loneliness of some of the wellknown sacred places of the Hindus, one is tempted to quote from the beautiful lay-sermon of Sir Rabindranath Tagore "What is Art?" (*Personality*, p. 28-29 & 32), in justification of the selection of such beautiful sites.

SAMÂJA.

BY N. G. MAJUMDAR, Esq., B.A.; CALCUTTA.

Professor D. R. Bhandarkar in his discussion on Aśoka's Rock-edict I in which the king condemns the *samâja* but shows his leaningness towards a particular kind of it, has culled from many sources various references to the word *samâja*.[1] He has clearly shown from Brahmanical and Buddhistic literature that there were two kinds of *samâja*, and that the great monarch wanted to taboo that particular kind in which, animals out of number, were, as a rule, slaughtered and "the meat formed one of the principal articles of food served." Regarding this point I do not think any reasonable doubt can possibly be entertained. But what was the second kind of *samâja*. Prof. Bhandarkar has shown good reason to suppose that in this *samâja* "the people were entertained with dancing, music, and other performances," which according to Rock-edict I was considered *Sâdhumatâ* or excellent by king Aśoka?

The above theory of Prof. Bhandarkar, I am glad to say, is strongly confirmed by the following evidence. First, I want to point out that the word *samâja* in the sense of theatrical performance has been used by Vâtsyâyana in his *Kâmasûtra* where he describes it as a sort of *religious observance*. The passages which refer to it are translated below :[2]

"On the day of a fortnight or month, sanctioned by prevailing custom (*prajñâte*) those who are attached to (the service of) the temple of the Goddess of Learning must hold a *samâja*."

"Actors coming from other places should give them a performance (*prekshaṇakam*)."

"On the second day (after their performance) (the actors) should invariably receive marks of honour from those (engaged in the service of the Goddess of Learning)."

"Then they might repeat the performance or be discharged according to the taste (of the audience)."

"And in adversity or in festivity they (should) help one another."

"And honour and help to the itinerant (actors) who have (already) entered into the covenant is the duty of a Gaṇa."

From the above quotations it appears that *samâja* meant a sort of theatrical performance. We further notice that it had great religious importance inasmuch as it was customary to hold it in temples of Sarasvâti who was no doubt considered to be the presiding deity of the dramatic art.

In the *Jâtaka* also *samâja* has been used in the above sense. From the *Kaṇaverajâtaka* (No. 318) it appears that in those days there were companies of itinerant actors (*naṭa*) whose business it was to move from place to place and show their performances, which are called *samâja*, in villages (*gâma*), towns (*nigama*) and cities. A courtezan, in the above *Jâtaka*, is in deep love with her husband who has run away. In order to trace him back she calls together some professional actors, and addresses them thus : '*Tumhâkam agamanatthânaṃ nâma n'atthi, tumhe gâma-nigama-râjadhaniyo gantvâ* **samajjaṃ katvâ** *samajja-maṇḍale paṭhamam eva imaṃ gîtaṃ gâyeyyâthâ ('ti naṭe sikkhâpenti paṭhamaṃ gâthâṃ vatvâ)*, etc. . . . . *Te Bârâṇasito nikkhamitvâ tattha tattha samajjam karontâ paṭhamam eva gîtakaṃ gâyiṃsu.*"[3] In this passage *samâja* must mean theatrical performance and *samajâ-maṇḍala*, the stage.

The *samâja* which is described in the *Kâmasûtra* and to which there are references in the *Jâtaka* would correspond to the second kind of *samâja* as described by Prof. Bhandarkar. But this is not the only sense in which the word has been used in the *Jâtaka*. Turning to Fausboll, VI, 277 we come across the passage *Passa malle samajjasmin*

[1] *Ante*, 1913, 255-58.

[2] *Kâmasûtra*, Chowkrambâ Sanskrit Series, 49-51.

[3] Fausboll, *Jâtaka*, III, 61-2.

pothenti digunai bhujam. We further learn that this *samajja* was *mañchâtimañcha* which the commentator explains as *mañchânâm-upari baddha-mañcha.* This word must mean, therefore, here at any rate, a stage for the purpose of a wrestling combat. It should be noted also that a stage can but occasionally serve this purpose for which alone, however, open space is always preferable. The commentator explains no doubt, *samajjasmin* by *malla-raṅga*, but that meaning cannot be the only meaning for reasons just noted—a conclusion which is forced upon us from a comparison of the two instances of the *Jâtaka* referred to above. In the first of these as I have already shown *samâja* cannot, of course, mean a *malla-raṅga* for the simple reason that *naṭas* play on it.[4]

Prof. Bhandarkar has noticed that *raṅga* and *prekshâgâra* are used synonymously with *samâja.* I have not the least doubt that here *samâja* means the place where plays are enacted just like 'theatre' which has a double meaning. '*Prekshâgâra*' is the same as '*prekshâgriha,*' the construction of which is described at length by Bharata in his *Nâṭyaśâstra* (II, 8, etc.). In the description of *samâja* in the *Kâmasûtra,* as we have already seen, the word *prekshaṇakam* means a *performance.* From these the conclusion becomes unavoidable that *samâja* was primarily a technical word for *theatre.* I do not doubt, however, that games, contests of animals, etc., were also exhibited in a *samâja* which practice is common even now. A stage, therefore, serves two objects, primarily, the enactment of a drama, and secondarily, the exhibition of games. These were also what *samâja* used to serve in Ancient India.

But the question that arises here is: which of the above two senses would suit the *samâja* which a king like Aśoka considers excellent? Dr. Thomas takes it in the sense of "a celebration of games or rather contests' (*JRAS.,* 1914, 393-4). But then, why should Aśoka show a special predilection for it in one of his own religious writs? There is no evidence to prove that the celebrations of games was looked upon as a *religious observance* in his days. On the other hand there is evidence to prove that *samâja* in the sense of theatrical performance was really looked upon as religious. I have already referred to the tesimony of Vâtsyayana to this point. But this is not all. In the *Râmâyaṇa, e. g.,* the theatre is pre-eminently looked upon as a sign of prosperity of a country (*râshṭravardhana*). In the following passage it has been said, that in a kingless country *utsavas* and *samâjas* which delight the actors and dancers never flourish:

Nârâjake janapade prahrishṭanaṭanartakâḥ.
utsavâścha Samâjâścha vardhante râshṭravardhanâḥ. —*Ayodhyâ,* c. 67, 15.

It follows, therefore, that the king patronized the theatre which was regarded no doubt as an instrument of educating the people.

In view of what is stated above, we are now in a position to understand Aśoka's liking for this particular kind of *samâja,* and this explains why he was so eager to record his sympathy with it. It may be noticed here that if our interpretation is correct it is the first inscriptional evidence of a king supporting the stage in India. Besides this there are in record two other inscriptional evidences proving the same fact, viz., the Nâsik Cave inscription of the 19th year of the reign of Vâsisṭhiputra Puḷumâyi and the Hâthigumphâ inscription of the Emperor Khâravela. M. Senart in editing the former inscription, took *samâja* in the sense of 'assembly.'[5] But that word has to be interpreted in a different sense now. In l. 5 of the Hâthigumphâ inscription, it has been recorded 'that the king, who was himself a master of music (' *gandhava-veda-budho* '), entertained his capital, in

[4] As to the fact that *samâja* was sometimes celebrated on the top of a hill which was first pointed out by Prof. Bhandarkar and the which Dr. Thomas has again drawn our attention, we may cite the case of the Jogimârâ cave at Ramgarh Hill which according to the late Dr. Bloch was the site of a theatre flourishing there at least about the second century B. C.—*Archæological Survey Report,* 1903-4.

[5] *Epi. Ind.,* VIII. 61.

the third year of his reign, by '*Usava-samâja*,[6] just like Puḷumâyi. It was worth noticing here, that in the record *dampa* (?) *nata-gita-vâdita-saṁdasanâhi* is mentioned over and above *Usava-samâja—kârâpanâhi*. This makes clear that in those days *samâja* or theatre did not merely consist of dancing and music.[7] These are then instances to show that the Hindu theatre began to receive State support from very early times.

MISCELLANEA.

HÂTHIGUMPHÂ INSCRIPTION.

MESSRS. K. P. JAYASWAL and R. D. BANERJI have placed the students of Indian Antiquity under a deep obligation by having made accessible to them, for the first time, a reliable version of the very important inscription of King Khâravela at Hâthigumphâ (*JBORS.*, 1917, pp. 425-507). Mr. Jayaswal has further increased the value of his publication by adding a learned introduction and various notes for clearing up the subject, and it may be confidently expected that ere long the contents of this valuable inscription will be fully utilised for studying the history of the period. Before this can be done, however, we must arrive at a definite understanding about the date of this record. I propose, therefore, to discuss this point in some detail in the following pages.

The various theories entertained on the subject have been summarised by Mr. R. D. Banerji, on pp. 488-489, in his note. They may be divided into two classes. According to one, there is a direct reference to a date in line 16 of the record; according to the other, there is no date in line 16 but there are references to some events elsewhere (ll. 6 and 11) in the record from which an idea of its approximate date may be formed.

Both Mr. Jayaswal and Mr. R. D. Banerji have endorsed the first of these theories, and have unhesitatingly pronounced that the record does contain a date in line 16,—"In the time of king Muriya [Chandragupta] which had elapsed by hundred and sixty-five years" according to Mr. Jayaswal (pp. 449, 451) and "in the era of the Maurya kings, one hundred and sixty years increased by five . . ." according to Mr. Banerji (p. 492). Inspite of this difference of interpretation, which, by the way, is not insignificant, both the scholars take their stand upon the same reading, *viz.* "**Pân-aṁtariya-saṭhi-vasa-sate Râja-Muriya-kâle.**" The correctness of this reading (with slight unimportant modifications) have hitherto been conceded even by those (*e.g.* Dr. Fleet)[8] who were not disposed to look upon it as containing a date, for there seemed to have been very little ground of doubt in the facsimile given by Pandit Bhagwân Lâl Indraji. Now that an impression has been prepared on approved scientific method, it is time to examine closely the original words as they stand in the record. Fortunately, Mr. Banerji has taken a separate impression of the 'dated portion' (see Plate IV) and it may be hoped, therefore, that we have here the best mechanical estampage of the portion that we may ever hope to obtain.

Now any one who even cursorily glances at Plate IV must at once come to the conclusion that the letters read as "*Sa ṭhi va sa*" are far from clear. In the first place the second letter can be hardly read as 'ṭhi'. This may be verified by a comparison of the other 'ṭha's in the record, *e.g.* that of 'Choya (or ? â) ṭha' in the same line 'Râṭhikâ' in l. 6, and 'Aṭhame' in l. 7. The next letter read as 'va' looks like 'ta' for its lower limbs are not joined and there is no sign that they were ever so joined. The third letter, read as 'sa', looks more like 'pa' than anything else; the left limb of 'sa' is entirely wanting for we cannot suppose that the same stroke served both as the right limb of 'ta' (or, va) as well as the left limb of 'sa'.

It thus appears to me, that, so far at least as the facsimile goes, there is no justification for the reading 'saṭhivasa-sate'. In the absence of this reading, there remains no trace whatsoever in the inscription, of any direct reference to a date.

Now, conceding for a moment, that the record really contains the date 165, of the era of Muriya [Chandragupta] or of the Maurya kings as contended by Mr. Jayaswal and Mr. Banerji, and is to be placed in about 161 B.C. let us see what result follows. The record, as interpreted by these two scholars, mentions in line 6, that king Khâravela, in his fifth year, brought into the capital the canal excavated by king Nanda three centuries before. As Mr. Banerji has shown (p. 498), this would mean that a king Nanda was master of Kaliṅga in about 465 or 469 B.C. Mr. Banerji would identify

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[6] *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 1917, 455.

[7] To show further that it was really a full-fledged theatrical performance in the sense that actual dramas were enacted on the stage, I should like to draw the attention of scholars to the occurrence of the word *nâṭaka, i. e.* drama, in the *Jâtaka* (IV, 105).

[8] Fleet no doubt suggested some alterations, but he fully admitted the possibility of this reading. See his reading quoted by Mr. Banerji on p. 491.

him, not with the earliest ruler of the Nanda Dynasty, but with the earliest king of the Pauranic list whose name contains or is supposed to contain the adjunct Nanda, *i.e.* Nandivardhana. We leave out of consideration, for the moment, the fact that the name is given as Nandivardhana in all the authentic *Purâṇas*, that the corrupt *Bhavishya Purâṇa* alone gives the name as Nandavardhana, that none of the Purâṇas count him or his successor among the Nanda kings and that there is no justification therefore to dub him as Nanda I. as Mr. Banerji has done on the authority of Mr. Jayaswal. We take for granted that Nandavardhana, or Nandivardhana, of the Śiśunâga dynasty was on the throne in 465 B.C. (taking the later date). This would place Ajâtaśatru's reign, according to Mr. Jayaswal's calculation, between 568 and 534 B.C., or rather earlier, as we may justly suppose that king Nandivardhana was for some years on the throne of Magadha before he could excavate a canal in Kaliṅga. Now this not only runs counter to the present accepted view about the date of the death of Buddha but is also opposed to the orthodox view, accepted by Mr. Jayaswal, that the Buddha died in the 8th year of Ajâtaśatru's reign (see, *e.g.*, the Synchronistic table of Mr. Jayaswal in Appendix C of his paper on the Saisunaka and aurya Chronology, etc., published in *JBORS.*, Sept. 1915. Reprint p. 49). The date of the Hâthigumphâ inscription, as interpreted by Mr. Jayaswal and Mr. Banerji, thus upsets the accepted date of the Gautama Buddha and therewith the whole chronological system based upon it. Such far-reaching conclusions can be accepted only on the basis of clear and positive evidence. But as has been seen above, the line 16 of the record which is the keystone of the whole structure is far from being clear and positive.

Attention may be drawn in this connection to the ways in which idioms expressing dates have been interpreted by these scholars. We have three such expressions, viz., *ti-vasa-sata* in line 6, *terasa-vasa-sata* in line 11, and the alleged *sathi-vasa-sata* in line 16. They have taken the first two in the sense of 300 and 1300 respectively, but have interpreted the last as 160, while it is clear that, to be consistent, they should have explained it as 6,000. According to the usual meaning the first two expressions ought to be taken in the sense of 113 and 103, respectively. These would upset many theories started by Mr. Jayaswal. Thus, for example, there would be no basis for the suggestion that we have in line 11 a reference to the Kaliṅga hero who flourished at the time of Mahâbhârata war, or that there was a careful chronicle in Orissa at the time of Khâravela which could go back 1,300 years. But by far the most important results would follow if we take *ti-vasa-sata* to mean 103 on the analogy of the so-called *saṭhi-vasa-sata*. For then we have to place a Nanda King in Kaliṅga in the year 54 of the Maurya era, and this by itself would go far to prove that there is something wrong in the system of chronology adopted by the authors of the paper.

Mr. Banerji has maintained that even apart from the question of the true reading of line 16, Dr. Fleet's views about the date of the record were grossly inconsistent in themselves. In this I cannot follow him, and it is but due to the memory of the illustrious scholar that his case should be fairly represented. As shown by Mr. Banerji (p. 494) Dr. Fleet concluded from some details in line 11 that the eleventh year of Khâravela fell in the 113th year after the conquest of Kaliṅga by Aśoka, and that Khâravela therefore ascended the throne of Kaliṅga, 111 years after the anointment of Aśoka. Mr. Banerji then adds, "Now, according to Dr. Lüders, Khâravela caused an aqueduct, that had not been used for 103 years since king Nanda or since the Nanda kings, to be conducted into the city, in the 5th year of his reign. This view is also shared by the late Dr. Fleet." (P. 494). It becomes easy of course to show that the two views are incompatible with each other. The fact, however, is that there is *no reason* to suppose that the particular view of Dr. Lüders was also shared by the late Dr. Fleet. His published writings on the subject, referred to by Mr. Banerji, contain no such thing and Mr. Banerji should have given full reference before advancing such a charge against the late lamented scholar. He was too critical a scholar for such inconsistencies and I maintain that his view, so far as it goes, is perfectly consistent in itself. It may be mentioned in this connection that Mr. Banerji has fallen into similar error in his criticism of Lüder's view. Khâravela, according to it, would not be four years of age, as Mr. Banerji maintains in l. 22. p. 496, but 11 years of age when Aśoka died.

R. C. MAJUMDAR.

THE WIDE SOUND OF *E* AND *O* IN MARWARI AND GUJARATI.

BY DR. L. P. TESSITORI ; BIKANER.

I HAD already dealt with the subject of the present paper in a note published in appendix to my "Progress Report on the work done in connection with the Bardic and Historical Survey of Rajputana during the year 1915",[1] and had hoped that I had therein given the genesis of the wide sound of *e* and *o* in Marwari and Gujarati, as distinct from the narrow sound, with sufficient lucidity and documentation to convince everybody. But in this I was mistaken and a contradictory article by Mr. N. B. Divatia, recently appeared in this *Journal*,[2] now obliges me to take up the same subject again and remove some shades of doubt which it has cast on my conclusions.

In the note to which I have just referred, I had shown that every *è*, *ò* (wide) [3] of Marwari and Gujarati is derived from an *aï*, *aü* of the Old Western Rajasthani, whereas every *é*, *ó* (narrow) is derived from O. W. Rajasthani *e*, *o*, or, in some few cases, O. W. Rajasthani *ï*, *ea*, *û*, *oa*. With regard to the former change I had pointed out that the manuscripts indicate that it was effected through a process of contraction, that is, through suppression of the hiatus, the intermediate step being the diphthongs *ai*, *au*, (ऐ औ). Thus O. W. Rajasthani *aï*, through *ai*, gave Marwari-Gujarati *è*, and similarly O. W. Rajasthani *aü*, through *au*, gave Marwari-Gujarati *ò*. Seeing that the spelling *ai*, *au* is found in most, if not all, of the earliest manuscripts of Marwari and Gujarati, and that it is still used by accurate Marwari writers to represent the wide sounds *è*, *ò*, [4] and at the same time considering that this *ai*, *au* spelling is not only etymologically accurate but also very significative in that it graphically represents the genesis of the sounds themselves, I had suggested that it might be adopted, or rather readopted, in Gujarati to distinguish the wide sound (*è*, *ò*) from the narrow sound (*é*, *ó*). It is known to everybody that one of the deficiencies of modern Gujarati orthography is the use of a unique sign to indicate both *è*, *ò* and *é*, *ó*.

Shortly before the publication of my note Mr. Divatia had in this same *Journal* [5] proposed a theory according to which the *è*, *ò* of Gujarati was devolved from O. W. Rajasthani *aï*, *aü*, not through *ai*, *au*, but through *aya*, *ava* (*ay*, *av*). In reply to this, I had in

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[1] *Jour. As. Soc. of Beng.*, N.S., XII, 1916, pp. 73 ff.

[2] *The Wide Sound of E and O with Special Reference to Gujarati.* Vol. XLVI, pt. DLXXXIX, 1917, and Vol. XLVII, pts. DXCI and DXCII, 1918.

[3] I use a grave accent (`) to represent the wide sound and an acute accent (´) to represent the narrow sound.

[4] I give below a specimen which I have taken at random from a manuscript about 50 years old containing the "Khyâta" of Bikaner by Sindhâyaca Dayâla Dâsa (MS. No. 1 of *Descr. Cat. of Bard. and Histl. MSS.*, Sect. i, pt. ii) : ठाकर वैरीसालजी आदमीयां रौ धुंन कर इलाकै बावलपुर रै मै गया जिण रै हाल री तैतीष दिल्ली रै रजीडंस साहब बाहादर नै गुजराई स० १८८६ फाल्गुण शुद १० नै और मुफसल हाल हिंदूमलजी जबांनी जाहर कीयौ तिण पर साहब मौसूफ बावलपुर रै षांन नै ताकीदी री लिषावट भेजी तारां षांन पण ठाकर नै आप रै इलाकै नूं बाहर कीया तद ठाकर इलाकै जेसलमेर रै मै गया उठै कितीएक आदमी जमा कीया तथा पूग[ल] राव रांमसिंहजी वैरीसालजी री साझस मै ता हू जेसलमेर रावल गजसिंहजी षनै गया तठै गजसिंहजी कौश १ सांमा आय नै राव नै ले गया अठ रावलजी पूरी षातरी कर मदत रौ हुकम कीयौ . . . . etc. (pp. 342*b*—343*a*).

[5] *A Note on Some Special Features of Pronunciation etc. in the Gujarati Language*, Vol. XLIV, pts. DLII and DLVI, January and May 1915.

my note given some reasons which, I believe, conclusively dismiss Mr. Divatia's explanation, but he has not been persuaded by them and in his new article on the subject still clings to his theory and not only maintains that *è*, *ò* are derived from *aya*, *ava*, but also that the result of the contraction of *aï*, *aü*, if this contraction ever takes place, is not *è*, *ò*, but *é*, *ó*.

Naturally, in the beginning of his new article Mr. Divatia examines the arguments given by me against his theory and tries to dismiss them, but how! Instead of removing them from his path, he simply walks round them and gets beyond. One of my arguments is that there are no sure instances of any *aï*, *aü* of the O. W. Rajasthani having changed to *aya*, *ava* in any stage of this language. To prove the contrary, my opponent splits the vocal compounds *aï*, *aü* into their two elements and fetches instances of isolated *i*, *u* having passed into *ya*, *va* in the later stage of the O. W. Rajasthani if not in Gujarati itself! The only instances of the pretended change *aï* > *aya* which Mr. Divatia is able to quote, are *vayara*,[6] *payasâra*, *bayaṭhaü*, and *payaṭhaü*. I had already explained these forms as incorrect readings due to the habit of the scribes to write *ya* for *i*. But Mr. Divatia does not accept this explanation and ransacks some O.W. Rajasthani texts in search of examples like *niścaî*, *uvajhâi*, *Râmâiṇa*, etc., which in his opinion prove that the scribes instead of showing a tendency to write *ya* for *i*, show a tendency to write *i* for *ya*. But *i* is the regular spelling in all these cases and does not represent a tendency of the scribes, but a tendency of the language! The fact is that the tendency of the scribes to write *ya* for *i* is not only indisputable but also much more widely established than Mr. Divatia imagines, for it is found in Prakrit manuscripts as well. To cite only one case. Of the two manuscripts collated by Prof. H. Jacobi for the edition of his *Mâhârâṣṭrî Erzählungen*, A and B, the former reads *gayaṃ* for *gaïṃ* (p. 73) and *payasârio* for *païsârio* (p. 63), and the latter *kayavaya* for *kaïvaya* (p. 61) and *vayara* for *vaïra* (p. 60).[7]

Another of my arguments was that it is not admissible that a language which possesses a tendency to *samprasâraṇa* even greater than Apabhraṃśa itself, should at the same time possess a tendency to anti-*samprasâraṇa*, to use Mr. Divatia's expression. In other words, it is not admissible that the O. W. Rajasthani after changing *kavaṇa* into *kaüna* should have reversed the process and changed *kaüna* into *kavaṇa* back again. Mr. Divatia clings to this example and discovers that Apabhraṃśa *kavaṇa* is derived from Prakrit *kaüṇa* < *ko-uṇa* <Skt. *kaḥ punaḥ* (!), and that the O. W. Rajasthani form *kaüṇa* itself is only a return to the old Prakrit form! This is of course all in perfect accordance with Mr. Divatia's principle

[6] Also *vayarâgî*, evidently a *tatsama* in part modelled on *vayara*.

[7] These examples probably show that the O. W. Rajasthani scribes who wrote *vayara* and *payasâra* were not thereby introducing a change in the regular spelling, but only perpetuating an inaccuracy which had become traditional. From the grammatical point of view these forms with *aya* are no less foreign to the O. W. Rajasthani than they are to the Mâhârâṣṭrî, and if they do not represent an actual change in the case of the latter, much less can they represent an actual change in the case of the former. They are evidently anomalous spellings which for reasons difficult to detect were more frequently used in the case of some particular words than in the case of others. Had it been the case of an actual change these spellings would apply to all words alike. Mr. Divatia has not ignored this objection, but being unable to remove it, he has contrived to discredit it by admitting the possibility of the impossible. According to him it is quite natural that *aya* should be found "only in certain words," for "changes in a language cannot proceed on regular lines of uniform march; some forms will linger, some progress, go backwards and forwards, till a final settled state is reached." Thus *vayara*, *payasâra* and the like are only instances of words which felt the change that was beginning to come, in advance of the others. Needless to say, this theory of precocious and tardy words and of pendulum-like oscillations backwards and forwards is new and would require to be proved.

that languages "go backwards and forwards", but the generally accepted principle is very different from this. [8]

My third and last argument was that when the Marwari and Gujarati scribes found that the spelling *aï*, *aü* no longer corresponded to the actual pronunciation, they did not alter it into *aya*, *ava*, but into *ai*, *au*. Evidently, by the time when *ai*, *au* were introduced into use—about the sixteenth century A.D.—the two elements in the vocal compounds *aï*, *aü* had been blended together into diphthongs and were then pronounced as diphthongs. This is, perhaps, the strongest and most decisive of all my arguments in that it proves that during the period of transition from O. W. Rajasthani to modern Marwari-Gujarati, if not earlier, the tendency of the language was to fuse the two elements in the groups *aï*, *aü* into one, not to divaricate them further by amplifying them into *aya*, *ava*. But Mr. Divatia easily disposes of this argument by refusing to believe that early Gujarati manuscripts contain the spelling *ai*, *au*. Even if this was the case, it would suffice to know that the spelling is found in Marwari manuscripts, but that it is found in Gujarati manuscripts as well is a matter that can be easily ascertained by Mr. Divatia himself if he only cares to complete his researches, which, as he states, are "limited in extent in this respect." [9]

In conclusion, none of Mr. Divatia's replies to the arguments given by me against his theory, does really hit the point, much less can these replies demolish my criticism. However, Mr. Divatia has satisfied himself if no others, and thinking that he has cleared his path of all obstacles, proceeds on. I shall not follow him into all his details, but will confine myself to examining the two or three main points in his discussion and conclusions. He begins by suggesting that if *aya*, *ava* (as developments of *aï*, *aü*) were not actually written, except in a few cases, "they were potential developments as precedent conditions requisite for the production of the wide sound (*è*, *ò*) which comes on the final *a* being lost through want of accent

[8] The other examples with which Mr. Divatia tries to show that a *va* of the Apabhramsa after becoming *u* in O. W. Rajasthani can revert to *va* in Gujarati, are: *desâura* > *desâvara*, *deuḷa* > *devaḷa*, and *deura* > *devara*. Here the reversion of the *samprasâraṇa* is only apparent. In several old Marwari manuscripts (*e.g.*, MS. No. 15 of *Descr. Cat. of Bard. and Histl. MSS.*, Sect. ii, pt. i, Samvat 1675–34), I have found the spelling *vu* for *u* coming after a long vowel. Thus: *râvu* for *râu*, *râvuta* for *râuta*, *râvuḷa* for *râuḷa*, *vâvuḷi* for *vâuḷi*, *Sekhâvuta* for *Sekhâuta*, etc. Evidently, we have here insertion of *va*-śruti between *u* and the preceding long vowel, and it is this *va*-śruti that has given rise to the modern *va*. Thus O. W. Rajasthani *deuḷa* first becomes *devuḷa*, through insertion of *va*-śruti, and then, by dropping the *u*, *devaḷa*. There is no question of reversion of *samprasâraṇa* here.

[9] Not only is the spelling *ai*, *au* found in early Gujarati manuscripts, but it is very often found side by side with the old spelling *aï*, *aü*, a circumstance that shows better than anything else that the former spelling is the immediate successor of the latter and that there are no intermediate steps like *aya*, *ava* between them. Here is an illustration of the above-mentioned case, taken from the first page of a manuscript in my possession, written, apparently, towards the middle, if not the end, of the seventeenth century A.D. and containing a Gujarati *bâlâvabodha* to a "Jambucaritra," a Jain work: श्रेणिक राजा एहवौ उपदेश बैठो सांभलै छंइ तिवारइ एक देवता महर्द्धिक भगवंत नइं वांदइं . . . . वांदी प्रश्न करइं माहरी देवलोकइं हिवडां केतलो आउखो छंइ . . . . , etc. It will be noticed that in the above extract, *aï*, *ai* are used side by side, whereas *au* is constantly represented by *o*. This is not a mere graphic peculiarity of the manuscript, but it is a general fact that while early Gujarati manuscripts as a rule always represent *è* by *ai*, they very seldom represent *ò* by *au*, but either use the old form *aü* or the newer form *o*. Marwari manuscripts are more consistent in this respect and use both *ai* and *au*. The Gujarati manuscript cited above is only one of many I could cite in which *ai* is used side by side with *aï*. Indeed, the practice of writing *ai* is so prevalent in early Gujarati manuscripts that I am very much puzzled to explain how a Gujarati scholar can assert that he has never come across any instance thereof!

thus giving *ay*, *av* as the causative principle of the broad sound." Translated into practice, this means that O. W. Rajasthani *karaï* to become modern Marwari-Gujarati *karè*, had to pass through the stages : *karaya*>*karay*, the entire process being as follows :

(1) *karaï*>(2) *karaya*>(3) *karay*>(4) *karè*.

There is no room for the *karaï* of the manuscripts here, but this is no stumbling-block for Mr. Divatia as he has already disposed of the inconvenient form *karai* by denying its existence. Anyhow, one would like to ask, in what does *karay* differ from *karaï* ? For it is clear that it must differ in something, otherwise the third phase would represent no progress in respect to the first. My opponent's reply to this question can hardly be expected to be any other but this : that the last letter of *karaï* is a distinct *i* separated by hiatus from the preceding *a*, whereas the last letter of *karay* is an indistinct *i* attached to and forming one syllable with the preceding *a*. Well, if it is so, is this not tantamount to admitting that the second syllable of *karay* is a diphthong ? And if it is a diphthong, is not *ai* its proper expression ?

I think I can guess whence Mr. Divatia's idea of the intermediate phase *aya*, *ava* has sprung from. He has seen that in modern Gujarati the *ai*, *au* of *tat-samas* (e. g. *daiva*, *gaurava*) is pronounced differently from the *è*, *ò* of *tadbhavas*, while on the other hand *aya*, (*ava*) of *tatsamas* and semi-*tatsamas* (e. g. *samaya*, *paya*, *nayaṇa*, *kavaṛi*) is pronounced very much like *è*, *ò*, and has concluded that *aya*, *ava* are akin to *è*, *ò*, and *ai*, *au* remote from it. If this was Mr. Divatia's line of thought, he has made here a double mistake : firstly in assuming that *tadbhava ai*, *au* were necessarily pronounced in exactly the same way as *tatsama ai*, *au*, [10] and secondly in imagining that *aya*, *ava* are correctly written in all cases when they are pronounced *è*, *ò*. Forms like *samaya*, *paya*, *nayaṇa*, etc., as are commonly met with in O. W. Rajasthani and modern Marwari-Gujarati, are really incorrect spellings for *samaï*, *paï*, *naïṇa* or *samai*, *pai*, *naiṇa*, respectively. In my article mentioned above I had suggested that in the case of all these *tatsamas* or semi-*tatsamas* the transition of *aya* to *è* must have taken place through the intermediate step *aï*, but I had been unable to adduce any instances of this passing of *aya* into *aï* then, as up to the time of writing that article I had met with none in the manuscripts I had examined. Since then I have found many instances of *aï*<*aya* in the *Râu Jaïta Sî raü Chanda* by Vîṭhû Sûjò, a Ḍiṅgaḷa poem, whereof a copy dated Saṃvat 1629 is preserved in the Darbar Library in the Fort of Bikaner,[11] and in a few other manuscripts.

Continuing, Mr. Divatia quotes some etymologies which in his opinion prove that O. W. Rajasthani *aï*, *aü* when accented on the *a*, give *aya*, *ava* and hence *è*, *ò* in Marwari-Gujarati, and when accented on the *i*, *u*, give *é*, *ó*. Unfortunately, a large proportion of these etymologies are incorrect, and some instead of proving what they are intended to prove, prove exactly the contrary. To point out only a few inaccuracies :

anerũ is not from *anaïraũ*, but from *aṇṇaerũ* (Ap.),
the resultant of *maïgaḷa* is not *mégaḷa*, but *mègaḷa*,
verè does not come from *vaïraï* but from **viaraï* (Ap.)>**vîraï*, *veraï* (O. W. Raj.),
Râṭhòṛa is not from *Râṭhaûṛa*, but from *Râṭhaüṛa*.

[10] Probably they were pronounced in a way similar to the *ai*, *au* of Hindi.

[11] See *Descr. Cat. of Bard. and Histl. MSS.*, Sect. ii, pt. i, No. 15. The instances include : *paï* (<*paya*), *haï* (< *haya*), *maïgaḷa* (<*mayagala*), *haïvara* (<*hayavara*), *vijaï* (<*vijaya*), and other similar forms. Forms like these are also met with in the adespotic *Jaïta Sî raü Chanda*, whereof a copy dated Saṃvat 1672 is likewise found in the Darbar Library at Bikaner.

It is not exactly clear what Mr. Divatia means by the accent which he thinks is always present on the one or the other element of *aï*, *aü*. He can hardly mean the old Sanskrit accent, for his accent does not fall on the same syllables on which the Sanskrit accent would fall, besides, the Sanskrit accent does not always support the theory that *aï*, *aü* give *è*, *ò* only when accented on the *a*.[12] What he probably means by accent is a stress or greater emphasis possessed by one of the two vowels in contradistinction from the other, but if he means this stress, he has a very peculiar way of defining and locating it. In some places he speaks of the "preponderance" of one vowel over the other. From the examples he gives of the preponderance of *i* or *u* over the preceding *a*, it appears that he finds the reasons of this preponderance in the fact that the *i*, or *u*, is "guru," *i. e.*, prosodically long either by in nature or by position. Thus in *Cittaûṛa* > *Citóṛa* it is an *u* long by nature that predominates, whereas in *Paṇṇaullî* > *Paṇṇaûlî* > *Pâṇólî* it is an *u* long by position. Now, this is all very well, or at least it would be if the etymologies given were all correct, but these are examples of *aû* > *ó*, not of *aü* > *ó* !

I have noted that several of the *i*'s and *u*'s which Mr. Divatia understands as predominating, belong to the initial syllable of a suffix or of the second member of a nominal compound. This is probably a mere coincidence which my opponent possibly has not even noticed, but should he ever think of this and come out some day with a new theory according to which an *i* or *u* forming part of the initial syllable of a suffix or of the second member of a nominal compound predominates over the terminal *a* of the word to which it is appended and gives rise to *é*, *ó*, I think I have better forestall him now by quoting a few etymologies which show that such is not the case :

Skt. *upa-viśati* > Ap. *uva-ïsaï* > O. W. Raj. *ba-ïsaï* > Marw.-Guj. *bèsè* "Sits down",

Skt. **pra-bhûtakaḥ* > Ap. **pa-huttaü* > O.W.Raj. *pa-hutaü* > Marw.-Guj. *pòhtò* "Arrived",

Skt. *pra-hara-* > Ap. *pa-hara-* > O. W. Raj. *pa-hura* > Marw.-Guj. *pòhra* "A watch of the day",

Skt. **dvâ-saptati* > Ap. **bâ-hattari* > O.W.Raj. *ba-hutari* > Marw.-Guj. *bòhtara* "Seventy-two",

Skt. *su-bhaṭa* > Ap. **su-bhaḍa-* > O. W. Raj. *su-haṛa* > Marw.-Guj. *sòhaṛa* "A warrior",

. . . . . O.W. Raj. *kabâṇa-ïta* > Marw.-Guj. *kabâṇèta* "A bowman",

. . . . . O.W.Raj. *pâkhara-ïta* > Marw.-Guj. *pâkharèta* "An armoured horse",

Skt. *sva-jana-* > Ap. *sa-(y)aṇa-* > O. W. Raj. *sa-yaṇa* > Marw.-Guj. *sèṇa* "A relative or friend",

Skt. *Siṃha-putra-* > Ap. *Siṃha-putta-* > O. W. Raj. *Sîha-üta* > Marw.-Guj. *Sîhòta*[13] "Son or descendant of Sîhò",

Skt. **Lâbha-pura-* > Ap. **Lâha-pura-* > O. W. Raj. *Lâha-üra* > Marw.-Guj. *Lâhòra*[13] "Lahor."

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12 Cfr. the cases following :—

Skt. *karîra-* > O. W. Raj. *kayara* > Marw.-Guj. *kèra* "Capparis Aphylla",
Skt. *°nágara-* < Ap. *°na(y)ara-* > O. W. Raj. *°nayara*, *°naïra* > Marw.-Guj. *°nèra* "City of . . . ,"
Skt. *vijayá-* > Ap. *vija(y)a-* > O. W. Raj. *vijaya*, *vijaï* > Marw.-Guj. *vijè* "Victory",
Skt. *śatá-* < Ap. *sa(y)a-*, *saü* > O. W. Raj. *saï*, *saü*, > Marw.-Guj. *sè*, *so* "Hundred",
Skt. *samayá-* > Ap. *sama(y)a-* > O. W. Raj. *samaya*, *samaï* > Marw.-Guj. *samè* "Time, epoch."

13 Patronymics in *°òta* and names of towns or villages in *°òra* are often pronounced narrow nowadays, but the evidence of old manuscripts shows that the *o* in these terminations was in origin wide. In fact, the manuscripts exhibit in these cases both the *ò* and the *ó* spelling (*e.g.* नागौर and नागोर), but the former is perhaps the more frequent in old and accurate manuscripts, and, anyhow, the fact that the manuscripts, though often writing *ó* for *ò*, never write *ò* for *ó*, is a sufficient reason for concluding that the *o* in these terminations must necessarily have been wide in origin.

I have remarked above, incidentally, that some of the etymologies which Mr. Divatia produces in order to show that _aï, aü_ gave _é, ó_, and _aya, ava_ gave _è, ò_, are incorrect and instead of proving what they are intended to prove, prove exactly the contrary. My opponent will no doubt be surprised to learn this, and still more to learn that his theory is not only fallacious, but is the perfect reversion of the truth. Guided by "the perception of the ear," Mr. Divatia asserts that _è, ò_ can only be the result of _aya, ava_, and that the contraction of _aï, aü_ can only give _é, ó_. The real facts are precisely the contrary : _aï, aü_ gives _è, ò_, and _aya, ava_ gives _é, ó_. Of the former change I need give no illustrations as I believe I have sufficiently proved it in my note to which I have referred above, and which as I have tried to show, has not been in the least impaired by Mr. Divatia's adverse criticism. I shall therefore confine myself to show how _aya, ava_ contracts into _é, ó_. One of Mr. Divatia's examples is _ghaṇerũ_, and another _kasoṭî_. The correct etymology of these two words is as follows :

Skt. _ghana-taraṃ_ > Ap. _ghaṇa-(y)arũ_ > O. W. Raj. and Guj. _ghaṇerũ_ "Plentiful",

Skt. _kaṣa-paṭṭikâ_ > Ap. _kasa-vaṭṭi(y)â_ > O. W. Raj. and Guj. _kasa-vaṭî_ > Marw.-Guj. _kasoṭî_ "Touchstone."

Here we have a real instance of the change of _aya_ to _é_ and of _ava_ to _ó_. Mr. Divatia represents the change as having taken place through an intermediate step _aï, aü_, and thus makes the two examples agree with his theory, but these _aï, aü_ are not the regular _aï, aü_ of the O. W. Rajasthani, but merely hypothetical forms which have no more reality than Mr. Divatia's potential steps _aï_ > _aya, aü_ > _ava_, supposing that the latter were justifiable. Two other instances of _aya_ > _é, ava_ > _ó_, which are unconsciously given by Mr. Divatia himself, are the following :

Skt. _ava-yava-_ > Ap. _ava-(y)ava-_ > O. W. Raj. and Guj. _avéva_ "Limb",

Skt. _*Parṇa-pallikâ_ > Ap. _*Paṇṇa-valliyâ_ > O. W. Raj. _Pâna-valî_ > O. W. Raj. and Guj. _Pânólî_ "N. of a place."

I now proceed to give some additional instances of my own :

Skt. _*Phulla-taḍâkakaḥ_ > Ap. _*Phulla-taḍâaü, *Phulla-(y)aḍâ(y)aü_ > O. W. Raj. _Phûléḷâu_ > Marw.-Guj. _Phûléḷâva_ "N. of a tank."

Skt. _*(ut)tuṅga-paṭṭikâ_ (?) > Ap. _*(ut)tuṅga-vaṭṭiyâ_ > O. W. Raj. _*taṅga-vaṭî_ > Marw.-Guj. _taṅgóṭî_ "A small tent",

Skt. _dvâra-paṭṭa-_ > Ap. _bâra-vaṭṭa-_ > O. W. Raj. _bâra-vaṭa_ > Marw. _bâróṭa_ "Door-panel"

. . . . . O. W. Raj. _bâja-vaṭaü_ > Marw.-(Guj.) _bâjóṭò_ "A footstool",

Skt. _*deša-vṛttakaḥ_ (?) > Ap. _*desa-vaṭṭaü_ < O. W. Raj. _desa-vaṭaü_ > Guj. _desa-vaṭò_ > Marw. _desóṭò_ "Banishment",

Skt. _kara-pattra-_ > Ap. _kara-vatta-_ > O. W. Raj. _kara-vata_ > Marw.-Guj. _karóta_ "A saw",

Skt. _nanândṛ-pati_ > Ap. _ṇaṇandu-vaï_ > O. W. Raj. _*naṇanda-vaï_ > Marw.-Guj. _naṇadóî_ "Husband's sister's husband",

Skt. _pra-vayati_ > Ap. _*pra-vaï_ > O. W. Raj. _prói_, > Marw.-Guj. _pói_ "Pierces, strings",

. . . . . . O. W. Raj. _hara-vala_ > Marw.-Guj. _haróla_ "Vanguard",

Skt. _*Phala-vardhikâ_ > Ap. _*Phala-vaḍḍhi(y)â_ > O. W. Raj. _Phaḷa-vadhî_ > Marw.-Guj. _Phaḷódhî_ "N. of a place."

It will be noticed that in all the above examples the *ya* or *va* which combines with a preceding *a* to form *é* or *ó*, is initial in the second member of a nominal or verbal compound. This is a very important circumstance, because it contains in itself the reason why the *ya* or *va* in all these cases did not undergo *samprasâraṇa*. I have said above that *samprasâraṇa* is one of the most marked features of the O. W. Rajasthani, and that every *ava* of the Apabhraṃśa is changed into *aü* in the former language. But when *va* is initial in a word or comes immediately after a prefix, *samprasâraṇa* does not take place. Thus Ap. *vaïra* remains *vaïra* in O. W. Rajasthani, and similarly *a-vasa* remains *a-vasa*, but *ṇavamaü* becomes *naümaü*. Mr. Divatia has made the mistake of overlooking the fact that initial *va* cannot undergo *samprasâraṇa* and has given a series of etymologies in which he presupposes two conditions incompatible with one another: the existence of a stress or accent on a *va* or *ya* initial in the second member of a compound, and the weakening of this *va* or *ya* into *u*, *i*. It is obvious that so long as the *va* in *kasa-vaṭî* retains the stress or emphasis which naturally falls on the initial syllable of every word, it can never undergo *samprasâraṇa*. The form *kasaüṭî* can only be possible, if at all, when the word *kasa-vaṭî* has ceased to be considered as a compound and the *va* has lost its stress or has transferred it to another syllable.[14] As a matter of fact, this has happened in the case of *kasavaṭî*, and we have of this word two parallel developments: (*a*) *kasa-vaṭî* > *kasóṭî*, and (*b*) *kasavaṭî* > *kasaüṭî*[15] > *kasòṭî*.

In all the examples of the change *aya* > *é*, *ava* > *ó* which have been given above, the *ya* and *va* are initial, a condition which is essential in O. W. Rajasthani for the production of the narrow sound. But if we step out of the boundaries of the O. W. Rajasthani into the domains of Apabhraṃśa and Prakrit, we find that here the change *aya* > *e*, *ava* > *o* is not confined to cases when *ya* and *va* are initial, but extends to other cases as well. Thus we find *leṇa* (< Skt. *layaṇa*), *loṇa* (< Skt. *lavaṇa*), *ohi* (< Skt. *avadhi*), etc. I need not give more examples of this kind because the reader can see them for himself in Pischel's *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, §§ 153-4, but what I wish to remark here is that the change *aya* > *é*, *ava* > *ó* is not a peculiarity of the O. W. Rajasthani, but rather the continuation of a process which was already in operation in the early Prakrit-Apabhraṃśa stage.

But to revert to the *è*, *ò* sound. Certainly I need not waste time to emphasize the absurdity of Mr. Divatia's suggestion that this sound was probably matured under the influence of certain Arabic and Persian words. Mr. Divatia must be very little persuaded of the plausibility of his own derivation of this sound, if he finds it necessary to supplement it with such hypotheses. No, Arabic and Persian could not be responsible for the birth of *è*, *ò* in the least, and to accuse them of sharing the paternity of these sounds is ridiculous, just as ridiculous as it would be to impeach English, because it possesses words, like "hat", and "hot", whereof the vowels are pronounced much like the *è*, *ò* of modern Gujarati! But why, instead of going so far in search of foreign influences, why not lay greater stress on the analogy of the *è*, *ò* of Marwari-Gujarati with the *ai*, *au* of Hindi? The latter sounds are identical with the former, except that they represent a slightly earlier stage, the very same

14 Cases of this kind are not unheard of. Cfr. *taruara* (< *taru-vara*), and *hèmara* < *hèṃvara* (< *haya-vara*).

15 I have found the form *kasaüṭa* used once in Somasundarasûri's *bâlâvabodha* to Dharmadâsa's "Uvaesamâlâ", 473. Its derivative *kasòṭî* is used in Hindi (Bates, p. 111). Mr. Divatia cannot possibly claim this form *kasaüṭî* as evidence in support of his theory that an *a* followed by an accented *u* gives *ó*, because, as I have remarked above, the *u* in *kasaüṭî* cannot be accented.

stage, I believe, of the Marwari-Gujarati diphthongs *ai, au* as they must have been pronounced previous to their transition into the wide vowels *è, ò*.

I cannot conclude this note without a remark on the pronunciation of *è, ò*. As I had already pointed out in my former note on the subject, there is in modern Marwari-Gujarati a marked tendency to pronounce *è* and *ò* less wide when they are final, than in other cases. Here under the term final I comprehend also an *è* or *ò* forming part of the penultimate syllable of a plurisyllable ending in a quiescent *a*. In some cases, the vowel is actually heard as narrow, thus the words : *âvè-lâ* " will come "; *róvè* " is crying ", *Bhaṭanèra* " Bhatner ", *ghóṛò* " horse ", *kàrò* " do ! ", *Nâgòra* " Nagor ", *Râṭhòṛa* " Rathor ", *Riṇamalòta* " a son or descendant of Riṇamala ", are generally pronounced : *âvélâ, róvé, Bhaṭnér, ghóṛó, karó, Nâgór, Râṭhóṛ, Riṇmalót*. Here etymology and the evidence of the old manuscripts are our only guide for recognizing in all these vowels which are now heard as narrow, an originally wide vowel whereof the value has subsequently been modified. Were we to rely only on the " actual perception of the ear " and disregard the evidence of the manuscripts and of etymology, we should incur into the same error as Mr. Divatia who misunderstood *vérè* for *véré*, *Râṭhòṛa* for *Râṭhóṛa*, and *Guhilòta* for *Guhilóta*. The " actual perception of the ear " is often most fallacious, but etymology is a faithful guide, and so are old manuscripts in this special case. In fact, accurate Marwari manuscripts always maintain with scrupulous accuracy the distinction between *é, ó* and *è, ò* by representing the former by the signs ए, ओ, and the latter by the signs ऐ, औ.

In this connection I may here reiterate the practical suggestion which I had already made in my previous note : that when the question of revising the present imperfect spelling of Gujarati comes to be reconsidered, the signs ऐ, औ—which were formerly used in Gujarati and are still used in Marwari—should be readopted to represent the wide sound of *e* and *o*. Etymology and manuscript tradition show that the above-mentioned signs are the only legitimate and correct ones and their readoption in Gujarati would have, besides others, the great advantage of better conforming the orthography of this language with that of Hindi and making it more easily intelligible in other parts of the country.[16]

[16] I have purposely refrained from alluding in the course of this note to a misinterpretation of a passage in my former note which my opponent makes and emphasizes as if in order to condemn me with my own words. A reply to this point might have been interpreted as a personal controversy. In my former note I had taken the opportunity of correcting an inaccuracy into which I had fallen in the first chapter of my " Notes on the Grammar of the Old Western Rajasthani, etc.", by representing the result of O. W. Rajasthani *aï, aü*, as *è, ò* in Gujarati and *ai, au* in Marwari. This means that, misunderstanding the use of the signs *ăĭ, ăŭ* in Sir George Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IX, Pt. ii, to indicate the *è, ò* sound of Marwari, I had concluded that this sound does not exactly correspond with the *è, ò* of Gujarati, which in the modern writing is inaccurately represented by ए, ओ, and only after coming to India I discovered that the *è, ò* of Marwari and the *è, ò* of Gujarati are exactly the same and identical sound. But Mr. Divatia misinterprets my words so as to take them to mean that " Dr. Tessitori . . . . thought Mâravâḍî did not possess even the narrow *é—ó* as evolutes of अइ, अउ, much less the wide *è—ò* " (!), and in another place, referring to " Dr. Tessitori's gracefully (*sic*) frank admission ", says that " when he wrote his " Notes " the wide sound of *e* and *o* . . . . was never present before his mind, and he states there that अइ and अउ became *é* (ए) and *ó* (ओ) narrow "(!) Here evidently Mr. Divatia assumes that in my " Notes " I had used *é, ó* to represent the Gujarati narrow sound, but how arbitrary this assumption is is shown by the fact that in my " Notes " I have never indicated in writing the distinction between the wide and narrow sound of *e, o* in Gujarati, but following the modern Gujarati spelling, I have represented both by *é, ó*.

VÂRTTÂ—THE ANCIENT HINDU ECONOMICS.

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Stray expressions of thought in ancient Europe on the material interests.

Though the science of economics is essentially modern, stray expressions of thought on the material interests may be traced back in Europe to the time of Hesiod (8th century B.C.), whose *Works and Days* [1] is a long versified dissertation embodying directions for practical guidance in the material concerns of life, such as the making of ploughs, sowing, planting, reaping, threshing, supervision of slave-labourers, weaving of cloths, management of dogs, horses, oxen, etc., shearing of sheep, felling of wood, sea-trade. The European writers subsequent to Hesiod were occupied in a very large measure with thoughts about political constitutions. In spite of this feature, we meet with economic precepts and anticipations of later economic researches in some of the writings.

Plato (429 or 427—347 B.C.)

Plato has given us a few economic thoughts and analyses, some of which are correct even according to modern criticism. These may be gathered from the *Republic*, *Laws*, and the dialogue called *Sophist*. The *Eryxias*, a short dialogue, treats of wealth; but it is considered spurious and does not go deeper or farther than the aforesaid works. Plato recognizes the economic basis of political society, the importance of the division of labour and also of the primary occupations such as agriculture, cattle-rearing and artisanship, domestic exchange of commodities, foreign commerce, and currency; and touches the subjects of distribution of property, money-lending, interest on loans and overdue accounts, and such other topics. Though many of his ideas are crude and unscientific, they furnish germs of much serious thought to later writers. His economic speculations, however, are found in mixture with his treatment of political and ethical questions which occupy the primary place, and are not disintegrated yet as a separate subject. [2]

Xenophon (*circa* 430-357 B.C.)

Xenophon's *Œconomics* treats of the management of the household consisting of the family with its dependants and requiring property for its maintenance. Incidentally, he touches the subjects of agriculture, manufactures, trade, foreign commerce, nature of money and some other kindred topics. His precepts for the management of private property show much sense and sagacity, [3] but his views on the subjects just mentioned are not in advance of his times except in one or two instances.[4]

Aristotle (384-322 B.C.)

It was Aristotle who first reached the conception of a special science or art of wealth, though he never treated it apart from ethical and political considerations. He used the word *chrematistike* sometimes as equivalent to *ktetike*, *i.e.*, acquisition in general, and some-

[1] See T. Cooke's translation of the poem in three *books*, and J. K. Ingram's *History of Political Economy*, (enlarged ed., 1915), p. 9.

[2] *Dictionary of Political Economy* (edited by R. H. I. Palgrave) under 'Plato,' and Ingram, *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 13.

[3] Xenophon's work on the revenues of Athens contains some practical suggestions for their improvement.

[4] Palgrave, *op. cit.*, 'Xenophon,' and Ingram, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 14.

times in the narrower sense of that kind of acquisition that is rendered possible by exchange and money. The appended table [5] of the divisions of acquisition will show that he divided wealth into three classes, natural, intermediate, and unnatural. Hunting of wild animals or of slaves,—the "living tools", is considered a "natural" mode of acquisition as also the first division of *chrematistike,* on account of their having the same relation to the household as mother's milk to the young, or ordinary food to the graminivorous or carnivorous animals. The "intermediate" acquisition is thought to be somewhat removed from nature and hence its name. This gulf reaches its farthest limit in the "unnatural", with exchange for its instrument. Wealth is defined to be "a number of instruments to be used in a household or in a state." None of the modes of acquisition should be pursued immoderately, as domestic economy is not identical with amassing wealth, nor statesmanship with finance. The foundations of an "art of acquisition" quite apart from the "art of household management" were thus laid. [6] The term *oikonomike* continued to denote as before 'household management', *chrematislike* (or *ktetike*) being used to stand for the predecessor of modern economics. "Political economy" as the name of the science of wealth was first used bya French author in the title of his work *Traité de l'Economic Politique* published in 1615.[7] Aristotle dwells on diverse topics of economics which I need not reproduce. Suffice it to say that with him originated the conception of a distinct 'science or art of wealth'.

Stray expressions of thought in the ancient East on the material interests.

The Chaldæans reached a high degree of excellence in agriculture making the soil yield a good many raw products. Their methods were first transmitted to the Greeks and afterwards to the Arabs, and practised long after the disappearance of the Chaldæan civilization. The people of Irak under the Abbaside Caliphs followed those methods while the

[5] The art of acquisition (*ktetike*; but *chrematistike* is sometimes used in this wide sense).

I. Hunting (*a*) of wild beasts, (*b*) of those who are 'by nature slaves.'

II. *Chrematistike,* the science or art of wealth.

(1) *Natural,* including

(*a*) keeping of cattle, flocks, &c.

(*b*) agriculture (including cultivation of fruit-trees).

(*c*) bee-keeping.

(*d*) keeping of fish.

(*e*) keeping of birds.

(2) *Intermediate,*

(*a*) wood-cutting.

(*b*) mining.

(3) *Unnatural* (= *metabletike,* exchange).

(*a*) trade (commerce and retail trade).

1st, ship owning.

2nd, carrying trade.

3rd, shop-keeping.

(*b*) money-lending (usury).

(*c*) labour for hire.

1st, of the skilled artisan.

2nd, of the unskilled."

—Jowett's *Politics of Aristotle* (Oxf. 1885), vol. II, p. 35, as quoted in Palgrave, *op. cit.,* 'Aristotle'.

[6] Palgrave, *op. cit.,* 'Aristotle', and Ingram, *op. cit.,* pp. 14-17.

[7] Ingram, *op. cit.,* p. 45. 'Economia' meant but 'domestic management' according to Bacon.

work entitled *Nabatæan Agriculture* of Ibn Wahshiyah (the Nabatæans being an Arab people on the east and south-east of Palestine) preserves according to one body of opinion, a reflection of those methods. In the opinion of E. Renan, "It is possible that the method which is taught in them goes actually back, as far as the processes are concerned, to the most ancient periods of Assyria; just as the *Agrimensores latine*, so recent in regard to the editing of them, have preserved for us customs and ceremonies which can be explained only by the 'Brâhmaṇâs' of India and which are consequently associated with the earliest ages of the Aryan race."[8] Agricultural treatises on clay were deposited in one or other of the sacred libraries in which the priests of each city used to collect documents of all kinds.[9]

China.

Dr. Chen Huan-Chang's "Economic Principles of Confucius and his School" makes it clear that in the writings of Confucius (552-479 B.C.) and his disciples were imbedded remarks bearing on the administration of wealth, its relation to the varions social sciences, the principles that should underlie the production, distribution and consumption of wealth, and public finance. It should not be thought that there was a separate systematic exposition of all the principles. They are, on the contrary, found scattered throughout their sacred writings and require to be scraped together to show that Confucianism is a great economic in addition to being a great moral and religious system, containing many an early "anticipation of the accepted economic teachings of today."

India: *Vârttâ* emerges as a branch of learning in the epic period.

In India, the subject treating of wealth emerged very early as a special branch of learning under the name *Vârttâ*. It is implied in the use of the expression *tisraḥ-vidyâḥ* in the *Râmâyaṇa*[10] which points to the inference that *Vârttâ* crystallized as a branch of learning most probably in the epic period. A few *Purâṇas*[11] record that the group of occupations signified by the word came first into existence in the *tretâ* age, and we find its appearance as a branch of learning in the *Râmâyaṇa*, the great epic of that age.

The relation of *Vârttâ* to *Arthaśâstra* in the *Kauṭilîya*.

In the *Kauṭilîya*, *Vârttâ* is mentioned as dealing with 'wealth and loss of wealth' (*arthânarthau*)[12] while the scope of the *arthaśâstra* is laid down thus: "*artha* (wealth or 'goods') is the object of man's desire: the inhabited land (or country) is *artha*; that science which treats of the means of acquiring, preserving, and developing the said land or country is *Arthaśâstra* (science of man's material concerns)."[13] *Arthaśâstra* deals with wealth, but as good government is the *sine qua non* of peaceful acquisition of wealth, it treats of polity also. *Arthaśâstra* thus concerns itself with the economic development of the country but

[8] *Memoir upon the age of the work entitled "Nabatæan Agriculture"* (in French), p. 38, as quoted in G. Maspero's *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 770, fn. 5.

[9] For the information in the paragraph, *see* G. Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 770.

[10] *Râmâyaṇa*, *Ayodhyâ-kâṇḍa*, ch. 100, ślk. 68, mentions three divisions of learning of which one is *vârttâ*.

[11] *Vâyu-Purâṇa*, ch. 8, ślk. 134; *Matsya-Purâna*, ch. 140, ślks. 1—3; *Brahmâṇḍa-Purâṇa*, ch. I, ślk. 107; ch. 8, ślk. 195; ch. 63, ślk. 4 (same as *Matsya-Purâṇa*, *loc. cit.*)

[12] *Kauṭilîya*, Bk. I, *vidyâsamuddesaḥ*, p. 7—"Dharmâdharmau trayyâm. Ârthânarthau vârttâyâm. Nayânayau daṇḍânîtyâm." Cf. *Agni-Purâṇa*, ch. 238, ślk. 9; *Kâmandakîya*, ch. 2, ślk. 7.

[13] *Ibid.*, Bk. XV, *tantrayuktayaḥ*, p. 424.

has to do in a large measure with polity (*daṇḍanîti*) which helps to create and maintain the condition precedent of economic development.[14] The relation between *vârttâ* and *Arthaśâstra* appears therefore to be that the former is the general name of the branch of learning that treats of wealth alone while the latter deals with it in combination with polity, and other subjects having more or less intimate connection with *vârttâ* and *daṇḍanîti*.[15]

Arthaśâstra a sub-type of _Itihâsa-Vedâ_; how far this is additional clue to the time of emergence of _Vârttâ_.

Having noticed the relation of *Vârttâ* to *Arthaśâstra* we are led to enquire whether the sub-sumption of the latter under *Itihâsa-Veda* as done by Kauṭilya [16] can furnish any clue to the time of emergence of the subject and thereby that of *Vârttâ*, for *Itihâsa* is mentioned in the *Atharva-Veda*,[17] *Taittirîya-Brâhmaṇa*,[18] *Śatapatha-Brâhmaṇa* [19] and various other Vedic works [20] as a branch of learning. The implication of the term as given by the commentators is not expressly in favour of its inclusion of the six sub-types of learning as represented in the *Kauṭilîya*. Moreover, the Vedic texts themselves mention very often *Purâṇa* and *Itihâsa* side by side as a compound expression, which seems not to support their relation to each other as genus and species; for if the words bore the meaning given in the *Kauṭilîya* the mention of *Itihâsa* would have obviated the necessity of citing *Purâṇa* separately. We are not therefore in a position to say that the denotation of the word *Itihâsa* in the aforesaid Vedic passages is the same as that of the *Kauṭilîya*. It may be supposed that the word *Itihâsa* may be found in use in post-Vedic Sanskrit [21] or Pâli [22] and Jaina [23] literature with the denotation it bears in Kauṭilya's treatise, but so far as I see, the evidences in the light of their current interpretations do not favour the supposition.

Thus the aforesaid meaning of *Itihâsa* in the *Kauṭilîya* stands alone unless it be said that the meaning should be read into the word in the passages of works chronologically

[14] Cf. *Kauṭilîya*, Bk. I, p. 9. "Ânvîkshakî-trayî-vârttânâṃ Yogakshemasâdhano daṇḍaḥ."

[15] The contents of the *Kauṭilîya Arthaśâstra* lead us to infer that the subjects of administration of justice, polity including art of war and inter-statal relations, building of forts, town-planning, &c., formed part of the *Arthaśâstra* in view of their bearing on polity and economics though of course those subjects, that had a comparatively distant connection with them, received proportional attention and space in the working up of the treatise.

[16] *Itihâsa-Veda* includes (1) Purâṇa, (2) Itivṛitta, (3), Âkhyâyikâ, (4) Udâharaṇa, (5) Dharmaśâstra, and (6) Arthaśâstra.—(*Kauṭilîya*, Bk. I, *vriddhasaṃyogaḥ*, p. 10.)

[17] *Atharva-Veda*, XV, 4.

[18] *Taittirîya-Brâhmaṇa*, III, 12, 8, 2.

[19] *Śatapatha-Brâhmaṇa*, XI, 5, 6, 4-8; XIII, 4, 3, 3 ff.; XIV, 5, 4, 10; 6, 10, 6; 7, 3, 11.

[20] E.g., *Taittirîya-Âraṇyaka*, II, 9 and 10; *Śâṅkhâyana-Śrauta-Sûtra*, XVI, 2, 2 ff.; *Âśvalâyana-Śrauta-Sûtra*, X, 7, 1 ff.; *Śâṅkhyâyana-Gṛihya-Sûtra*, I, 24, 8; *Âśvalâyana-Gṛihya-Sûtra*, III, 3, 1-3; *Hiraṇyakesin-Gṛihya-Sûtra*, II, 19, 6. Cf. *Bṛihadâraṇyaka-Upanishad*, II 4, 10; IV, 1, 2; 6, 11; IV, 5, 11; *Maitrâyaṇî-Upanishad*, VI, 33; *Chhândogya-Upanishad*, III, 1-4.

[21] E.g., *Gautama*, VIII, 6; *Vishṇu*, XXX, 38; LXXIII, 16; *Baudhâyana*, II, 5, 9, 14; IV, 3, 4; *Manu*, III, 232; *Vâyu-Purâṇa*, ch. I, ślk. 200. *Vishṇu-Purâṇa*, Pt. I, ch. 1, ślk. 4. *Agni-Purâṇa*, ch. 271, ślk. 10. *Bhâgavata-Purâṇa*, Skandha I, ch. 4, ślk. 20.

[22] E.g., *Sutta-Nipâta, Mahâvagga* (*Selasutta*) [*SBE.*, vol. X], p. 98 mentions *Itihâsa* as the fifth Veda; *Pârâyanavagga* (*vatthugâthâ*) [*SBE.*, vol. X], p. 189. *Questions of Milinda* [*SBE.*, vol. XXXV], pp. 6, 247.

[23] *Kalpa-Sûtra* [*SBE.*, vol. XXII], p. 221 mentions *Itihâsa* as the fifth *Veda*.

anterior or posterior to the *Kauṭiliya*. In that case also the separate mention of *Purâṇa* will present difficulty in the way of accepting the signification *in toto*. The relation therefore of *Arthaśâstra* or *Itihâsa* as set forth in Kauṭilya's work does not furnish us with any additional clue as to the time of emergence of *vârttâ*.

The process of emergence of *Vârttâ*. Its use to denote certain occupations and trade.

Side by side with the signification of *vârttâ* as a division of learning (*vidyâ*), we find its use as a collective name for the occupations of the third caste,[24] the Vaiśyas, viz., roughly speaking, agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade. The allotment of distinct means of livelihood to each caste must have preceded the raising of the *vritti* or means of livelihood of the Vaiśyas to the status of a division of learning for greater specialization in the same in order to make it more effective for the fulfilment of the objects it sub-served. This use of *vârttâ* as signifying certain occupations and trade is found in Sanskrit works from the *Râmâyaṇa* downwards. A few instances are cited in the foot-note.[25]

The elements of *vârttâ* in this sense are agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade according to certain texts;[26] while, according to others, money-lending is added to them as the fourth item.[27] *Vârttâ* formed the means of subsistence of the third caste, which *Manu*[28] details as agriculture, cattle-rearing, trade, and money-lending which are further detailed in subsequent passages: "A Vaiśya must know the respective value of gems, of pearls, of coral, of metals, of (cloth) made of thread, of perfumes, and of condiments. He must be acquainted with the (manner of) sowing seeds and of the good and bad qualities of fields and he must perfectly know all measures and weights. Moveover, the excellence and defects of commodities, the advantages and disadvantages of (different) countries, the (probable) profit and loss on merchandise, and the means of properly rearing cattle. He must be acquainted with the (proper) wages of servants, with the various languages of men, with the manner of keeping goods and (the rules of) purchase and sales." It will be seen that these details of works are necessitated by the three or four principal duties of the Vaiśyas mentioned above. In the *Kauṭilîya*,[29] however, *vârttâ* denotes only agriculture,

[24] *Vârttâ*, according to the *Kauṭilîya*, is also the means of livelihood of the Śûdras (*Kauṭilîya, vidyâ-samuddeśaḥ*, p. 7).

[25] *Râmâyaṇa, Ayodhyâ-Kâṇḍa*, ślk. 47. *Mahâbhârata, Śânti-Parva*, ch. 68, ślk. 35; *Sabhâ-Parva*, ch. 5, ślk. 79. *Bhâgavadgîtâ*, XVIII, 44; *Kauṭilîya, vidyâ-samuddeśaḥ*, p. 8. *Vâyu-Purâṇa*, ch. 8, ślks. 128, 130, 134; ch. 24, ślk. 103. *Vishṇu-Purâṇa*, ch. 6, ślk. 20, 32; *Bhâgavata-Purâṇa*, Skanda 7, ch. 11, ślk. 15; Skanda 10, ch. 24, ślks. 20, 21; Skanda 11, ch. 29, ślk. 33; *Brahmâṇḍa-Purâṇa*, ch. 8, ślk. 130 (same as *Vâyu-Purâṇa*, ch. 8, ślk. 134); ch. 26, ślk. 14 (same as *Vâyu-Purâṇa*, ch. 24, ślk. 103); *Linga-Purâṇa*, ch. 39, ślk. 43; ch. 21, ślk. 16 (same as *Vâyu-Purâṇa*, ch. 24, ślk. 103); *Bhavishya-Purâṇa, Brahma-Parva*, ch. 44, ślk. 10; *Nâradîya-Purâṇa, Atri-Saṃhitâ*, ślks. 14, 15.

[26] *Kauṭilîya*, Bk. I, *vidyâ-samuddeśaḥ*, p. 4,—krishi-pâśupâlye vaṇijyâ cha vârttâ; dhânya-pasuhiraṇya-kupya-vishṭi-pradânâdarpakârikî (*i.e.*, agriculture, cattle-roaring and trade constitute *vârttâ*; it is useful in that it brings in grains, cattle, forest-produce, labour, &c.). Cf. *Kâmandakîya*, ch. 2, ślk. 14; and *Questions of Milinda* (*SBE.*, vol. xxxv), p. 247 (IV, 3, 26).

[27] Nîlakanṭha's commentary on *Mahâbhârata, Śânti Parva*, ch. 5, ślk. 79 (with commentary); *Bhâgavata-Purâṇa*, Skanda 10, ch. 24, ślk. 21—

krishi-vâṇijyâ-gorakshâ kusîdam turyamuchyate.
Vârttâ chaturvidhâ tatra vayaṃ govrittayo'niśaṃ,

[28] *Manu*, I, 90; cf. *Mahâbhârata, Śânti Parva*, ch. 63, ślk. 1; *Bhâgavata-Purâṇa*, Skanda 7, ch. 11, ślk. 15.

[29] *Manu* (*SBE.*), iv, 329-332. The various duties contemplate their performance by various sections of the Vaiśyas and not by every individual Vaiśya.

cattle-rearing, and trade, money-lending being omitted. In addition to this difference, there is another between Manu's law-code and the *Kauṭilîya*, viz. that the former makes the serving of the three higher castes the only occupation of the Śûdras, while the latter adds to it *vârttâ* and *kârukusîlavakarma* (professions of artisans and bards).[30] The separate mention of *vârttâ* and *kâru-karma* may suggest that the various arts and crafts did not fall within the limits of *vârtta in its primary sense.* This seems to be confirmed by the *Vishṇu-Purâṇa* which appears to make a distinction between "*vârttopâya*" and "*karmajâ hasta-siddhi*",[31] the latter expression referring to arts and crafts involving manual labour and dexterity. But *as a branch of learning*, its scope was much widened. We shall return to this point shortly.

Vârttâ as a branch of learning is posterior to the allotment of particular occupations to the Vaiśya caste.

The raising of *vârttâ* to the status of a branch of learning so important as to be classed with its three other principal branches, *viz., Ânvîkshikî, Trayî* and *Daṇḍanîtî*, is as old as the *Râmâyaṇa*, though of course its attainment of the literary status must have been posterior to the allotment of agriculture, stock-rearing, trade, and money-lending to the third caste, the Vaiśyas. Previous to the emergence of *vârttâ* as a Śâstra requiring systematic study, the occupations and trade must have developed haphazardly; but subsequent to its conversion into a type of learning, agriculture, cattle-rearing, trade, and money-lending may be inferred to have received a careful attention and perhaps a conscious direction. The questions put by Râma to Bharata in the *Râmâyaṇa*[32] and by Nârada to Yudhishṭhira in the *Mahâbhârata*[33] regarding the people engaged in agriculture and other occupations and the application of *vârttâ*, point to the same inference.

A few texts in which *Vârttâ* is mentioned as a branch of learning. The scope of *Vârttâ*.

Some of the Sanskrit texts in which *vârttâ* is impliedly or expressly mentioned as a branch of learning are given below.[34] The topics that came within its scope were naturally those means of subsistence that were embraced by *vârttâ* in its primary sense, *viz.* agriculture, cattle-rearing, trade, and money-lending. Its scope was not, however, limited to these four subjects but became much wider. Such a widening of scope is not uncommon; for the secondary sense of a word is not often shackled by the

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[30] *Kauṭilîya*, Bk. I, *vidyâ-samuddeśaḥ*, p. 8. Cf. *Kâmandakîya*, ch. 2, ślk. 21.

[31] *Vishṇu-Purâṇa*, pt. I, ch. 6, ślk. 20, verse 2.—Vârtt-opâyam tataś = chakrur = hastasiddhiñcha karmajâm.

[32] *Râmâyaṇa*, Ayodhyâ-kâṇḍa, ch. 100, ślks. 68, 47.

[33] *Mahâbhârata*, Sabhâ-Parva, ch. 5, ślks. 76-79.

[34] *Râmâyaṇa Ayodhyâ-kâṇḍa*, ch. 190, ślk. 68 (*vârttâ* implied); *Mahâbhârata, Vana-Parva*, ch. 150 ślks. 30, 31; *Śânti-Parva*, ch. 18, ślk. 33, and ch. 59, ślk. 33; *Harivaṃśa*, ch. 40, ślk. 39 (*vârttâ* implied) with commentary; *Manu*, VII, 43; *Yâjñavalkya*, I, 311; *Kauṭilîya*, Bk. I, *vidyâ-samuddeśaḥ*, pp. 6, 7; *Agni-Purâṇa*, ch. 225, ślks. 21, 22 (same as *Manu*, *loc. cit.*); ch. 237, ślk. 5; ch. 238, ślk. 9 (same as *Kauṭilîya*, Bk. I, p. 7, lines 1 & 2); *Vâyu-Purâṇa*, ch. 61, ślk. 167; *Matsya-Purâṇa*, ch. 215, ślk. 53 (same as *Manu*, *loc cit.*); ch. 145; ślk. 36; *Bhâgavata-Purâṇa*, Skanda III, ch. 12, ślk. 44; *Vishṇu-Purâṇa*, pt. I, ch. 9, ślk. 119; pt. II, ch. 4, ślk. 84; pt. V, ch. 10, ślks. 26-30; *Brahmâṇḍa-Purâṇa*, ch. I, ślk. 107; ch. 64, ślks. 25, 32; ch. 65, ślk. 36; *Brahma-Purâṇa* ch. 20, ślk. 85; ch. 179, ślk. 40; ch. 187, ślks. 43-46; *Devî-Purâṇa*. ch. 37, ślks. 60, 61 *Śiva-Purâṇa* (*Vâyavîya-Saṃhitâ*), pt. I, ch. I, ślk. 22.

primary. In the *Devî-Purâṇa*,[35] *vârttâ* as a branch of learning appears to include *karmânta*, *i.e.* manufactures. Though trade is omitted in the *śloka*, the inclusion of trade within *vârttâ* does not admit of any doubt in view of the many evidences already cited. The subsumption of manufactures under *vârttâ* or, in short, any occupation or accomplishment that had an economic value follows from the fact that *vârttâ* was not merely a sub-class but the highest class of learning dealing with wealth. *Arthaśâstra*, according to the *Prasthânabhedaḥ*[36] of Madhu-sûdana Sarasvatî, is an Upa-Veda[37] and includes *nîtiśâstra* (political ethics, or morals), *aśva-śâstra* (veterinary science), *śilpa-śâstra* (mechanical and fine arts), *sûpakâra-śâstra* (cookery), and *chatuḥshashṭikalâ śâstra* (sixty-four[38] *kalâs, i.e.*, practical, mechanical or fine arts).[39] But as *vârttâ* is the highest category of learning relating to the material interests, *arthaśâstra* in its economic aspects cannot but fall under the same. The whole field of human knowledge is, as we have already pointed out, divided among four categories of knowledge, viz., *ânvikshikî*, relating to philosophy and reasoning, *trayî* to the *Vedas*, *i.e.*, to theology, *daṇḍanîti* to polity, and *vârttâ* to wealth both public and private.[40] Hence *vârttâ* was the branch of learning of ancient India devoted to the systematic study of the material interests of the people with a view to their acquisition, preservation and development.

[35] *Devî-Parânṇa*, ch. 37; ślk. 61—

Paśvâdi-pâlanâddevi kṛishi-karmânta-kâraṇât.
Varttanâd vâraṇâd vâpi vârttâ sâ eva gîyate.

[36] The *Prasthânabhedaḥ* of Madhusûdana Sarasvatî in *Indische Studien*, vol. I, pp. 2, 13. [A Bengali translation of the piece together with the Sanskrit text appeared in the *Sarvârtha-Pûrṇachandra* (7th Saṃkhyâ, A.D. 1855, pp. 217-224) edited by Advaitya Charan Âḍhya.] The eighteen divisions of learning are 4 *Vedas* + 6 *Aṅgas* + 4 *Upâṃgas* + 4 *Upa-Vedas*, viz. *Âyurveda*, *Gândharva-Veda*, *Dhanur-Veda*, and *Arthaśâstra*). The texts that mention the divisions as fourteen leave out of account the four *Upa-Vedas*. For the mention of the divisions either as fourteen or eighteen, see *Śiva-Purâṇa* (*Vâyavîya-Saṃhitâ*, pt. I, ch. 1, ślks 22, 23; *Brahma-Purâṇa*, ch. 179, ślk. 40; *Skanda-Purâṇa* (*Vishṇu-khaṇḍa*), ch. 9, ślk. 54; ch. 11, ślks. 15-20; ch. 32, ślk 21; ch. 38; ślk. 68; ch. 46, ślk. 11; *Kâśi-khaṇḍa*, ch. 2, ślk. 100; ch. 9, 49.

The highest categories of learning are generally mentioned as four, of which *vârtta* is one. In this case, the whole Vedic lore falls under *Trayî*. *Âpastamba's* law-code [II, 11, 29, 11 and 12 (*S.B.E.*)] says, "The knowledge which Śûdras and women possess is the completion of all study. They declare that this knowledge is a supplement of the *Atharva-Veda*." The footnote following the commentator (see also Bühler's *Introduction*, XXXII) adds that "men ought not to study solely or at first such Śâstras as women or Śûdras also learn, but at first they must study the Veda. The knowledge which women and Śûdras possess is dancing, music, and other branches of the *Arthaśâstra*." The la t sentence makes a confusion between *Gândharva-Veda*, which like *Arthaśâstra* is also an *Upa-Veda*, but treats of dancing, music, &c., while *Arthaśâstra* treats of quite different matters. The expression "other branches" wrongly conveys the implication that dancing and music are also branches of *Arthaśâstra*.

It will be noticed that the position of *Arthaśâstra* as an *Upa-Veda* has qeen put put here as proceeding from its relation to the *Atharva-Veda*, but according the *Kauṭilîya*, its position as such comes from its relation to the fifth, i.e., the *Itihâsa-Veda*.

[37] Cf. *Vishṇu-Purâṇa*, pt. III, ch. 6, ślks. 28, 29.

[38] Jayamaṅgala, the annotator of the *Kâmasûtram* of Vâtsyâyana, computes *kalâs* with their sub-division to be as many as 518, and refers to a set of them called *Pâñchâlikî* (see Vâtsyâyana's *Kâmasûtram*, pp. 32, 40).

[39] Madhusûdana Sarasvatî, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 13, 22.

[40] Prof. H. H. Wilson writes the following note on "*vârttâ*" in his translation of the *Vishṇu Purâṇa* [Bk. I, ch. 9, ślk. 119 (=vol. I, p. 148, Hall's ed. 1864)]: "*vârttâ* explained to mean the *Śilpa-Śâstra* (mechanics, sculpture, and architecture); *Âyur-Veda* (medicine);" &c.

The learners and teachers of *Vârttâ* or its branches.

The application of the principles of *Vârttâ* within the state by competent men was the look-out of the sovereign.[41] In view of this exigency, the sovereign had to learn *vârttâ* with perhaps special attention to its more useful sub-divisions, viz. agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade from teachers having special knowledge thereof.[42] Kauṭilya includes *vârttâ* in the course of study prescribed for the prince, the subject being taught by superintendents of government-departments (*adhyakshâḥ*) having not merely a theoretical but also a thorough practical knowledge of the same and who were in charge of various agricultural, industrial and commercial operations of the state.[43] The prince also learnt *arthaśâstra* from competent professors.[44]

It seems that the two higher castes, eligible as they were to the study of all the branches of learning, could learn *Vârttâ* like the Vaiśyas either in order to have a merely general knowledge of the subject or, according to particular needs, to have a special knowledge of some or all of its branches. The Brâhmaṇas learnt the subject sometimes perhaps for the sake of making their education all-round, and sometimes for the purpose of teaching it to their pupils; for the Brâhmaṇas were teachers not merely of theology and philosophy but also of economics, polity including even the art of warfare and use of weapons, as also the practical or fine arts, and accomplisments. Only a few instances will suffice. Râma and his cousin were taught the use of some weapons by Viśvâmitra, the Pâṇḍavas the military art along with the use of weapons by Droṇâchâryya. The various branches of learning together with the sixty-four *kalâs* were learnt by Krishṇa from his preceptor Sâmdîpani. Thus the members of the first caste were often masters and teachers of the practical arts, though of course it should be admitted that the knowledge and practice of *vârttâ* were the special obligation of the Vaiśyas, just as the knowledge and practice of *daṇḍanîti* (polity) the special charge of the Kshattriyas. The members of the fourth caste were, as it appears from several Sanskrit texts, debarred from literary or scientific culture, but, according to Kauṭilya, they were eligible to the means of subsistence included in *vârttâ* and had therefore at least the practical knowledge required for the purpose and transmitted from one generation to another through apprenticeship of some form or other.

Manner of treatment and extant literature.

The manner of treatment of *vârttâ* or its sub-topics in the treatises on the subjects, so far as we can judge it from the evidences at our disposal, was rather concrete, though, of course, general maxims and wise saws, the generalizations that were the results of long experience were not wanting in them. The economic treatises of the ancients whether of Greece or India could not be like their namesakes of the present day. The aim of the works on *vârttâ* was more or less practical, their primary object being the guidance of the traders, agriculturists, cattle-rearers, artisans, artists, and directors of industries, and the concrete mode of treatment of the subjects in those books was determined by this practical purpose. I have appended at the end of this discourse names of extant treatises on the various arts

[41] *Râmâyaṇa, Ayodhyâ-kâṇḍa*, 100, ślk. 68; *Mahâbhârata, Sabhâ Parva*, ch. 5. ślks. 76-79.

[42] *Manu*, VII, 43—

Traividyebhasirayiṃ vidyâddaṇḍanîtiṃ atha śâśvatîm,
Anvîkshikîṃ châtmavidyâṃ vârttârambhâṇ ścha lokataḥ.

—cf. *Yâjñavalkya*, I, 311; *Agni-Purâṇa*, ch. 238, ślk. 8.

[43] *Kauṭilîya*, Bk. I, *Vṛiddhasaṃyogaḥ*, p. 10.

[44] *Ibid.*

and crafts and such other subjects as are classed under *vârttâ* in two *Lists*, the first of which contains the names of *manuscripts*, and the second names of *printed works*. So far I have not come across any work entitled *Vârttâ-Śâstra* dealing with the entire subject in a general way. The absence of such a book in the Lists cannot be a bar to the recognition of the other works mentioned therein as appertaining to *vârttâ* in view of what we find in regard to the three other divisions of learning *Ânvîkshikî*, *Trayî* and *Daṇḍanîti*; for I do not think there are any works entitled *Ânvîkshikî* or *Trayî* though there are admittedly hundreds of works on philosophy and theology. Similarly in framing the list of more than 150 works on *Daṇḍanîti* or its sub-topics, which I have collected and published elsewhere, I have not come across any book with the title *Daṇḍanîti*. It is not essential that books must always be named after the divisions of learning to which they belong, and it is not a fact that books named otherwise cannot appertain to those divisions of learning. Most of the works named in the lists are on one or other of the sub-topics of *vârttâ* or on a group thereof, treating of architecture, sculpture, painting, examination of precious stones, agriculture, nourishment of plants, treatment and cultivation of trees, laying out of gardens, cow-keeping, handicrafts, construction of carriages and ships, &c. We do not expect to find in these works an attempt to elicit economic laws by an inductive and deductive study of man and his diverse activities in relation to the utilisation of nature. The analogy of the handling of polity in the available treatises on the subject points also to the same inference. We find in them details as to the duties of various government-servants from the Viceroys to the lowest menial, how the State-departments should be administered, how war is to be waged and inter-statal relations maintained, and so forth, and not any abstract discussions of the origin and development of State, nature and seat of sovereignty and such-like.

(*To be continued.*)

A NOTE ON THE YAJVAPÂLAS OR JAJAPELLAS OF NARWAR.

BY M. B. GARDE, B.A.; GWALIOR.

In his *Coins of Mediæval India* (p. 90) Sir A. Cunningham gives the following genealogical table of a family of kings whom he calls ' Rajputs of Narwar '.

Accession.			Dates from inscriptions and coins.
SAMVAT.	A.D.		
		Malaya Varmma Deva	S. 1280, 1282, 1283, 1290.
1294	1237	Châhaḍa Deva	S. 129-, 1303, 1305, 1306, 1311.
1312	1255	Nṛivarmma	....
1312	1255	Âsalla Deva	S. 1327, 1330.
1335	1278	Gopâla	S. 1337.
1347	1290	Gaṇapati	S. 1348, 1355.

This list[1] was compiled ' from inscriptions and from the dates furnished by the coins and other sources ' known to Cunningham. Four inscriptions[2] relating to these kings are mentioned by him, namely:—

No. 1. At Rai, dated S. 1327 = A.D. 1270, in the time of Âsalla Deva.

No. 2. At Dahi, dated 1337 = A. D. 1280, mentioning Gopâla Râja.

No. 3. At Surwaya, dated 1348 = A.D. 1291, in the time of Gaṇapati Râja.

No. 4. At Narwar, dated S. 1355 = A.D. 1298, in the time of Gaṇapati.

[1] Cunningham gives another defective list of these kings in his *A. S. Reports*, Vol. II, p 316.

[2] *Coins of Mediæval India*, p. 90.

As none of these inscriptions mentioned the family name of the kings or supplied any clue to the identification thereof, Cunningham contented himself by calling the dynasty 'Rajputs of Narwar.' And this vague appellation or its eqiuvalent "princes of Narwar" has been given to this dynasty in books on chronology, numismatics and history published since.

Recently however, five more inscriptions of this dynasty have been discovered by me, two of which are valuable as supplying the hitherto unknown name of the dynasty and further as clearing away certain misconceptions about Châhada of Narwar, the founder of the dynasty.

A stone[3] inscription on a Jaina Temple at Bhimpur about 3 miles from Narwar dated in V. S. 1319 in the reign of Âsala Deva contains the following verses :—

यज्वपाल इति सार्थकनामा संबभूव वसुधाधववंशः ।
सर्वतः कलितकीर्तिदुकूलच्छत्रमेकमसृजद् भुवने यः ॥
कुले किलास्मिन्नजनिष्ट वीरचूडामणिः श्रीय (प ?) रमाडिराजः ।
[शूरच्छिदा ?] भर्स्सिततारकश्रीःस्कंदोपि नास्कंदति येन साम्यम् ॥
तत्र नाकयुवतिस्तनस्थलीपत्रवल्लिघनडंबरस्पृधि ।
चाहडः प्रतिनरेंद्रकाननप्लोषदावशिखिमूर्तिरुद्ययौ ॥ etc., etc.

The facts of historical importance gleaned from this passage are that there was a race of kings named Yajvapâla ; that in that race was born Śrî Ya(pa)rdmâḍirâja ; and that he was succeeded by Châhaḍa.

In another stone[3] inscription found in the *kacheri* at Narwar, dated in V. S. 1339 in the reign of Gopâla, occurs the following text :—

गम्यो न विद्वेषिमनोरथानां रथस्यदं भानुमतो निरुंधन् ।
वासः सतामस्ति विभूतिपात्रं रम्योदयो रत्नगिरिर्गिरींद्रः ॥
तत्र सौर्यमयः कश्चिन्निर्मितो महरुंडया ।
जयपालो भवन्नाम्ना विद्विषां दुरतिक्रमः ॥
यदाख्यया प्राकृतलोकवृंदैरुच्चार्यमाणः शुचिरूर्जितश्रीः ।
बलवदानार्जितकांतकीर्तिर्वंशः परोभूज्जजपेल्लसंज्ञः ॥
तत्राभवन्नृपतिरुग्रतरप्रतापः श्रीचाहडस्त्रिभुवनप्रथमानकीर्तिः ।
दोर्दंडचंडिमभरेण पुरः परेभ्यो येनाहृता नलगिरिप्रमुखा गरिष्ठाः ॥ etc., etc.

This passage tells us that Châhaḍa of Narwar was born in a noble family which was called after a legendary hero named Jayapâla ; that the current popular form of the family-name was Jajapella ; and that Châhaḍa captured from enemies Nalagiri, *i.e.*, Narwar, and other big towns.

On combining the information supplied by these two records we learn that the family name of the kings of Narwar hitherto known by the rather vague title 'Rajputs of Narwar' was Jajapella. The alternative form 'Yajvapâla' specified in the Bhimpur inscription appears to be a learned Sanskritised form of the popular Jajapella. We further learn that Châhaḍa's immediate ancestor was Śrî Yaramâḍirâja or Paramâḍirâja and not Malaya Varmma[4] as supposed by Cunningham (*Coins of M. India*, p. 90). Yaramâḍirâja however does not appear to have ruled over Narwar for we learn from the Narwar *kacheri* inscription that it was Châhaḍa who conquered Narwar from enemies.

[3] These stones have now been deposited in the State Museum at Gwalior.

[4] A copper-plate inscription of this Malaya Varmma dated V. S. 1277 has been lately discovered at Kurethâ in Gwalior State, from which it is clear that Malaya Varmma did not belong to the Jajapella mily of Narwar but was a Pratîhâra.

The new historical information noticed above is important as it clears away the obscurity that hitherto hung over the history of the Châhaḍa Deva of Narwar.

A Muhammadan historian named Maulânâ Minhâju-d-dîn informs us that in A. H. 631 or 632 (=A. D. 1234 or 1235) the forces of Shamsu-d-dîn Altamsh defeated at Ranthambhor a powerful ruler of the name of Râṇâ Châhaḍa Acharî who sustained another defeat in A. H. 649 (=A D. 1251) near Narwar at the hands of Ulugh Khân.[5] According to Cunningham, Raverty held that two different Hindu chiefs were intended here. But Mr. E. Thomas thinks them to be one and the same.[6] Cunningham says 'Major Raverty's opinion is not without support, but I am inclined to agree with Thomas. I found my conclusion on the title of Acharî which is given to Ranthambhor Châhaḍa in this account and to the Narwar Châhaḍa Deva in all the accounts.'[7] Recently Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni in his article on the Rataul plate[8] of the Châhamâna Châhaḍa Deva (of Ranthambhor) supports the identification of the Châhaḍa of Ranthambhor with his namesake of Narwar. His conclusion is based on three arguments :—

(1) The type of characters used in the Rataul plate inscription of the Châhamâna Châhaḍa fits in very well with the time of the Châhaḍa of Narwar.

(2) His second authority is the historian Minhâju-d-dîn referred to above.

(3) His third argument 'is afforded by numismatic records. The coins of Châhaḍa discovered at Narwar and other places are of two kinds, namely, those issued by him as an independent ruler and secondly those struck by him as a tributory to Altamsh. The coins of both these kinds are of the bull and horseman type like those of the Châhamâna rulers, and what is more, those of the first kind also bear on the reverse the legend of Asâvarî Srî Sâmanta Deva which occurs only on the coins of the Châhamâna Sômesvara and his son Prithvîrâja.'

Now this identification of the Châhamâna Châhaḍa of Ranthambhor with his namesake of Narwar, which was generally favoured by writers on the subject in the light of facts hitherto known, is clearly refuted by our newly found inscriptions of Bhimpur and Narwar *kacherî*, which as already noticed inform us that the Châhaḍa of Narwar was a Yajvapâla or Jajapella and not a Châhamâna.

The arguments adduced by previous writers in favour of the identification of the two Châhaḍas are also not unimpeachable. Let us examine them :—

(1) The palæographical argument afforded by the Rataul plate can show nothing more than that the Châhamâna Châhaḍa was a contemporary of the Châhaḍa of Narwar and not that they were identical.

(2) As for the statement of the historian Minhâju-d-dîn it is seen from Cunningham's remarks quoted above, that opinion is divided as to whether the two accounts of the historian really refer to one and the same Hindu chief. It is just possible that the two Châhaḍas were contemporary of each other and the historian identified them through oversight.

(3) The numismatic evidence also is not convincing. Coins of the Narwar Jajapellas Châhaḍa, Âsala or Âsalla, and Gaṇapati have been found hitherto. The coins of the two latter princes are represented by only one type[9] showing on the obverse a rude figure of a horseman and on the reverse, a legend specifying the name of the prince preceded by the word

[5] Cunningham, *Coins of Mediæval India*, pp. 90-91, where the authority quoted is *Raverty's Translation of Tabqât-i-Nasiri*, pp. 731 and 824. See also Duff's *Chronology of India*, pp. 184 and 194.

[6] *Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 67.

[7] Cunningham, *C. M. I.*, p. 91.

[8] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 223-24.

[9] Cunningham, *C. M. I.*, p. 73, Nos. 8-10.

rimat, and a date below. Of the coins of Châhaḍa three different types have been traced :—

No. 1. This type[10] is exactly similar to that of the coins of Âsala and Gaṇapati mentioned above.

No. 2. This type[11] bears on the obverse a figure of a horseman and the legend Śrî Châhaḍa Deva, and on the reverse, a bull and the legend *Asâvari Śrî Sâmanta Deva.*

No. 3. This type[12] is similar to type No. 2 with one difference, namely, that the legend on the reverse is replaced by *Asâvarî Śrî Somasoraladeva.*

The definite find places of these three different types of Châhaḍa's coins have not been recorded. It is likely that coins found elsewhere have been confounded with those found at Narwar. To me it appears that the coins of type No. 1 alone belong to the Châhaḍa of Narwar as they resemble the known coins of his descendants Âsala and Gaṇapati. While types Nos. 2 and 3 are to be referred to the Châhamâna Châhaḍa of Ranthambhor as they are copied from the Châhamâna type. This view is supported also by Cunningham's remark [13] that the title *Achâri* (or *Asâvarî*) does not appear on the Narwar coins. The title *Asâvarî* is absent only in type No. 1 of Châhaḍa's coins which alone, to judge from Cunningham's remark, must have been found at Narwar.

If this view is correct the title Achâri (Asâvarî) rightly belongs only to the Châhamâna Châhaḍa of Ranthambhor. And the assignment of that title to the Châhaḍa of Narwar by Muhammadan historians is probably due to confusion arising from the fact that the two Châhaḍas were nearly contemporary.

Having thus explained away the arguments adduced by previous writers in favour of the identification of the two Châhaḍas we may safely conclude on the authority of the Bhimpur and Narwar *kacherî* inscriptions that the Châhaḍa of Narwar and the Châhaḍa of the Rataul plate or of Ranthambhor were two different persons. The former was a Yajvapâla or Jajapella and the latter was a Châhamâna.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SPREAD OF HOBSON-JOBSON IN MESOPOTAMIA.

WITH reference to the words quoted by Sir Richard Temple (*ante*, p. 196) from Mr. Edmund Candler's article in the (London) *Observer* of 12th May 1918, I may give here some further examples of Hobson-Jobson from an article in the *Daily Telegraph* of 14th March 1916 by the same writer.

1. *Kellek.* Ar. *kelek*, a large skin raft.

2. *Mahaila.* Ar. *mahayalah*, a large river sailing boat. " These local river craft make a picturesque fleet, with their high-forward-sloping masts, huge rudders, lateen sails, and cut-away prows, pointed and barbed. They are painted like the Chinese junk, but with Arab designs and characters, the star and crescent and figures like the signs of the Zodiac, generally white on a point of green, or red, or yellow. Each boat carries a large clay oven like an antheap, and the poop is boarded over for the crew. They have been compared to the Nile *dahabiyah*, but I am told that they are more after the pattern of the ' nugger ' of the Soudan . . . The *mahaila* carrries anything from fifteen to seventy tons. She can make ten miles a day, towed against the current, and four to six miles [*sic*] knots an hour with a following wind."

3. *Bellum.* Ar. *belam* (see *ante*, p. 196). " The Arab name for the long, narrow, canoe-shaped boats of the country, the gondola of Basra . . . It is punted or paddled, according to the depth of the water."

4. *Gufar.* Ar. *quffah*, a river tub. "Another boat indigenous to the Tigris is the cauldron-like *gufar* of Baghdad . . . It is made of reed backed with wooden uprights plastered over with pitch from the bitumen wells of Hitt."

A. G. ELLIS.

[10] Cunningham, *C. M. I.*, p. 73, Nos. 5 and 6. See also Thomas, *Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 75 No. 45. This type is ignored by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 224).

[11] Cunningham, *C. M. I.*, p. 92, No. nil. Thomas, *Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 70, No. 39 and V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Ind. Mus.*, pp. 262-63.

[12] Thomas, *Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 70, No. 40 ; Cunningham, *C. M. I.*, p. 92, No. 4.

[13] Cunningham, *C. M. I.*, pp. 91-92.

THE STRATAGEM USED BY ALEXANDER AGAINST PORUS ALLUDED TO IN THE *ÂÎN-I-AKBARÎ.*

BY VINCENT A. SMITH.

MR. H. BEVERIDGE has drawn my attention to two passages in the *Âîn-i-Akbarî* as translated by Jarrett (vol. iii, pp. 330, 392), which allude to a stratagem practised by Alexander against Porus. Neither passage specifies the nature of the operation. The earlier one states that Alexander ' by stratagem put him (Porus) to rout.' The second, an allusion in Akbar's ' Happy Sayings', intimates that Akbar did not believe the story, his words being reported as: ' The legend of Alexander's stratagem against Porus does not carry the appearance of truth.' Evidently the tale must have been of a marvellous, incredible character. Jarrett, commenting on the later passage, suggests that the allusion must be to the ruse by which Alexander succeeded in crossing the Hydaspes. That suggestion cannot be correct, because the **Persian and Muslim traditions treat the Macedonian invariably as a legendary personage.** They never betray the slightest knowledge of the authentic accounts of the Indian campaign, except in so far as that the name ' Fūr ' may be taken as the equivalent of Porus. I have looked through Captain H. Wilberforce Clarke's translation of Niẓâmî's *Sikandar-nâma* (London, Allan, 1881), which gives the Sikandar legend at immense length in cantos xlvi-xlviii. Alexander is there represented as having invaded China through ' Tibat ', and as having advanced even into Russia. Those absurd stories are supported by a mass of fictitious correspondence, but the poem does not mention the ' stratagem ' which forms the subject of this note.

Mr. Beveridge holds that the allusions in the *Âîn* refer to the tale related by 'Abdullah bin al Moqaffa in his preface to the Arabic version of *Kalila and Dimna*, and mentions that Silvestre de Sacy pointed out at p. 49 of his edition of that work (Paris, 1816) that it had been used by Abu-l Faẓl. Silvestre de Sacy's book apparently is wanting in the Oxford libraries, but is in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society. Mr. Beveridge has been good enough to communicate the French text from page 15. It is unnecessary to print that extract, because I have found in the Monier Williams collection at the Indian Institute at Oxford a rare English work which serves the purpose more conveniently and seems to be little known. The title is :—

' *Kalila and Dimna, or the Fables of Bidpai*, translated from the Arabic by the Rev. ' Wyndham Knatchbull, A.M., Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, and Rector of Westbeere ' in the Country of Kent. Oxford, printed by W. Baxter, for J. Parker ; and Messrs. Longman, ' Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, London. 1819.' Knatchbull was a pupil of de Sacy.

Page 1 gives

' The Preface of Ali, the son of Alschah Faresi [*i.e.*, Alshâh Fârisî, the Persian ; also known as Bahnûd بهنود son of Saḥwân].

' Alexander, having overcome the kings of the West, turned his arms toward ' the East...... Afterwards directing his course towards China, he in his march ' summoned Four, at that time King of India, and renowned for his wisdom and ' great power, to declare himself his vassal ; but Four on the contrary made immediate prepa- ' rations for resistance...... Alexander.... determined to call to his aid the experience ' which he had acquired, and to employ stratagem to secure his success. For this purpose

'he began by ordering an intrenchment to be formed round his camp......in the mean-'time he ordered the artificers in his train, many of whom he had taken from the different 'cities on his march, to make hollow figures of brass [*nahâs* نحاس] [1] representing horses 'and men, caparisoned and equipped in a manner to give them the appearance of regular 'cavalry and to be filled with naphtha and sulphur, and placed in front of his line, intending 'that the combustible materials should at the very commencement of the battle be set on fire.. 'Four had placed his elephants in the front rank, which, advancing to meet the figures of brass 'which were simultaneously pushed on, no sooner touched them with their trunks, than, 'being rendered furious by the heat, they threw down those who were on their backs, and 'then suddenly turning round, took to flight, and trod under their feet and crushed all they 'met.'

Four and Alexander then engaged in mortal combat. 'Alexander, taking advantage 'of the moment when he was off his guard, struck him a blow, which made him fall from his 'horse, and with a second laid him dead at his feet. The Indian army renewed the combat '......but finding at length all resistance to be ineffective, they accepted the terms which 'the conqueror offered them.'

Another version of the story is given by Firdausî in the *Shâhnâma*. Mohl's abstract in French is reprinted by Dowson in Appendix A to vol. vi (p. 476, note 2) of *The History of India as told by its own Historians*. According to the poet the horses and riders, exceeding a thousand in number, were constructed of *iron*, the joints being soldered and rivetted with copper. Note 1 on the same page states that a similar tale was related concerning the mythical Prester John of Abyssinia, who adopted the expedient against the son of Chingiz Khân. It is not worthwhile to pursue the variations of the legend through other books.

It is impossible to doubt that Mr. Beveridge is right in maintaining that the story, as related in the Arabic and Persian works named, is that referred to by Akbar and Abu-l Fazl. Akbar showed his good sense in rejecting the fantastic legend.

NOTES ON KÂLIDÂSA.

BY PROF. H. B. BHIDE, M.A., LL.B.; BHAVNAGAR.

(1) Early References.

References to Kâlidâsa may be direct or indirect. By direct reference I mean the mention of the name of Kâlidâsa or his work. By indirect reference I mean the mention or indication of, or the reference to, a story or the incidents in a story, or any other peculiar feature found in the works of Kâlidâsa.

Bâṇa is the earliest writer who directly refers to Kâlidâsa. The following couplet from the *Harshacharita* is well-known:

निर्गतासु न वा कस्य कालिदासस्य सूक्तिषु ।
प्रीतिर्मधुरसान्द्रासु मञ्जरीष्विव जायते ॥

But it is not so well-known that the *Harshacharita* contains another, though indirect, reference to Kâlidâsa. On the death of Prabhâkaravardhana, his elder son Râjyavardhana consoles Harsha in the following words amidst others :—लोकत्रयत्रातरि मान्धातरि मृते किं कृतं पुरुकुत्सेन, भूतलविदितदशद्वीपे दिलीपे वा रघुणा, महासुरसमरमध्यासितविशरथे दशरथे वा रामेण, गीष्पतीकृतचतुरुदन्वन्ते दुष्यन्ते वा भरतेन । (p. 179).[2] In this passage all the references except the first

[1] De Sacy translates by 'bronze,' but 'brass' seems to be correct.

[2] The edition used is the Nirṇayasâgara edition.

are to personages that figure in Kâlidâsa's works. Of these the most significant is the reference to Dilîpa and Raghu. Raghu is said to be the son of Dilîpa and this relationship between the two rests solely on the authority of the *Raghu-vaṁśa*; it is not affirmed by the *Râmâyaṇa* or by the *Purâṇas*. We may therefore reasonably conclude that Bâṇa relies upon the *Raghuvaṁśa* when he makes Raghu the son of Dilîpa. Thus this constitutes another and indirect reference to Kâlidâsa by Bâṇa.

There are some other passages in the *Harshacharita* which may show that Bâṇa is influenced, perhaps unconsciously, by Kâlidâsa's works. These passages are given below :—

(1) अपि च . . . भवादृशां जन्मग्रहणोपायः पितरौ । प्रजाभिस्तु बन्धुमन्तो राजानः । p. 158.

Compare with this the following :—

स पिता पितरस्तासां केवलं जन्महेतवः ।

Raghu. I. 24.

येन येन वियुज्यन्ते प्रजाः स्निग्धेन बन्धुना ।
स स पापादृते तासां दुष्यन्तः . . . . ॥

Śâkuntala VI.

(2) न च शक्नोमि दग्धस्य भर्तुरार्यपुत्रविरहिता रतिरिव निरर्थकान्प्रलापान्कर्तुम् । p. 167.

May it be that Bâṇa had in his mind Canto IV of the *Kumârasambhava* when he put these words in the mouth of Yaśomatî ?

(3) अनार्य च तं मुक्त्वा . . . केषां मनस्सुसरःसु राजहंसा इव परशुरामपराक्रमस्मृतिकृतो न कुर्युरार्यगुणाः पक्षपातम् । p. 188.

This reminds us of the following lines from the *Meghadûta*:—

प्रालेयाद्रेरुपतटमतिक्रम्य तांस्तान्विशेषान्
हंसद्वारं भृगुपतियशोवर्त्म यत्क्रौञ्चरन्ध्रम् ।
तेनोदीचीं दिशमनुसरेः . . . . .

(4) देव न कश्चित्कृताभयया मलिनया म्लानतराः कोकिलया काका इव कापुरुषा हतलक्ष्म्या विप्रलभ्यमानमात्मानं न चेतयन्ते । p. 190.

The idea here may be traced to the following lines from the *Śâkuntala* :—

प्रागन्तरिक्षगमनात्स्वमपत्यजात-
मन्यैर्द्विजैः परभृताः खलु पोषयन्ति ।

(5) न च स्वप्नदृष्टनष्टेष्विव क्षणिकेषु शरीरेषु निबध्नन्ति बन्धुबुद्धिं प्रबुद्धाः । p. 192.

Compare with this :—

किमप्यहिंस्यस्तव चेन्मतोऽहं यशःशरीरे भव मे दयालुः ।
एकान्तविध्वंसिषु मद्विधानां पिण्डेष्वनास्था खलु भौतिकेषु ॥

Raghu. II. 52.

I now come to a predecessor of Bâṇa.

Generally Bâṇa is supposed to be the earliest author who refers to Kâlidâsa. But there is a still earlier writer whose work contains references to Kâlidâsa. As will be seen later on, these references are indirect in the sense I have explained above. The writer I mean is Subandhu, the author of the romance *Vâsavadattâ*. He is believed to be a predecessor of Bâṇa. Dr. Satishachandra Vidyabhushan supposes him to be a contemporary of Bâṇa. Without entering into a controversy on the point here, I may state that the grounds he advances do not appear to me to be conclusive and that I therefore associate myself with the scholars who hold that Subandhu preceded Bâṇa.

Subandhu's *Vâsavadattâ* is a wellknown work. It seems to have served as a model to Bâṇa who much improved upon his model in his great work *Kâdambarî*. Subandhu's work contains unmistakable references to certain episodes and incidents in the *Raghuvaṁśa* and the *Śâkuntala*. These references occur in three passages. In two of them, the story of Dilîpa as given in the *Raghuvaṁśa* is referred to, while in the third are referred to the incident of the curse of Durvâsas which plays such an important part in the *Śâkuntala* and the *Svayamvara* of Aja and Indumatî described in the *Raghuvaṁśa*. Let me quote the passages :

(1) दिलीप इव सुदक्षिणानुरक्तो रक्षितगुश्च . . . (राजचिन्तामणेः) तनयः कन्दर्पकेतुर्नाम pp. 16-17.[2]

(2) किं नोपासिता वृद्धयः किमधिक्षिप्ता भूदेवाः किं न प्रदक्षिणीकृताः सुरभयः किं न कृतं शरणेष्वभयमिति बहुविधं विलपन् &c. p. 134.

(3) अहो प्रजापते रूपनिर्माणकौशलम् । . . . . वृथैव दमयन्ती नलस्य कृते वनवासवैशसमवाप मुधैवेन्दुमती महिष्याप्यजानुरागिणी बभूव । अफलमेव दुष्यन्तस्य कृते शकुन्तला दुर्वाससः शापमनुबभूव । p. 80.

In (1) the name of Dilîpa's wife occurs, and it is given only by Kâlidâsa. What is more important is the word रक्षितगुः; therein we see the reference to the episode so beautifully described in Canto II of the *Raghuvaṁśa*. The reference in (2) will be understood from the following verses which occur in Canto I of the same epic. The context is that *Vaśishṭha* is explaining to Dilîpa the reason why Dilîpa was without a son :—

पुरा शक्रमुपस्थाय तवोर्वीं प्रति यास्यतः ।
आसीत्कल्पतरुच्छायामाश्रिता सुरभिः पथि ॥ ७५ ॥
धर्मलोपभयाद्राज्ञीमृतुस्नातामिमां स्मरन् ।
प्रदक्षिणक्रियार्हायां तस्यां त्वं साधु नाचरः ॥ ७६ ॥
अवजानासि मां यस्मादतस्ते न भविष्यति ।
मत्प्रसूतिमनाराध्य प्रजेति त्वां शशाप सा ॥ ७७ ॥

It is clear that this part of the story is refered to in (2). In (3), the allusions are to two incidents, one in the *Raghuvaṁśa* and the other in the *Śâkuntala*. The first is to Indumati's choice of Aja which is the subject-matter of Canto VI. The second is to the incident of the curse of Durvâsas on which hinges the plot of the *Śâkuntala*.

In some places, Subandhu uses words and phrases which may point to his acquaintance with some of Kâlidâsa's works. A few such cases may be illustrated.

(4) When describing the morning time he says आसन्नमरणास्विव जीवितेशपुराभिमुखीषु... . . . कामिनीषु (p. 28), The idea here, and especially the word जीवितेशपुराभिमुखीषु at once puts us in mind of the following verse :—

राममन्मथशरेण ताडिता दुःसहेन हृदये निशाचरी ।
गन्धवद्रुधिरचन्दनोक्षिता जीवितेशवसतिं जगाम सा ॥

Raghu. XI. 20.

(5) Again, see

नृत्यत्कबन्धे सुरसुन्दरीसमागमोत्सुकचारुभटाहङ्कारभीषणे समरसागरे . . . . (कन्दर्पकेतोः) खड्गो रराज । p. 24.

[2] The references to pages are from the edition of *Vâsavadattâ* by Jivananda Vidyasagar.

It brings to our mind these verses from Canto VII of the *Raghuvaṁśa* :—

कश्चिद्द्विषत्खड्गहृतोत्तमाङ्गः सद्यो विमानप्रभुतामुपेत्य ।
वामाङ्गसंसक्तसुराङ्गनः स्वं नृत्यत्कबन्धं समरे ददर्श ॥ ५१ ॥
परस्परेण क्षतयोः प्रहर्त्रोरुत्क्रान्तवाय्वोः समकालमेव ।
अमर्त्यभावेऽपि कयोश्चिदासीदेकाप्सरःप्रार्थितयोर्विवादः ॥ ५३ ॥

(6) Lastly, in सरागेणापि निर्वाणं कुर्वता नयनयुगलेन भूषितां (कन्यकामपश्यत्स्वप्ने) (p. 32), the peculiar meaning of the word निर्वाण is worth notice. In this clause the word has two meanings; one is मोक्ष (liberation) and the other निर्वृति (highest felicity). If we take the former, there is an apparent विरोध which is removed if we take the word in the latter sense. In the former sense the word निर्वाण is used in the *Sâkuntala*. Dushyanta, on seeing *Sâkuntala* exclaims: 'अये लब्धं नेत्रनिर्वाणम् !' Kâlidâsa is perhaps the only writer of the early times who has used 'निर्वाण' in this sense; Subandhu who was ever on the look-out for an opportunity to use श्लेष might have picked up the word whose other meaning enabled him to employ the विरोधाभास.

As regards the question of Subandhu's indebtedness to Kâlidâsa whose priority in point of time to Subandhu is consequential thereupon, the last three quotations may not be looked upon as a conclusive proof of it, but the first three are clearly so; because the references they contain are to incidents which are narrated nowhere except in the works of Kâlidâsa. Therefore, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, we may conclude that the original source of these allusions is the works of Kâlidâsa. In this light their importance cannot be too much emphasised They form a very important landmark, earlier than any hitherto known, in arriving at the date of the premier poet of India—a vexed question with which I shall deal some other time.

(2) Kâlidâsa and Bhâravi.

Bhâravi is one of the earliest Sanskrit authors. From his *Kirâtârjunîya* I adduce a few passages which find a close parallel in the works of Kâlidâsa.

BHÂRAVI.	KÂLIDÂSA.
कृतारिषड्वर्गजयेन मानवी- मगम्यरूपां पदवीं प्रपित्सुना । विभज्य नक्तंदिवमस्ततन्द्रिणा वितन्यते तेन नयेन पौरुषम् ॥ I. 9.	नृपस्य वर्णाश्रमपालनं यत् स एव धर्मो मनुना प्रणीतः । *Raghu*. XIV. 67. अतः सोऽभ्यन्तरान्नित्यान् षड्वर्गमजयद्रिपून् । *R*. XVII. 45. रात्रिंदिवविभागेषु यथादिष्टं महीक्षिताम् । तत्सिषेवे नियोगेन स विकल्पपराङ्मुखः *R*. XVII. 49.
असक्तमाराधयतो यथायथं विभज्य भक्त्या समपक्षपातया । गुणानुरागादिव सख्यमीयिवान् न बाधतेऽस्य त्रिगणः परस्परम् ॥ I. 11.	न धर्ममर्थकामाभ्यां बबाधे न च तेन तौ । नार्थं कामेन कामं वा सोऽर्थेन सदृशस्त्रिषु ॥ *R*. XVII. 57. गुणा गुणानुबन्धित्वात् तस्य सप्रसवा इव । *R*. I. 22.

वसूनि वाञ्छन्न वशी न मन्युना
स्वधर्म इत्येव निवृत्तकारणः ।
गुरूपदिष्टेन रिपौ सुतेऽपि वा
निहन्ति दण्डेन स धर्मविप्लवम् ॥

I. 13.

स्वयं प्रदुग्धेऽस्य गुणैरुपस्नुता
वसूपमानस्य वसूनि मेदिनी ।

I. 18.

महीभृतां सच्चरितैश्चरैः क्रियाः
स वेद निःशेषमशेषितक्रियः ।
महोदयैस्तस्य हितानुबन्धिभिः
प्रतीयते धातुरिवेहितं फलैः ॥

I. 20.

अनुरागेण शिरोभिरुह्यते
नराधिपैर्माल्यमिवास्य शासनम् ।

II. 21.

जनयन्त्यचिराय सम्पदा-
मयशस्ते खलु चापलाश्रयम् ।

II. 41.

अपरागसमीरणेरितः
क्रमशीर्णाकुलमूलसन्ततिः ।
सुकरस्तरुवत्सहिष्णुना
रिपुरुन्मूलयितुं महानपि ॥

II. 50.

नाल्पीयान्बहु सुकृतं हिनस्ति दोषः ।

VII. 15.

प्रेम पश्यति भयान्यपदेऽपि ।

IX. 70.

न मृगः खलु कोऽप्ययं जिघांसुः
स्खलति ह्यत्र तथा मनो भृशं मे ।
विमलं कलुषीभवच्च चेतः
कथयत्येव हितैषिणं रिपुं वा ॥

XIII. 6.

स्थित्यै दण्डयतो दण्ड्यान्
परिणेतुः प्रसूतये ।
अप्यर्थकामौ तस्यास्तां
धर्म एव मनीषिणः ॥ *R.* I. 25.

दिदेश वेतनं तस्मै
रक्षासदृशमेव भूः । *R.* XVII. 66.
क्षितिरभूत्फलवत्यजनन्दने
शमरतेऽमरतेजसि पार्थिवे । *R.* IX. 4.
तस्य संवृतमन्त्रस्य
गूढाकारेङ्गितस्य च ।
फलानुमेयाः प्रारम्भाः । *R.* I. 20.
न तस्य मण्डले राज्ञो
न्यस्तप्रणिधिदीधितेः ।
अदृष्टमभवत्किञ्चित् । *R.* XVII. 48.

भव्यमुख्याः समारम्भाः
प्रत्यवेक्ष्या निरत्ययाः ।
गर्भशालिसधर्माण-
स्तस्य गूढं विपेचिरे ॥ *R.* XVII. 53.
दुरापवर्जितच्छत्रै-
स्तस्याज्ञां शासनार्पिताम् ।
दधुः शिरोभिर्भूपालाः । *R.* XVII. 79.
...श्रियः संश्रयदोषरूढं
स्वभावलोलेत्ययशः । . ... *R.* VII. 41.

अचिराधिष्ठितराज्यः
शत्रुः प्रकृतिष्वरूढमूलत्वात् ।
नवसंरोहणशिथिल-
स्तरुरिव सुकरः समुद्धर्तुम् ॥

Ma. I. 8.

एको हि दोषो गुणसन्निपाते
निमज्जतीन्दोः किरणेष्विवाङ्कः । *K.* I. 3.

अतिस्नेहः पापशङ्की ।

S. IV.

असंशयं क्षत्रपरिग्रहक्षमा
यदार्यमस्यामभिलाषि मे मनः ।
सतां हि सन्देहपदेषु वस्तुषु
प्रमाणमन्तःकरणप्रवृत्तयः ॥

Ś. II.

(3) A difficulty in the Meghadûta.

The several commentators and annotators of the Meghadûta have failed to satisfactorily solve the difficulty of reconciling the following three passages :—

(१) आषाढस्य प्रथमदिवसे (प्रशमदिवसे) मेघमाश्लिष्टसानुं
वप्रक्रीडापरिणतगजप्रेक्षणीयं ददर्श । *V.* 2.

(२) प्रत्यासन्ने नभसि दयिताजीवितालम्बनार्थी
जीमूतेन स्वकुशलमयीं हारयिष्यन्प्रवृत्तिम् । *V.* 4.

(३) शापान्तो मे भुजगशयनादुत्थिते शार्ङ्गपाणौ
शेषान्मासान्गमय चतुरो लोचने मीलयित्वा । *V.* 116.

Both the readings in the first passage are open to objection as being difficult to be reconciled with the other two passages. The reading प्रथम॰ is objected to on two grounds. (A) In v. 4, *Srâvaṇa* is said to be प्रत्यासन्न, *i. e.*, proximate. Such, however, would not be the case if the Yaksha had seen the Cloud on the first day of *Âshâḍha*, because, the whole of *Âshâḍha* had to elapse before *Srâvaṇa* commenced. (B) Secondly, we are told further on that the remaining period of exile was few months and that the curse was to come to an end on the eleventh Tithi of the bright fortnight of *Kârttika*. If we count from the first day of *Âshâḍha*, the period upto the eleventh *Tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Kârttika* comes to be four months and ten days, that is, ten days in excess of the period mentioned. These considerations lead Vallabha, one of the commentators, to reject the reading प्रथम॰ and approve of प्रशम॰. This word literally means 'on the ending day': but it can be taken to mean 'on one of the last days.' This reading no doubt enables us to get rid of the first objection urged against प्रथम॰; because *Srâvaṇa* then becomes proximate, as required by verse 4. But the second objection reappears in a new form. With the reading प्रथम॰ there was an excess of ten days; with the reading प्रशम॰ there will be found, on calculation, a deficiency of about fifteen days, even if we construe the word most literally and take the day to be the tenth *Tithi* of the dark fortnight of *Âshâḍha*. Thus we are left to choose between an excess of ten days over or a deficiency of about fifteen days in the required period.

Mallinâtha who prefers the reading प्रथम॰ tries to refute the objections brought against it in the following manner. As regards the first objection, he says that what is intended by प्रत्यासन्ने is proximity in general of the months of *Âshâḍha* and *Srâvaṇa*, so that the proximity of *Srâvaṇa* to *Âshâḍha* may be construed to mean the proximity of *Srâvaṇa* to any day of *Âshâḍha* and to the first day in particular in the present case (केचित् . . . 'प्रशमदिवसे' इति पाठं कल्पयन्ति तदसङ्गतम् । नभोमासस्य प्रत्यासत्त्यर्थमित्युक्तमिति चेन्न । प्रत्यासत्तिमात्रस्य मासप्रत्यासत्त्यैव प्रथमदिवसस्याप्युपपत्तेः)। As to the second objection, he says that the reading प्रशम॰ being equally liable to a similar objection, it is better to select the reading प्रथम॰ (कथं तर्हि . . . . . मासचतुष्टयस्याशिष्टस्योक्तिर्दशदिवसाधिक्यादिति चेत्त्वत्पक्षेऽपि कथं सा विंशतिदिवसैर्न्यूनत्वादिति सन्तोष्टव्यम् । तस्मादीषद्वैषम्यमविवक्षितमिति सूक्तं 'प्रथमदिवसे' इति ।). In short, the expresison चतुरो मासान् is not to be construed too literally but we are to have four months approximately.

So far as I know no attempt has been made to meet these difficulties by offering a better and more satisfactory explanation. I venture to offer one and it may be taken for what it is worth.

Let us clear the ground before we proceed with the explanation. Let us consider the data supplied by the text, so that the problem may be clearly grasped. The data are four. (1) On a certain day of *Âshâḍha* the Yaksha saw the Cloud to whom he entrusted a message to be conveyed to his beloved. This day is to be fixed by us bearing in mind the two readings प्रथम॰ and प्रशम॰. (2) *Srâvaṇa* was proximate to that day. (3) The curse was to come to an end on the eleventh *Tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Kârttika.* (4) Lastly, the period from the day on which the cloud was sent to the last day of the curse was four months. These data are given and we are required (*a*) first to determine the day on which the message was delivered to the Cloud by the Yaksha and (*b*) secondly to prove the correctness of one of the two or both readings accordingly.

Here it is best to proceed from the conclusion to the beginning. We are told that the curse was to end on the eleventh *Tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Kârttika.* If we count four months backwards from this day, we see that the day on which the Yaksha saw the Cloud must have been the eleventh *Tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Âshâḍha.*

This, however, apparently lands us in a great perplexity. Neither of the readings प्रथम॰ and प्रशम॰ fits in with our calculation and we know of no third reading. The word प्रथमदिवसे may mean either 'on the first day' or 'on one of the first days' of *Âshâdha,* but the eleventh *Tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Âshâḍha* is not the first day of the month, nor any stretch in the meaning of the word प्रथम makes it 'one of the first days' of the month. I think it is too much to take the first day of *Âshâḍha* to extend beyond the first ten days. In neither case, again, can *Srâvaṇa* be said to be *pratyâsanna* to that day. Similarly, the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of *Âshâḍha* cannot be the *praśamadivasa Âshâḍha* in either of the two senses which we have explained above. Under these circumstances, only two alternatives seem possible; either the expression चतुरो मासान् should not be construed too literally or the poet should be taken to have overlooked the inconsistency. Is there no getting over this dilemma?

I think there is one way out of the difficulty thus created. As has just been made clear the difficulty arises because the eleventh *Tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Âshâḍha* cannot be made the प्रथमदिवस or प्रशमदिवस of *Âshâḍha* and प्रत्यासन्न to *Srâvaṇa.* This difficulty is bound to remain insurmountable so long as the arrangement of months is taken to be what Fleet calls southern[3] or *Amânta* ('ending with the conjunction') arrangement in which the bright fortnight precedes the dark fortnight of the month. If however we proceed on the basis of the *Pûrṇimânta* ('ending with the Full Moon') arrangement, the difficulty will be seen at once to vanish; at least one reading, प्रशम॰, will be found to give intelligible sense. The eleventh *Tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Âshâḍha* can then be taken to be a प्रशमदिवस in the sense that it is one of the last days of *Âshâdha* because the bright would then be the second fortnight of the month and only four days after the next month *Srâvaṇa* would commence. Thus *Srâvaṇa* would also be *Pratyâsanna* to that day. In this manner the lines quoted in the beginning of this note can be satisfactorily reconciled and explained. And looked at from this point of view, the reading प्रशम॰ will have to be preferred to प्रथम॰;

[3] See *Gupta Inscriptions*: Introduction, p. 70.

the latter remains unintelligible whichever of the two arrangements of months we take as the basis of our calculation.[4]

Can we conclude from this that in Kâlidâsa's days the *Pûrṇimânta* arrangement was the one generally current and not the *Amânta* one ?

(4) Second difficulty.

I have met with another difficulty, not in the *Meghadûta* but in the *Raghuvaṁśa*. I have not been able to solve it and I wish to bring it to the notice of scholars with a hope that some one will be able to do it.

In the ninth *Sarga* of the *Raghu* the poet is describing the Spring. The description opens with this verse :—

अथ समाववृते कुसुमैर्नवैस्तमिव सेवितुमेकनराधिपम् ।
यमकुबेरजलेश्वरवज्रिणां समधुरं मधुरञ्चितविक्रमम् ॥ २४ ॥

The difficulty occurs in the verse which follows .—

जिगमिषुर्धनदाध्युषितां दिशं रथयुजा परिवर्तितवाहनः ।
दिनमुखानि रविर्हिमनिग्रहैर्विमलयन्मलयं नगमत्यजत् ॥ २५ ॥

I give Mr. Nandargikar's translation of this verse : "Desirous of going to the quarter presided over by the Lord of Wealth (Kubera) the Sun, having his horses turned back by his charioteer, left the Malaya mountain brightening the dawn by removing the frost." The same phenomenon is similarly described in the 3rd *Sarga* of the *Kumâra-sambhava*. The poet says :—

कुबेरगुप्तां दिशमुष्णरश्मौ गन्तुं प्रवृत्ते समयं विलङ्घ्य ।
दिग्दक्षिणा गन्धवहं मुखेन व्यलीकनिश्वासमिवोत्ससर्ज ॥ २५ ॥

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[4] A second explanation of प्रथम॰ is suggested. It is proposed to take the word प्रथम in the sense, 'the best,' *i.e.*, the holiest. In *Âshâḍha*, the eleventh day of the bright fortnight is the only day which is observed as a holiday and a very sacred one ; that should, therefore, be taken as the प्रथम दिवस of *Âshâḍha*. In this rendering one difficulty is got rid of ; v. 2 is certainly rendered consistent with v. 116. But the other difficulty remains ; the month *Śrâvaṇa* is not *pratyâsanna* to the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of *Âshâḍha*, unless as I have suggested the arrangement of months is *Pûrṇimânta*.

In the case of प्रशम॰ also another interpretation is suggested. It is to be explained thus :—प्रकृष्टः शमः अस्मिन्निति प्रशमः । प्रशमश्चासौ दिवसश्च तस्मिन् । *Śama* is to be taken in the sense of 'coolness', so प्रशम॰ will mean 'on a cool day'. Even this explanation, however, is no way better in that it does not avoid the one or the other of the two difficulties. Even if the 'cool day' be the eleventh *Tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Âshâḍha*, *Śrâvaṇa* is not *pratyâsanna* to it. To avoid this if we take that day to be towards the end of the month, the period of four months as mentioned in v. 116 falls short of fifteen days at least. If however, the *Pûrṇimânta* scheme be accepted, this interpretation may be allowed by supposing that the eleventh day of the bright fortnight was perhaps cool when the Yaksha saw the Cloud, but then the necessity of assigning this meaning no longer exists as the ordinary meaning taken by Vallabha serves the purpose equally well or perhaps better.

It will be observed as regards these other meanings of प्रशम॰ and प्रथम॰ that whatever the meaning they are taken to have they do not render the verses consistent unless the *Pûrṇimânta* arrangement is accepted. I lay emphasis not so much on the meaning of the words प्रशम॰ and प्रथम॰ as on the fact that the verses yield consistent sense only when construed in a way such as I have suggested.

In these passages the poet seems to mean that with the commencement of the Spring (ऋतुः समाववृते) the *Dakshiṇâyana, i.e.*, the Sun's southward journey, came to an end and the *Udagayana, i.e.*, the Sun's northward march, commenced. The Sun is said to be desirous of going to the North (जिगमिषुः) and therefore to have had 'his horses turned back' (परिवर्तितवाहनः). In the verse from the *Kumâra*, the Sun is said to be 'ready to proceed' towards the North (गन्तुं प्रवृत्ते). All this clearly shows that according to the poet the time of the commencement of the *Udagayana* coincided with the time of the commencement of the Spring. Now if we look to the Indian Calendars we see therein that the *Dakshiṇâyana* ends on some day in the month of *Pausha*; this day which is called the मकरसङ्क्रमण day (the day of the Sun's entering the *Makara Râśi*) generally corresponds to the 13th or 14th January every year. This is the conventional ending of the *Dakshiṇâyana*. Actually it ends on the 23rd of December every year, *i.e.*, about 21 days earlier than the supposed *Makara-saṁkramaṇa*. Next, the Spring (वसन्तर्तु) really begins with the मीनसङ्क्रमण (the Sun entering the *Mîna Râśi*), *i.e.*, about two months after the *Makara-saṁkramaṇa*; this generally takes place in the month of *Phâlguna*.[5] How are we then to reconcile what Kâlidâsa says with the present-day facts as we observe them ?

A similar discrepancy is visible in the description of the hot season (ग्रीष्म). In the 16th *Sarga* the poet describes the *Grîshma* and the following are the opening verses :— .

अथास्य रत्नग्रथितोत्तरीयमेकान्तपाण्डुस्तनलम्बिहारम् ।
निःश्वासहार्यांशुकमाजगाम घर्मः प्रियावेषमिवोपदेष्टुम् ॥ ४३ ॥
अगस्त्यचिह्नादयनात्समीपं दिगुत्तरा भास्वति संनिवृत्ते ।
आनन्दशीतामिव बाष्पवृष्टिं हिमस्रुतिं हैमवतीं ससर्ज ॥ ४४ ॥

The first verse describes the advent of the *Grîshma*. For our purpose the second verse is more important; it is thus translated by Mr. Nandargikar :—"The Sun having come back near from that side of the Equator which is marked by Agastya, the northern quarter began to produce the oozing of snow on the mountain Himâlaya as though it were a flow of tears cool with joy." The point to be noted here is this : When the *Grîshma* set in (घर्मः आजगाम), the Sun came back (संनिवृत्ते) near (समीपं) the North from the South in which the star Canopus rises and sets (अगस्त्यचिह्नादयनात्). What is meant by the Sun coming back near the North is that the Sun came nearer the Celestial Equator, to the South of it, and was about to cross it after a month or so. So far as the poet himself is concerned, he is consistent in these two descriptions of the *Vasanta* and the *Grîshma*. To reach the Equator from the Vernal Equinox the Sun takes three months. If according to the poet the advent of the *Vasanta* coincides with the commencement of the *Udagayana*, it is clear the *Grîshma* will commence one month before the Sun crosses the Equator; because the *Vasanta* lasts two months. Thus the poet can very well say that the Sun is *near* the North when the *Grîshma* sets in. When the Equator is crossed the Sun will be *in* the North. If we now turn to the Indian Calendar we find that the *Grîshma* commences one month after the Sun has crossed the Equator. Of the six months that the Sun takes for the northward journey, the first two constitute the *Śiśira* season; the next two the *Vasanta* and the last two the *Grîshma*. The Equator is crossed during the *Vasanta*, one

[5] I have calculated on the basis of the *Amânta* arrangement of months. *Pûrṇimânta* arrangement will involve slight changes; but it will not affect my point, namely, that the Spring commences two months *after* the *Udagayana* begins.

month after its advent; and one month after the crossing the *Grishma* commences. The northernmost point of the journey is reached (that is to say the *Udagayana* ends) at the end of the *Grîshma.*[6]

Thus in the case of the *Grîshma* also as in the case of the *Vasanta*, a difference of two months is to be seen. According to the poet the *Grîshma* begins two months after the *Udagayana* begins; while according to the Calendar it begins four months after the beginning of the *Udagayana.*

The question is how to explain this discrepancy.

I should like to have one point made clear for those who may attempt to solve the question. It may be thought that the discrepancy can be explained away by taking into consideration the effects of the Precession of the Equinoxes and then calculating the difference that has crept in during the period intervening between Kâlidâsa and the present generation. But so far as I can see the question appears to be insoluble on purely astronomical and mathematical calculations, simply because of the wrong assumptions which the poet seems to have made. The following are my reasons.—The phenomenon of seasons does not depend upon and therefore is not produced by the Precession of the Equinoxes. Seasons are caused by the variations in the severity of the heat generated by the rays of the Sun, and this depends exclusively on the Sun's position relative to the Earth alone. When the Sun reaches the southernmost point (that is, when the Dakshiṇâyana ends) the Sun's rays produce the minimum amount of heat; therefore about that time there must occur the cold seasons. In other words, the two months preceding the Sun's reaching the Vernal Equinox and the two months following are bound to be cold months; and these correspond to the *Hemanta* and the *Śiśira* seasons of the Indian Calendar. The preceding two months comprise the *Hemanta* and the following the *Śiśira*. The Precession of the Equinoxes does not affect the heat-producing capacity of the Sun's rays. What it does is that it causes an apparently retrograde movement on the part of the Sun along the Celestial Equator. This no doubt leads to a change in the time of the commencement of the seasons but indirectly and in a way having no bearing of the question before us. For instance, about 6000 years before, the *Vasanta* might have been beginning in the month *Mârgaśîrsha*, whereas it now begins in *Phâlguna*; but then there must have been a corresponding change in the time for the end of the *Dakshiṇâyana* and the beginning of the *Udagayana*, which must have been occurring two months earlier, *i.e.*, in the month *Âśvina*. So that even then a period of two months must be intervening between the close of the *Dakshiṇâyana* and the advent of the *Vasanta*. I therefore think that in this instance Kâlidâsa cannot be justified on purely mathematical grounds. On what other ground he can, if at all, be justified I leave to scholars to decide; I only hope this our premier poet of India does find some justification at the hands of some able scholar.

A few other astronomical allusions that may throw light on the question I propose to discuss in the next note.

(To be continued.)

6 Of course all this is according to the conventions of the Indian Calendars. Accurate calculations will show that the beginning of the *Vasanta*, the crossing of the Celestial Equator by the Sun and such other events, will have to be antedated by about 21 days in each case. But as I have said above this change will not affect my argument, as the change will have to be made throughout and its effects in one place will be neutralised by those in the other.

VÂRTTÂ — THE ANCIENT HINDU ECONOMICS.

BY NARENDRA NATH LAW, ESQ., M.A., B.L.; CALCUTTA.

(*Continued from p.* 241.)

Conclusion.

Thus it appears that a branch of learning for the study of wealth developed in India, the time of its emergence being roughly indicated by the fact that it is first referred to in the *Râmâyaṇa* and was posterior to the allotment of particular occupations to the *Vaiśya* caste. In Greece, it was Aristotle who first reached the conception of a special science or art of wealth in the fourth century B.C., though stray thoughts on the material concerns of life had commenced to be expressed by earlier writers. The emergence of *Vârttâ* in India as a distinct branch of learning was very probably earlier than Aristotle's conception of a similar branch of learning in Greece. The Chaldæans had reached a high degree of excellence in agriculture and their methods had been transmitted to the Greeks and Arabs; and it is likely that they left in their libraries clay treatises on agriculture which are all lost to us. The "Nabatæan Agriculture" appears to be the only work that seems to contain a reflection of the methods of agriculture. We have, however, no evidence to show that the Chaldæans had developed a branch of learning devoted to the study of the material interests of the people. As to China, Dr. Chen Haun-Chang's work makes it clear that many economic concepts and principles were imbedded in the writings of Confucius and his disciples, but he does not make out that the great philosopher was the originator of a distinct subject of study, conducive to the preservation and improvement of the material concerns of life. In India, this branch of learning developed early on the soil and was intended to give a scientific direction to the economic activities of the people. This literary type taking its rise in the triple occupation of the Vaiśya caste included at first within its scope three occupations alone, viz., agriculture, cattle-rearing, and trade. References to this branch of learning lie scattered not only in Sanskrit literature from the epics downwards but also in Buddhist and Jaina works which point to the wide currency acquired by the subject in early times. In the *Kalpa-Sûtra*, for instance, the Arhat Rishabha "during his reign *taught*, for the benefit of the people, the seventy-two sciences, ... the sixty-four accomplishments of women, the hundred arts, and *the three occupations of men*."[45] The three occupations are evidently the well-known triplet "agriculture, cattle-rearing, and trade," which we find expressly mentioned in the *Milinda-Pañha* as "kasi, vanijjâ, gorakkhâ";[46] and the teaching of these occupations implies that *vârttâ* in its primary sense had risen to be a division of learning.

The scope of this science of wealth after its fullest expansion came to embrace all the branches of knowledge bearing on wealth and stood side by side with the three other divisions of human knowledge,—*Ânvîksikî*, *Trayî* and *Daṇḍanîti*. These four literary types

45 *Kalpa-Sûtra* (*SBE.*, vol. xxii), p. 282. Prof. H. Jacobi commenting on the passage says: "The arts, as those of the potter, blacksmith, painter, weaver, and barber, each of which five principal arts is subdivided into twenty branches, are inventions and must be taught; while *the occupations, agriculture, trade, &c., have everywhere developed*, as it were, *of themselves*" (the italics are mine). The last remark in this passage does not seem to be justified; for "the three occupations of men" mentioned by the *Kalpa-Sûtra* refer evidently to "agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade."

46 *Milinda-Pañha* (Trenckner's ed.), p. 178.

divided among themselves the whole field of human knowledge, and may, from this standpoint, be considered as standing on the same level of importance; but from the other view-point, from which Kautilya looks at them, viz., the creation of conditions that make the pursuit of learning possible, *Daṇḍanîti* (Polity) is given the first place on account of the peace and order it brings about in the State and thereby makes it possible for the people to pursue the other branches of learning.[47]

Epigraphic confirmation of the existence of *Vârttâ* as a branch of learning and its teaching by professors in a college comes from a South Indian Inscription[48] which records that in the Sthângundûru *agrahâra* "were professors skilled in medicine, in sorcery (or magic), in logic, in the art of distorting people by incantation, in poetry, in the use of weapons, in sacrificing, ... and in the *art of cookery* to prepare the meals. While its groves put to shame the groves of Nandana, such was the glory of that great *agrahâra* that all the surrounding country prayed to be taught in the four Vedas, their six *vedâṅgâs*, the three rival divisions of *mîmâṃsâ*, the *tarka* and other connected sciences, the eighteen great *purâṇas*, the making of numerous verses of praise, the *art of architecture, the arts of music and dancing*, and in the knowledge of all the *four divisions of learning* which were possessed by the Brâhmans of the Sthânagundûru *agrahâra*." The four divisions of learning mentioned in the passage imply *vârttâ* as one of them, and some of the arts that have already been classed under *vârttâ* have also been separately mentioned as being taught in the *agrahâra*. The inscription belongs probably to the 12th century A.D. and testifies to the fact that up to that time at least, *vârttâ* as a branch of learning did not yet become in India the unfamiliar or obsolete subject of later years.

[NOTE.—Some of the important Catalogues of manuscripts have been consulted first-hand instead of through Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* in view of the definitive and descriptive details that such consultation can furnish.

There are chapters in the *Purâṇas* and other Sanskrit works like the *Vishṇudharmottara* devoted to various topics of *Vârttâ*. As these chapters do not require any special mention, they have been omitted in the Lists.

There are a good many MSS. on minerals and their chemical actions mentioned in Dr. P. C. Roy's *History of Hindu Chemistry* and Dr. B. N. Seal's *Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus*. Only those portions, if any, of the MSS. that treat of the processes by which they can be reduced into raw materials for the production of articles of commercial value can come within the scope of *Vârttâ*.

It is not possible to discuss the dates of the various works mentioned here. Apart from the difficulty of the task itself, a good many of the works are out of reach and perhaps not available for copying or consultation. It cannot be denied that some of them are of recent composition but even these may be the lineal descendants of the older ones in which latter, however, the treatment of their respective subjects might be seen in greater freedom from influences which, multiplied by the lapse of time, tend to put it away from its ancient orthodox line.]

47 See *Kauṭilya*, Bk. I, *Vidyâ-Samuddeśaḥ*, p. 7.

48 Silâ-śâsana at Taldagundy, No. 103 (L. Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 197).

LIST I.

Available Manuscripts on Vârttâ or its Sub-Topics.

(1) **Manushyâlayachandrikâ.**—" *Tachchu-Śâstra*, a primer of architecture in 65 stanzas with Malayâlam translation and notes."

A supplementary catalogue of Sanskrit, Pâli and Prâkrit books in the Library of the British Museum (acquired during the years 1892-1906) by L. D. Barnett, p. 715.

(2) **Mayaśilpa** or Artisan's Manual by Maya.—*Classified Index to the Sanskrit MSS. in the palace of Tanjore prepared for the Madras Government* by A. C. Burnell, (1880), p. 62.

(3) **Râjagrihanirmâṇa.**—" On architecture." *Ibid*, p. 62.

(4) **Ratnaparîkshâ.**—" On gems and their qualities, etc. Some described are imaginary." *Ibid*, p. 141.

(5) **Vâstu-Ratnâvalî**, compiled by Jeva Nath Jotishi.—" A treatise on house-building and the religious observances connected with it." *Ibid*, p. 154.

(6) **Vâstusankhya**, deposited with Paṇḍit Syâmâcharaṇa, Benares.—" An extract of Toḍarânanda, very rare, complete and incorrect."

Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in N. W. P. compiled by order of Government, Part IX, printed (1885) by Paṇḍit Sudhâkara Dvivedi, Librarian, Benares Sanskrit College, p. 56.

(7) **Vâstu-Râja-Vallabha,** by Maṇḍanasûtradhâra.—" A treatise on Vâstu." Remark *ibid*. *Ibid*, p. 56.

(8) **Vâstu-Vichâra**, by Viśvakarman, deposited with Gaurînatha Śâstri, Benares.—" A treatise on Vâstu ; very old, complete and correct." *Ibid*, p. 56.

(9) **Vâstu-Pradîpa**, by Vasudeva, deposited with Umâśaṅkara Miśra, Azamgarh.—" Rare, recent, complete and correct." *Ibid*, Pt. X, p. 56, No. 1.

(10) **Vâstu-Prakâśa**, deposited with Bâlâbhâri Sapre, Benares.—Remark *ibid*. *Ibid*, p. 56, No. 2.

(11) **Aparâjitavâstu-Śâstram**, by Viśvakarman, in the possession of Maṇiśaṅkara Bhaṭṭa, Surat.—*Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. contained in the private libraries of Gujarat, Kâthiavad, Kachchh, Sindh and Khandesh*, No. 3 (compiled under the superintendence of G. Bühler by order of Government, printed at the Indu Prakâśa Press, Bombay, 1872), p. 276, No. 1.

(12) **Jñânaratnakośha,** by Viśvakarman, in the possession of Acharatalal Vaidya, Ahmedabad.—*Ibid*, p. 276, No. 3.

(13) **Prâsâdânukîrtanam.** Author not mentioned. In the possession of Gopal Rao, Mâlegâṃva.—On Silpa. *Ibid*, p. 276, No. 4.

(14) **Râjavallabha-Ṭîkâ**, deposited with Nirbhayarâm Mûlî.—*Ibid*, p. 276, No. 6.

(15) **Kriyâsaṁgraha-Pañjikâ.**—" A catalogue of rituals by Kuladatta. It contains among other things, instructions for the selection of a site for the construction of a Vihâra and also rules for building a dwelling-house."

The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal by R. L. Mitra, 1882, p. 105, No. B. 23.

(16) **Ratnaparîkshâ.**—" On the merits and defects of precious stones and jewels of Buddha Bhaṭṭâchâryya. The articles noticed are diamond, pearl, emerald, carbuncle, ruby, sapphire, lapis lazuli, bhîshma (?), crystal and coral. The work is in Sanskrit verse and its meaning is explained in Newârî prose. As usual in Sanskrit works of this class, great importance is attached to good and ill luck the jewels are calculated to bring on under particular astrological and other circumstances." *Ibid*, p. 291, No. B. 50.

(17) **Râjavallabha-Maṇḍana,** by Maṇḍana Sûtradhâra (age 1578 Samvat, complete).—" On architecture. In the colophon it is stated that Maṇḍana, a Sûtradhâra or architect who was in the service of Kumbhakarṇa, king of Medapâṭa, composed the work and by his devotion to Gaṇapati and to his teacher and the propitiation of the Goddess of Learning he expounded the art of building as taught by the Munis. (EE., Appendix II.) Medapâṭa is Mevâḍ and a king of the name of Kumbha ruled over the country according to Tod from A.D. 1419 to 1469. He had a taste for the arts and constructed many temples as well as strongholds. It is not unlikely therefore he had in his service persons who read the literature of architecture and who could compose such treatises as the one under notice."

Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1882–83 by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, p. 86, No. 404.

(18) **Pâdapavivaksha.** Author not mentioned. Place of deposit (henceforth written P. D.) Narasiṃhâchâryya of Kumbhaghoṇam.—" Subject—*Dohada* " (nourishment of plants). *List of Sanskrit MSS. in private libraries of S. India* by Gustav Oppert, Vol. II, p. 371, No. 6333.

(19) **Vṛikshadohada.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Taḍakamalla Veṅkaṭa Kṛishṇarâyar of Tiruvallikeni.—*Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 223, No. 3271.

(20) **Vṛikshâyurveda.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Ta akamalla Venkaṭa Kṛishnarâyar of Tiruvallikeni.—*Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 223, No. 3272.

(21) **Sasyânanda.** Author not mentioned. P. D. same as above.—"Subject--Kṛishi śâstra." *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 223, No. 3289.

(22) **Ratnalakshaṇa.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Mahârâjâ of Travancore.—*Ibid*, Vol. I, 478, No. 6161.

(23) **Ratnâdiparîkshâ.** P. D. Pichchudîkshitar of Akhilândapuram.—" Subject—Ratnaśâstra." *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 320, No. 5253.

(24) **Aṅkanaśâstra.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Vîrasvami Aiyangar of Sivagaṅgâ.—" Subject—Silpa." *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 228, No. 2499.

(25) **Kâśyapîya,** by Kâśyapa. P. D. Saṅkarâchârya-maṭhani of Kumbhaghoṇam.—" Subject—Silpa." *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 395, No. 6836.

(26) **Kûpâdijalasthânalakshaṇa.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Mahârâjâ of Travancore.—" Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid,* Vol. I, p. 467, No. 5941.

(27) **Kshetranirmâṇavidhi.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Râjâ of Cochin at Tiruppunittura.—" Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid,* Vol. I, p. 254, No. 2811.

(28) **Gṛihapîṭhikâ.** Author not mentioned. P. D. S. Kodaṇḍa, Râmâvadhânapantulu of Vijayanagaram.—" Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid,* Vol. I, p. 545, No. 7544.

(29) **Gopuravimânâdilakshaṇa.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Archakayogânandabhaṭṭa of Melakoṭa.—" Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid,* Vol. II, p. 259, No. 4009.

(30) **Chakraśâstra.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Sagi Narasayya of Karempuḍy (Palnâd Tâlûk).—" Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid,* Vol. II, p. 200, No. 2793.

(31) **Chitrapaṭa.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Athakopâchâryyar of Vânamâbalai in Naṅguneri, Tinnevelly District.—" Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid,* Vol. I, p. 440, No. 5426.

(32) **Jâlargala.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Subrahmaṇya dîkshitar of Chidambaram.—" Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid,* Vol. II, No. 461.

(33) **Jalârgala,** by Varâhamihira. P. D. Taḍakâmala Veṅkaṭakrishṇâyar of Tiruvallikeni.—*Ibid,* Vol. II, p. 217, No. 3146.

(34) **Jalârgalayantra.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Same as above.—" Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid,* Vol. II, p. 217, No. 3147.

(35) **Devâlayalakshaṇa.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Mahârâjâ of Travancore.—" Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid,* Vol. I, p. 470, No. 5998.

(36) **Dvâralakshaṇapaṭala.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Same as above.—" Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid,* Vol. I, p. 470, No, 6003.

(37) **Pakshimanushyâlayalakshaṇa.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Same as above.—" Subject—Śilpa." The construction of aviaries dealt with in this MS. is likely to be interesting. *Ibid,* Vol. I, p. 471, No. 6030.

(38) **Prâsâdakalpa.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Maṇḍaḍi Koṇḍoyya Pantulu Vijayanagaram, Vizagapatam District.—" Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid,* Vol. II, p. 522, No. 7064.

(39) **Prâsâdâlakshaṇa.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Mahârâjâ of Travancore.—" Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid,* Vol. I, p. 473, No. 6056.

(40) **Prâsâdalakshaṇa,** by Varâhamihira. P. D. Râjâ Vellariki Veṅkaṭarâmasuryaprakâśa Row of Ulukuru (Vissampeta Division).—" Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid,* Vol. II, p. 208, No. 2959.

(41) **Prâsâdâlaṅkâralakshaṇa.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Mahârâjâ of Travancore.—" Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid,* Vol. II, p. 473, No. 6057.

(42) **Vâlipîṭhalakshaṇa.** P. D. Same as above.—" Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid,* Vol. I, p. 473, No. 6059.

(43) **Manushyâlayachandrikâ,** by Aruṇadatta. P. D. Mahârâjâ of Travancore. MS. No. 1 of this List bears this name but its author has not been mentioned.—" Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid,* Vol. I, p. 475, No. 6108.

(44) **Manushyâlayalakshaṇa.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Mahârâjâ of Travancore.—"Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 475, No. 6109.

(45) **Marîchipaṭala.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Aṇṇâsvâmî of Śrîvîlliputtur, Tinnevelly District.—"Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 448, No. 5610.

(46) **Mânakathana.** Author not mentioned.—"Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 473, No. 8070.

(47) **Mânavavâstulakshaṇa.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Mahârâja of Travancore.—"Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 476, No. 6125.

(48) **Mânavasâra.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Sâmaṇṇâchari of Srîmashnam, Chidambaram Taluk. According to Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, it is same as Mânasâra.—"Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 31, No. 532.

(49) **Mânasa** (perhaps Mânaśâra). P. D. Puligadda Aruṇâchala Śâstri of Koṭṭapeṭa (Vijayanagaram), Vizagapatam District. "Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 518, No. 6976.

(50) **Rathalakshaṇa.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Archakayogânanda-bhaṭṭa of Melkoṭa.—"Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 264, No. 4124.

(51) **V stu-Chakra.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Râjâ of Vijayanagram, Vizagapatam District.—"Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 538, No. 7397.

(52) **Vâstu-Lakshâṇa.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Mahârâjâ of Travancore.—"Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 480, No. 6198.

(53) **Vâstu-Vidyâ.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Mahârâjâ of Travancore.—"Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 480, No. 6199.

(54) **Vâstu-Śâstra**, by Sanat Kumâra. P. D. Paravastu Venkaṭaraṅgâchâryar of Viśâkhâpaṭṭana, Vizagapatam District.—"Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 580, No. 8239.

(55) **Vimâna-Lakshaṇa.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Archakayogânanda bhaṭṭa of Melkoṭa.—"Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 266, No. 4150.

(56) **Viśvakarmîya**, by Viśvakarma. P. D. Mahârâjâ of Travancore.—"Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 480, No. 6207.

(57) **Śilpa-Śâstra.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Archakayogânanda bhaṭṭa of Melkoṭa.—*Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 267, No. 4187.

(58) **Śilpârthasâra.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Anobilajiyar of Kanchipur (Conjeveram), Chingleput District.—"Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 26, No. 248.

(59) **Shaḍvidiksandhâna.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Sagi Narasayya of Karempuḍi (Palnâḍ Tâlûk).—"Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 200, No. 2802.

(60) **Pîṭha-lakshaṇa.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Mahârâja of Travancore. "Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 472, No. 6037.

(61) **Pratimâdravyâdi-vacana.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Aṇṇasvâmî of Srîraṅgam, Trichinopoly District. "Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 490, No. 6384.

(62) **Mûla-stambha-Nirṇaya** —" On architecture " (acc. to Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Pt. I, p. 464). *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 202, No. 2486.

(63) **Kautuka-lakshaṇa** —" On Śilpa."—*Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 258, No. 3998.

(64) **Chatvârimśat-vidyâ** (*i.e.*, forty branches of learning). *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 230, No. 3407. The subject being '*mantra*' as mentioned by Oppert, we do not expect from it more than an enumeration of the branches of learning.

(65) **Aṁśumânakalpa**—" On Śilpa." Burnell, 62 b. *Aufrecht* (henceforth abbreviated into *Auf.*), Pt. I, p. 1.

(66) **Âgâravinoda**, by Durgâśaṅkara.—" On architecture." N. W. 554. *Auf.*, Pt. 1, p. 2.

(67) **Jayamâdhavamânasollâsa**, by Jayasiṃhadeva.—" On architecture." Bik. 708 ; Bhk. 21 ; Poona, 202. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 201.

(68) **Târâlakshaṇa**.—" On sculpture." Burnell, 62 b. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 229.

(69) **Maṇi-parîkshâ or Ratnaparîkshâ**, attributed to Agastya.—" Testing of precious stones." L. 131. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 420.

(70) **Mânasâra**. It is being translated in the "Indian Architecture." " On architecture." Burnell, 62 a, Taylor 1, 71. Oppert II, 532. Quoted by Râmrâj. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 452.

(71) **Ayâdilakshaṇa**.—" On Śilpa." Burnell, 62 b. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 52.

(72) **Ârâmâdipratishṭhâpaddhati**, by Gaṅgârâm Mahâdakara.—On gardens. Hall, p. 94. *Auf.*, Pt I, p. 53.

(73) **Kaideva**.—This work may have some bearing on agriculture.—" On Botany." Quoted three times in the *Nirṇaya-sindhu*. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 128.

(74) **Gṛihanirûpaṇasaṁkshepa**.—" On architecture." Kâśîn. 6, *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 157.

(75) **Chitrakarmaśilpaśâstra** or **Brâhmîyaśilpa**.—" On architecture." Burnell, 62 b. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 187.

(76) **Chitrasûtra**.—" On painting, mentioned in Kuṭṭanimata 23." *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 187.

(77) **Jñâna-Ratnakosha**. " On Śilpa." B. 4. 276. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 210.

(78) **Nava-Ratna-Parîkshâ**, by Nârâyaṇa Paṇḍit.—" On gems." Bik. 708. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 281.

(79) **Prâsâda-Dîpikâ**.—" On architecture." Quoted in Madana-Pârijâta. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 364.

(80) **Mayûra-Chitraka** or **Meghamâlâ** or **Ratnamâlâ**.—" Indication of coming rain, famine or plenty, etc., from the appearance of the atmosphere. Attributed to Nârada." L. 2668, Report xxxvi, Pheh. 8. Quoted in Śântisâra. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 432.

(81) **Mûrtti-Lakshaṇa**.—" On the forms of idols." Rice 96. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 464.

(82) **Ditto**.—From the *Garuḍasaṃhitâ*. Burnell, 207 b. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 464.

(83) **Mûrtti-Dhyâna**.—" On sculpture." Burnell, 62 b. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 464.

(84) **Ratna-Samuchchaya**.—" On precious stones." Bik. 708. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 491.

(85) **Lakshaṇa-Samuchchaya.**—" On the features in images of deities." Bik. 411 (attributed to Hemâdri). Kâśm. 12. Quoted by Hemâdri in *Dânakhaṇḍa*, p. 823, by Kamalâkara, Oxf. 279 ª, in *Muhûrta-dîpaka*, Oxf. 326 ª, by Khaṇḍerâya in *Paraśurâma-prakâśa*. W. p. 312." *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 535.

(86) **Loha-Ratnâkara.**—" A work on metals." Sp. p. 99. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p 546.

(87) **Lohârṇava.**—" A work on metals." Sp. p. 99. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 546.

(88) **Loha-Śâstra.**—Quoted by Śivarâma on Vâsavadattâ, p. 198. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 546.

(89) **Vâstu-Nirmâṇa.**—" On architecture." Pheh. 9. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 568.

(90) **Vâstu-Prakâśa** by Viśvakarman.—" On architecture." Oudh, xii, 30, NP. x. 56. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 568.

(*To be continued.*)

BOOK NOTICE.

THE BEGINNINGS OF SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY. BY S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR. Madras University Special Lectures on Indian History and Archæology. Second Series, Madras. The Modern Printing Works, Mount Road. 1918. Price, Rs. 3-12-0.

THESE lectures strike me as an honest attempt to present to the student the actual facts as ascertained to date of the earliest known definite history of South India without any trimmings. They are to my mind all the more valuable for that and all the more creditable to the lecturer, as he himself is a South Indian. Indeed he has gone out of his way to state all the facts—epigraphic or other that have come before him, so as not to allow " patriotism to take command of evidence," and he has tried to avoid the pitfall of making too much of epigraphical and too little of other forms of evidence. Here, I am entirely with him.

I am glad to note that the author is aware that the old charge against Indian History of a total want of chronological data will gradually have to be abandoned as untenable. I am of those who believe in the establishment in due course of a set of chronological facts of a reliable character, in regard to early Indian History, and that the labours of contributors to such a *Journal* as this for so many years will not prove to have been in vain. In compiling a " popular " history of India from the earliest times to the latest a few years ago, which had necessarily to be very brief, I felt myself astonished to find how very far towards a sufficiently definite chronology for general purposes scholars and researchers had gone in the last 35 to 40 years. My own impression is, as an old student of history of all sorts, that if you know enough and understand enough of what ancient writers meant to convey or report, you can dig actual facts of history out of almost any ancient records or writings. At any rate it is worth the while of scholars to enter on the study of the old documents in this spirit, for they will in time be duly rewarded.

Patience and time will solve most puzzles and explain historical references in the most unlikely places. Thirty-five years ago I collected and began to publish the *Legends of the Punjab*, taken down *verbatim* from wandering bards, and one of the early heroes, with every kind of folktale fastened on to his memory, was Raja Sirkap. At that time no one knew and no one could conjecture who was referred to. We know now that Sirkap was one of the cities on the site of Taxila and that the modern Punjabi bard is still perpetuating in his own fortune the memory of the actual Śâka and perhaps Indo-Bactrian rulers of that spot in the centuries round the commencement of the Christian era.

I notice that the author lays no claim to great antiquity for the history of Southern India. In the present state of knowledge perhaps this is wise, but I cannot help thinking that as time goes we shall find that this can be properly carried back further than is now recognised. Civilisation—and therefore history—must have been very old there.

In a brief notice like this it is impossible to enter into any argument on details and I content myself with expressing gratitude for what the book contains—much that is of real value to students, especially to the younger sort, and much that every mature student can take seriously into consideration.

R. C. TEMPLE.

MISCELLANEA.

HOME OF KALIDASA.

In the *Kâvyâdarśa* Dandin contrasts between two schools of Sanskrit poetry, the *Vaidarbha* and the *Gauḍîya* (I vs. 40-100). The ten qualities *Ślesha, prasâda, samatâ,* etc. are, according to him characteristic of the former. But they are not so with the poets of the latter who seldom observe them. The great difference that lies between the two schools, is illustrated by Dandin with reference to certain specific examples. He first cites a passage from the Vaidarbha school and then by way of contrast cites another from the Gauḍa school.

To explain the *prasâda guṇa* Daṇḍin (I, v. 45) says :

" प्रसादवत् प्रसिद्धार्थमिन्दोरिन्दीवरद्युति ।
लक्ष्म लक्ष्मीं तनोतीति प्रतीतिसुभगं वचः ॥ "

The expression '*lakshma lakshmîm tanoti*' is a fragment of the following verse of *Śâkuntala* : [1]

" सरसिजमनुविद्धं शैवलेनापि रम्यम्
मलिनमपि हिमांशोर्लक्ष्म लक्ष्मीं तनोति । "

The mere fact that Daṇḍin quotes Kâlidâsa to illustrate the Vaidarbha school of poetry is not so important, for he is regarded as a pre-eminently Vaidarbha poet by other rhetoricians to. [2] What is however, more important is that we get, from him a valuable hint in regard to the part of the country to which the greatest poet of India belonged. In the *Kâvyâdarśa* (I, vs. 44, 46, 54, 60, 80), the poets of the two schools are qualified by such adjectives as *Gauḍaiḥ, Gauḍîyaiḥ* and *Adâkshiṇâtyânâm*, and *Vaidarbhaiḥ* and *Dâkshiṇâtyâḥ* respectively. From this, it is clear that according to Daṇḍin the poets of these two schools were also inhabitants of the two countries after which they were designated. This is also the view taken by the author of the commentary called *Hṛidayaṅgama* published by Rao Bâhâdur M. Raṅgâchârya from Madras. [3] To silence those who would argue that Kâlidâsa might as well have imitated the Vaidarbha school without having anything to do with the Vaidarbha country, it is necessary to point out that the sense which we put forward here is also corroborated by the early rhetorician Vâmana, who flourished in the 8th or 9th century A.D. According to him, *rîti* means *Viśishṭa-pada-rachanâ* (I, ii, 7), and is of three kinds, the *Vaidarbhî, Gauḍî* and the *Pâñchâlî* :

"सा त्रेधा वैदर्भी गौडीया पाञ्चाली चेति ।" [4]

After stating this Vâmana [5] writes :

" किंपुनर्देशवशाद् द्रव्यगुणोत्पत्तिः काव्यानाम् येनाऽयं देशविशेषव्यपदेशः । नैवं, यदाह विदर्भादिषु दृष्टत्वात्तत्समाख्या । विदर्भगौडपाञ्चालेषु तत्रत्यैः कविभिर्यथास्वरूपमुपलब्धत्वात् तत्समाख्या । न पुनर्देशैः किञ्चिदुपक्रियते काव्यानाम् । "

The substance of the foregoing passage is that each school took the name of the country in which it flourished. The poets of a country developed one particular style of poetry and that particular style became peculiar to that country. This led to the rise of the various schools and this was why they were designated after the names of countries. Thus according to Vâmana who no doubt represents the current tradition of his age, the Vaidarbha school was established in Vidarbha which, according to Cunningham, roughly corresponds with the territory "extending from near Burhanpur on the Tâpti and Nânder on the Godavari to Ratanpur in Chattisgarh, and the Nowagadha near the source of the Mahânadî." [6]

According to Vâmana the Vaidarbha school is superior to all other sister-schools by reason of its being *samagra-guṇâ, i.e.*, possessing all the ten qualities of poetry, *ojas, prasâda*, etc. To illustrate this Vâmana quotes [7] the wellknown stanza from *Śâkuntala* : *Gâhantâm mahishâ nipânasalilam śṛingair-muhus-tâḍiam,*" etc. This quotation, immediately following the above definite statement of the author, that the Vaidarbha school means that school which originated in Vidarbha, seems to denote that Vâmana believed Kâlidâsa to have been a native of Vidarbha. [8] This tradition, recorded again by an author who comes only a few centuries after Kâlidâsa, must be looked upon as the most valuable piece of evidence we hitherto had, in fixing the home of the great poet.

N. G. MAJUMDAR.

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[1] This has been brought to our notice by Dr. Barnett—*JRAS.*, 1905, p. 535.

[2] Gopendra Tripurahara Bhûpâla, a commentator of Vâmana, quotes the following fragment of a verse—*Vaidarbharîti-saṁdarbhe Kâlidâsaḥ pragalbhate—Kâvyâlaṁkârasûtra,* Vidyâbilâsa Press Edition, p. 18.

[3] *Kâvyâdarśa*, p. 28.

[4] *Kâvyâlaṁkâra-sûtra*, p. 16.

[5] *Ibid*, p. 17.

[6] *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 526.

[7] *Kâvyâlaṁkara-sûtra*, p. 18.

[8] It should be noticed here that M. M. Pandit Haraprasâd Śâstrî mainly depending on the flora of Kâlidâsa concludes that the poet must have belonged to W. Mâlwâ.—*JBORS.* 1915, p. 15.

SIDE-LIGHTS ON OMICHUND

An Echo of the Intrigues before Plassey.

BY SIR RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE, BT.

SOME years ago Sir George Forrest, in the course of his researches into the life-story of Robert Clive, found among the Clive MSS belonging to his descendant, the Earl of Powis, two documents in Armenian (Plates I and II). Plate I shows an original letter addressed to Agha Petros and signed in the Panjâbî character, "Amîrchand" (Omichund). Plate II shows an unsigned copy of it, with a footnote, "Copy of Mâr Mirchand's letter." Neither document bears a date.

There is nothing to show why Clive should have got possession of both the original and the copy and have so carefully preserved them, beyond the fact that the letter is addressed to Agha Petros and indicates that he and Omichund were closely connected in some transaction of a confidential nature with Wâch, a legitimate Bengali form for the name of William Watts, the Chief of the East India Company's Factory at Kâsimbâzâr from 1752 to 1758. But a reference to the *Orme MSS.* preserved at the India Office supplies the explanation.

During the collection of matter for his *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan*, Orme laid under contribution all the great actors in the drama of the foundation of our Indian Empire, including Clive and his immediate associates, and had copies and translations made of the papers and information supplied to him. Among a series of letters written by William Watts to Colonel Clive between the 29th December 1756 and the 27th June 1757[1] is a letter, dated the 8th June 1757, covering the Armenian document under discussion; but in order to understand both the document and its covering letter, it is necessary to review briefly the situation in Bengal at that period.

The events leading up to the determination of Surâju'ddaula, Nawâb Governor of Bengal, to oust the British from his jurisdiction have been ably set forth by Mr. S. C. Hill in the Introduction to his *Bengal in 1756-57*. From this it appears that in May 1756 orders were issued for the seizure of Kâsimbâzâr Factory,[2] of which William Watts, then an old servant of the Company, had been Chief since 1752. On the 1st June, Râi Durlabh, the Nawâb's *dîwân*, attempted to force his way into the Factory, but meeting with resistance, he treacherously persuaded Watts on the following day to pay a complimentary visit to the Nawâb at Murshidâbâd. Watts was seized and the Factory was subsequently surrendered by Matthew Collett, the next senior official.

Then occurred the Tragedy of the Black Hole and the capture of Calcutta on the 20th-21st June, and meanwhile Watts and Collett were kept with others of the Company's servants, in prison at Murshidâbâd, and subjected to much insult until the 24th June, when the Chiefs of the French and Dutch Factories at Chandernagore and Chinsurah obtained their liberty for them and became sureties for their appearance when required by the Nawâb. They repaired to Chandernagore where they remained until the 13th August, when they joined the surviving members of the Bengal Council at Fulta on the Hûglî, whither the refugees from Calcutta had fled.

[1] *Orme MSS., India*, Vol. IX, pp. 2265-2317.

[2] Close to Murshidâbâd, the Nawâb's headquarters.

On the 20th August 1756 Watts was appointed a member of the locally constituted Secret Committee of the Bengal Council, the other members being Roger Drake, the Bengal President, Major James Killpatrick, the chief military officer, and J. Z. Holwell, the hero of the Black Hole. Immediately after the arrival of Admiral Watson's squadron with Colonel Clive for the relief of Calcutta, bringing orders from the Court of Directors in England for the foundation of a regularly appointed Select Secret Committee,[3] Watts became one of its members and attended its first meeting on the 12th December 1756.

Calcutta was retaken on the 2nd January 1757 and Roger Drake reinstated as President. Then followed the attack on Hûglî and a Treaty with the Nawâb on the 9th February. One of the conditions privately accepted was that the British should have a representative at the Nawâb's Court, and Watts was selected for the office. His appointment was agreeable to Surâju'ddaula, who considered him a weak man, but Clive and the Bengal Council judged him fit for the post, " being very well versed in the country language, and in their politics and customs." His position was a delicate one. He was charged to effect by diplomacy the fulfilment of the Treaty and all the objects which the Council had in view, such as complete restitution for losses sustained and a guarantee that no fortification should be erected on the river below Calcutta.

Watts was accompanied by a native adviser and agent, a Hindu merchant at Calcutta named Amîr Chand, but known to contemporary Europeans and ever since as Omichund. He was a Panjâbî who for many years had acted as an agent for the English in their annual investment of Indian goods in Bengal, chiefly saltpetre.[4] There were constant disputes with him and the other merchants who contracted with the Company, and in consequence, the Bengal Council changed its policy in 1753 and began to deal directly with the producers at the various " aurungs " (factories) without the intervention of agents.[5] Although Omichund continued to be the medium for the supply of certain goods, chiefly again saltpetre, this proceeding on the part of the Council naturally affected his friendly feelings towards the English and threw him into the arms of the native government, especially as he had been held in high esteem by 'Alivardî Khân, Surâju'ddaula's grandfather and immediate predecessor.

Apparently Omichund miscalculated his influence with the young Nawâb and therefore deemed it wise to regain the favour of the English, for from the time of the expulsion of the Company's servants from Calcutta he used every effort to render himself invaluable to the Secret Committee. This, however, did not prevent the Bengal Council from issuing an order in January 1757 for the sequestration of his goods on suspicion of his complicity in the proceedings leading up to the Black Hole episode, but as no direct proof could be found,[6] the order was rescinded. Omichund then induced Clive to take action on his behalf, with the result that he was allowed to accompany Watts to Murshidâbâd, on the 17th February 1757,[7] as confidential adviser and agent, and from the letters of Watts preserved among the *Orme MSS.*, he at first appears to have justified Clive's confidence in his loyalty.

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[3] Afterwards the celebrated Select Committtee, finally developing into the Foreign Department.

[4] As early as 1744 we find him in partnership with " Deepchund " (Dîp Chand), a Patna merchant, dealing always in saltpetre, the name of the firm being then " Omichund Deepchund," as the Europeans understood it. The partnership was apparently dissolved in 1746, after which date both Omichund and Deepchund contracted separately. *I. O. Records, Coast and Bay Abstracts*, vol. V.

[5] Orme, *History of Indostan*, vol. II, p. 51 ; *I. O. Records, Coast and Bay Abstracts*, vol. V, pp. 424-425.

[6] The part he actually played in the Tragedy has never been cleared up.

[7] *Orme MSS., India*, vol. IX, p. 2265.

On the 3rd March 1757 Watts wrote,[8] "I must do this justice to Omichund to say he is indefatigable in the Company's interest; his assistance is of the utmost service to me he declares he will convince the Company and the whole world of his attachment to their service." On the 26th he reported,[9] "Omichund is indefatigable in the service of the Company and if ever man deserved their favour he does; he is always with me, and as I am convinced of his superior understanding, I always consult him and am persuaded he is sincere and hearty in the cause of the English; and if our advice is thought worthy to be listened to, I do not doubt we shall be able to be of advantage to the Company and particulars; hitherto I think I have not erred." Again, on the 11th April, Watts wrote,[10] "As Omichund has a superior understanding and as I am persuaded it is greatly for his interest we should be successful, I therefore consult him on all occasions, which I hope you will approve of." His illness, a few days later, caused Watts great anxiety: "Omichund is ill; if any accident should happen to him, we shall miss him greatly."[11]

During the first two months of Watts's stay at Murshidâbâd Omichund's assistance was invaluable, and it was he who persuaded Surâju'ddaula to allow the English to attack the French in Chandernagore in March 1757, as a reprisal for assistance reported to have been treacherously given to the perpetrators of the Black Hole. After the capture of the place, Jean Law, Chief of the French at Kâsimbâzâr, endeavoured to re-establish his influence with the Nawâb, but the more attractive promises of the Company's agents prevailed, and Watts eventually gained the upper hand. Nevertheless, although the Nawâb withdrew his protection from the French, he was still suspicious of the designs of the English, and on Clive's demand for the complete fulfilment of the Treaty of the 9th February 1757, his attitude towards Watts became threatening.

Surâju'ddaula had by this time rendered himself odious to a large proportion of his subjects as well as to the Europeans in his dominions, and Omichund now devised a scheme to depose him. The particulars were first communicated, on the 17th April, to Luke Scrafton[12], who had apparently been sent to Murshidâbâd in connection with the Company's business at Kâsimbâzâr Factory. Omichund's idea was to obtain the support of the Seths, the powerful Hindu financial community of Bengal, and with their help and that of the British to set up Yâr Lutf Khân[13], a military adventurer and an officer in high command in the Nawâb's army. On the 20th April Omichund had an interview with "Juggutseat" (Jagat Seth),[14] the head of the fraternity, who seems to have received his suggestion with favour, and with the sanction of Watts, he visited Yâr Lutf Khân on the 23rd, when preliminary conditions were arranged.[15] Omichund was now at the height of his power, and Scrafton warned Clive not to allow him too much latitude, as he "wants to have the whole honour to himself and cannot bear that any one should interfere."[16] It is at this point that Khwâja (or Agha) Petros comes prominently into the story.

[8] *Orme MSS., India*, vol. IX, p. 2277. [9] *Ibid*, p. 2285. [10] *Ibid*, p. 2291. [11] *Ibid*, p. 2295

[12] *Ibid*, pp. 2324-2326. Scrafton was one of the emissaries employed by Clive to treat with the Nawâb after the retaking of Calcutta. He was appointed Resident at Murshidâbâd when Mir Ja'fir was made Nawâb Nâsim.

[13] Mir Khudâyâr (also Khudâdâd) Khân Lâtî, called by Watts "Meir Godau Yar Cawn Laitty" (*Orme MSS., India*, vol. IX, p. 2299), with many curious variants, including "Murgodaunyer Cawn Luttee" (*Ibid*, vol. X, p. 2405). He had been brought to Murshidâbâd by the Seths, which may have been one reason why Omichund counted on their support.

[14] *Orme MSS., India*, vol. IX, pp. 2326-2328.

[15] *Ibid*, pp. 2299-2300. [16] *Ibid*, p. 2330.

Petros Arratoon, usually known as Coja (Khwâja) Petrus, (Petrose) was an important Armenian merchant, whose brother Grigor Arratoon (Gorgîn Khân) was a general of Mîr Kâsim.[17] He had resided in Calcutta since 1748 and had rendered valuable service to the English at the time of its capture and in the negotiations following its recapture. He seems to have accompanied Watts and Omichund to Murshidâbâd, as he is mentioned in a letter of the 18th February, immediately after their arrival,[18] and subsequent lettters show him to have been employed as an emissary by both Watts and the Nawâb. On the 24th April 1757, Mîr Ja'fir,[19] Suraju'ddaula's *Bakhshi* or Paymaster General, who had previously agreed to countenance Yâr Lutf Khân's pretensions but had since been approached by the Seths as a more suitable candidate, sent for Petros[20] and desired him to tell Watts that he could secure the adhesion of the Nawâb's chief officers in support of his own claims if these were put forward. "This scheme," Watts considered, "more feasible than the other"[21] and he urged its adoption by Clive, who readily acquiesced, since he was doubtful of the wisdom of setting up so comparatively unimportant a man as Yâr Lutf Khân, while Mîr Ja'fir, brother-in-law of the late Nawâb Governor, 'Alivardî Khân, was a personage of weight and influence.

This change of candidates placed Omichund in an awkward position, for he could not hope to have any ascendancy over Mîr Ja'fir, the Seths' nominee, and he therefore seems to have determined to get what he could out of the Nawâb and at the same time to revenge himself on both the Seths and the British for overriding his support of Yâr Lutf Khân. Ranjît Râi, the Seths' broker, was pressing the Nawâb for the payment to his clients of a sum agreed on by the Treaty of the 9th February, and Omichund seized the opportunity to suggest that if negotiations were conducted solely through him, the Nawâb might evade this and other obligations. Surâju'ddaula accordingly flouted Ranjît Râi and ordered a large sum of money to be paid to Omichund in consideration of his advice. Such conduct naturally roused the anger of the Seths, who not only declined to be associated with Omichund but used all their influence to set Mîr Ja'fir against him.

Watts, however, showed no distrust of Omichund until the 14th May. On that day,[22] in reply to a letter of the 8th, in which Clive had suggested that an ample reward should be granted to the agent for his services, Watts strongly opposed a proposition "to give Omichund 5 per cent. on whatever money he may receive on the new contract," and added, "As I by no means think he merits such a favour or has acted so disinterested a part as I once imagined, I have not mentioned the 5 per cent. to him." To support his attitude, Watts gave the details that had recently come to his knowledge of the trick played on Ranjît Râi narrated above, together with other proofs of overreaching duplicity, greed and general untrustworthiness on the part of Omichund.[23] Three days later Watts, again wrote to Clive, repeating his distrust and reporting an interview, detrimental to the interests of Mîr Ja'fir, that Omichund had had with the Nawâb. In this letter Watts charges his former confidant with dishonesty, calls him a liar, and winds up with, "I have learnt many particulars relating to Omichund too tedious to mention at present, but they will astonish

[17] Son-in-law of Mîr Ja'fir and the second Nawâb Nâzim.

[18] *Orme MSS., India,* vol. IX, p. 2267.

[19] Afterwards the first Nawâb Nâzim of Bengal appointed by the English.

[20] *Orme MSS., India,* vol. IX, p. 2301.

[21] *Op. cit., loc. cit.*

[22] Hill, *Bengal in 1756-57,* vol II, pp. 380-382.

[23] *Op. cit., loc. cit.*

you."[24] On the 20th May, in a postscript to another letter to Clive, he remarks, "We are deceived and Omichand is a villain, but this to yourself."[25]

Watts now, as far as possible, employed Petros in the room of Omichund, though he was careful not to arouse the suspicions of the latter. Petros was thus the principal go-between in the negotiations with Mîr Ja'fir, who would have nothing to do with Omichund, whom he styled "an intriguing Gentoo [Hindu] without fortitude or honesty."[26] But Clive considered it dangerous to oppose him openly, although he had by this time the lowest opinion of him.[27]

Having regard, therefore, to what was looked on as Omichund's treacherous nature, two treaties with Mîr Ja'fir were drawn up . a false one containing a clause providing him with a substantial gratuity, and another, the true one, omitting any mention of him.[28] Watts was instructed to flatter Omichund and lull any doubts that he might express by telling him that the Select Committee were "infinitely obliged to him" for the pains he had taken "to aggrandize the Company's affairs," and further, "that his name will be greater in England than ever it was in India."[29] In reply, Watts wrote, on the 23rd May, "We [Luke Scrafton and himself] shall either deceive Omichund as you mention, or pretend to have dropt the scheme and leave him intirely out of the secret, whichever on consultation we judge the most secure."[30]

Watts, Omichund and Petros were all this time still in Murshidâbâd, from whence Watts was anxious to escape to Calcutta before Surâju'ddaula could become aware of the plot to depose him. But in consequence of Omichund's intrigues with the Nawâb and his officers, it was necessary to induce the former to depart before the others, and he was persuaded to set out for Calcutta with Scrafton on the 30th May On the way down, however, he managed an interview with Râi Durlabh at Plassey (Palâsî, eight miles from Murshidâbâd) during which Watts surmised that he disclosed the conspiracy with Mîr Ja'fir, while he himself got the first inkling of the contents of the false treaty[31]

On the 3rd June Omar (Aumee, 'Umr) Beg, Mîr Ja'fir's confidential agent, was provided with copies of both treaties for his master's inspection, and on the 5th Petros took Watts concealed in a dooley to the palace of Mîr Ja'fir at Murshidâbâd, and there the real treaty, drafted by the Select Committee, was signed.[32] Watts effected his escape a week later, on the evening of the 12th June, and it was during this period that the Armenian document, the subject of this paper, was received and transmitted to Clive.

From the evidence available, the letter in question could not have been written before Omichund left Murshidâbâd on the 30th May 1757, or after the 8th June, the date of a letter from Watts to Clive mentioning its receipt.

On the 5th June Clive wrote from the French Gardens (Calcutta) to Watts at Murshidâbâd:[33] "You assured Mr. Scrafton, that Omychund once gone, you had no

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[24] *Orme MSS., India*, vol. IX, pp. 2309-2310.

[25] *Ibid*, p. 2310.

[26] Orme, *History of Indostan*, vol. II, p. 150.

[27] *Orme MSS., India*, vol. X, p. 2415.

[28] The exact dates when the false treaty was shown to Omichund and when he found that he had been duped do not appear in the Records now available, but according to Orme (*History*, vol. II, pp. 158-159) the first inkling Omichund had of the false treaty was during a visit to Râi Durlabh on the night of the 30th May, and he first saw it on the 10th June through bribing a scribe (*Ibid*, p. 163), and was told of the real treaty by Clive and Scrafton on the 30th June (*ibid*, pp. 181-182).

[29] *Orme MSS., India*, vol. X, p. 2415.

[30] *Ibid*, vol. IX, p. 2415.

[31] *Ibid*, vol. IX, p. 2313; Orme, *History*, vol. II, p. 159.

[32] *Orme MSS., India*, vol. IX, pp. 2313-2314.

[33] Hill, *Bengal in 1756-57*, vol. II, p. 39[illegible].

further obstacle to a conclusion, then why this delay ? Surely you are deceived by those you employ, or you have been deceiving me, and all your aim was to get away Omychund. The affair [of the conspiracy to depose Surâju'ddaula] is now publickly talked of, and if it does not take place within a short time after the receipt of this, I will set it aside, being determined not to undertake it in the Rains."

Watts replied, on the 8th June, vindicating himself from Clive's accusations :[34] "I have not been duped as you must know by this time, and be convinced Omichund has been the occasion of the delay. As a further proof I inclose you Copy and translate of a letter from him to Petrus [Khwâja Petros]. Please to send for Petrus's brother [Grigor Arratoon] and ask him upon oath if Omichund did not dictate and he write such a letter to his brother. If this will not satisfy you, and Omichund's address has more weight than my proofs, I will send you the original letter with his own signing. Let me beg of you to comply with this request not to divulge what I have inclosed or wrote you to Omichund, till I am in a place of security, as he is implacable in his resentments, and may be induced to discover every thing by writing up here in order to sacrifice Petrus and me to his resentment. The Nabob and Meer Jaffier are at open variance, and it's apprehended troubles between them will soon ensue ; the latter is supported by Laittee, Roydullub, Juggutseat [35] and others, but of this I shall write you more certainly in the evening "

The only document that Watts appears to have enclosed to Clive on the 8th June was the copy (Plate II) of the Armenian letter, and finding his mistake, he wrote again on the 11th, sending the translation, and no doubt the original. This accounts for the original, the copy and the translation being all three in Clive's possession, and the first two being handed down to his descendant.

Watts's letter of the 11th June [36], written on the day before he left Murshidâbâd, runs as follows :—

"I have this moment received yours of the 10th. Meer Jaffeir and the Nabob continue with their forces armed night and day ; Roydulhub is faithful. Many Jemidars [37] have sworn to join Meer Jaffier in case of an attack Upon it's appearing that you favour Meer Jaffeir's cause, I imagine the Nabob will be deserted by most of his people, and you will have little else to do than the trouble of a march. As we hourly run the risque of a discovery and of course being then at least made prisoners, and as there is no depending upon the arrival of Cossids [38], your last being 3 days in the way, if I do not hear from you to morrow, I am determined to set out the next day. We are already suspected of wanting to run away ; this the whole town talk of. Meer Jaffier has sent to me to get away as soon as possible. This incloses Omichund's letter to Petrus."

The enclosure is in reality a free translation of a part of the Armenian letter under discussion, no doubt given to Watts by Petros himself.

[34] *Orme MSS., India*, vol. IX, p. 2316. I give below reasons for identifying Grigor Arratoon as the "brother" mentioned, though of course there may have been others.

[35] These names are Yâr Lutf Khân Lâti, Râi Durlabh and Jagat Seth, the chief of the Seths. The first two were with Surâju'ddaula's forces at Plassey (23rd June 1757), but refused to fight, which supports the statement in Watts's letter.

[36] *Orme MSS., India*, vol. IX, p. 2317.

[37] Jemadar (*jama'dâr*), military commander

[38] Cossid (*qâsid*), messenger.

"Omichund's compliments to Petrus. There's letters gone for Mr. Watts to forbid his coming down 'till permission is given from hence. You and I are one. Let us consider what is for our own interest and act so as to make it pass that we have had the whole management of this affair. If our friend is not set out, keep him a few days; affairs are not yet settled here; hereafter I will write you the particulars. You have a good understanding therefore there's no occasion to write you much. Our success depends upon each other. All my hopes are in you."

We are now in a position to discuss the document itself, and I begin with a transliteration thereof, followed by a translation and a free rendering.

Transliteration and Notes by Mr. S. M. Gregory.

(PLATES I AND II.)

Aminâpaitsâr Sâhâpi Sâhâp [39] Aghâ [40] Petros

Arz [41] lînî vîrâgriâlîn ghullughûman [42] wor mînchî wâkhtas [43] Sâhâpîtzas shenorhâ chunemq. Shwât fikrmandamq [44] menq, yev Amîrchandîn [45] gholan lasîtzî vekî Gaurthî Sâhâpîs hâghîghâtan [46] khârtzrî.

Asâtz 'qânî qâlâmes' [47] : âsâtz 'wor griem' Amîrchandan Sâhâpîs ghullughûman bandagî [48] unî. Asûma thae têghacs Wâchîn [49] grêtzîn, thae mînchî menq grênq woch, mochov ghûo woch.

Menâtz yes dû mîn amq Inch mîez lev lînî aryes Lev mârdî [50] derân hramânn [51] wokhch mînchî vîrchan myernâ. Yev hrâmânôtz tânîtzan khâthîrjâm [52] kâtzîr yes teghsâm. Yev ên bâryekâman wor hrâmânôtz khêt golêtza, yêkêla bharîya thae woch, qânî or hetâtznes; zîra [53] dherêvas têghas mâslahâtan [54] chî yelel Mâslahâtan lînî hakûtz lâzumîn [55] kegrîem hrâmânôtz.

39 Ar. Pers., *sâhib-i sâhibân*, lord of lords.

40 Turki, Aghâ, a great nobleman, *lit.*, elder brother.

41 Ar.-Pers., '*arz*,' a petition, a respectful request 'be it humbly known.'

42 Turki, *qullûq*, service (*qul*, slave. Urdu, *qulî*, servant); 'in your service, to you.'

43 Ar.-Pers., *waqt*, time.

44 Ar.-Pers., *fikrmand*, anxious.

45 Amîrchand, correct Panjâbî form of the wellknown name Omichund.

46 Ar.-Pers., *haqîqat*, real state of affairs, the truth.

47 Ar. Pers., *kalâm*, words.

48 Pers. *bandagî*, service, devotion; compliments.

49 Wâchîn, to Wâch, Bengali form of the name of Mr. William Watts, Chief at Kâsimbâzâr.

50 Pers., *mardî*, manliness, boldness.

51 In the original letter, between the first word of the eighth line, *mârdî*, and the fourth word *wokhch*, there are two contractions, replaced in the copy by *aryes*, the fourth word in the eighth line, meaning to do or perform, which makes sense, but does not at all convey the meaning of the original, as the contractions for which it is substituted, *derân hramânn*, mean "the management."

52 Ar.-Pers., *khâtirjam'a*, tranquil, at ease.

53 Turki, *zîrâ*, because.

54 Ar.-Pers., *maslahat*, affair, transaction, deliberation.

55 Ar.-Pers., *lâzim*, necessary expedient.

Bêwrâ [56] grîelan lâzum chî, zîrâ hrâmânqad dânâ [57] mârdâs: [58] yev zîrâ îndz lev lînî hrâmânôtznâ, yev hrâmânôtz levan îmnâ. Im kull, [59] bânân hrâmânôtz mâelôvnâm [60] bâtz thoghel. Zidâ woch.[61]

AMÎRCHAND.[62]

Addition to the Copy (Plate II).

Mârmîrchadîn [63] grîn nâghlan.[64]

Translation by Mr. S. M. Gregory.

To the most illustrious Sâhibs, Agha Petros.

Be it humbly known in the service of him to whom the above is written, that up to the present time we have no favour [letter] from the Sâhib. We are very anxious, and hearing of Amîrchand's arrival I came to the Pavilion; [65] I enquired into the real state of things about the Sâhib.

Amîrchand told me to write these few words. He sends his compliments of devotion in the service of the Sâhib. He says that they have written to Wâch from here that so long as we do not write, no one is to come.

It remains that you and I are one. What is good for us, do that. Be thoroughly manly, so that the management of everything is ours till the end. And be tranquil about your home And if the friend who is to come with you has arrived, whether it is good or not, delay him for a few days, as deliberations here are not yet. Deliberations over, I will write to you tomorrow what is necessary.

It is not expedient to write details of circumstances, because you are a wise man and because my advantage is yours and yours mine. My whole affair I leave open to your inclination No more.

AMÎRCHAND

(Addition to the copy.)
Copy of Mâr Mîrchand's letter.

Free Rendering.

To Agha Petros.

We have had no letter from you up to the present and have become very anxious, so hearing of Amîrchand's arrival, I came to the Pavilion (Gaurthî) to enquire into the real facts about you.

Amîrchand has told me to write to you for him. He sends his compliments and says that Wâch (Watts) has been written to, to say that no one is to come until he hears from us.

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56 Hindi, *bêurâ*, details. 57 Pers., *dânâ*, wise. 58 Pers., *mard*, a man.

59 Ar.-Pers., *kull*, all, entire. 60 Ar.-Pers., *mêl*, inclination.

61 Ar.-Pers., *zidda*, the ordinary shortened ending of a Persian or Muhammadan letter in India, *ziâda hadd-i-adab*, more would be the limit of respect: 'your obedient servant.' In the original but not in the copy, just above the last word *zidâ*, there appears the Armenian letter *cha* with two marks to the left of it, which no doubt represent the letter *wa*, so that the word would read *woch*, 'nothing.' A usual ending to Armenian letters in India at that period was *zidu woch* 'no more,' in imitation of the Persian ending above mentioned.

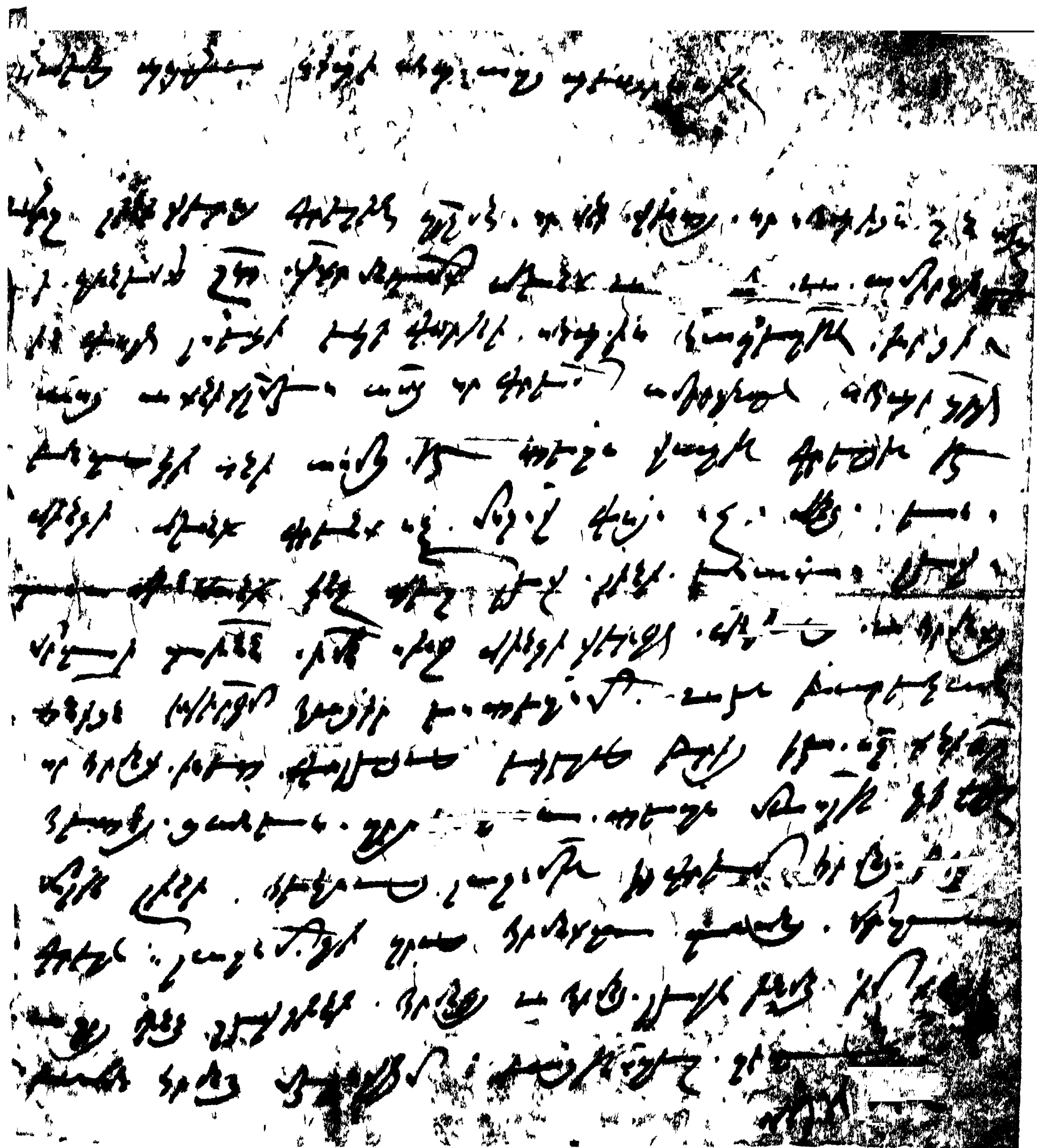
62 The signature is in Panjâbî characters, but the last three signs are not at all clearly written. However, as Amîrchand is a common Panjâbî name, they no doubt are meant for *r-ch-d*, *i.e.*, *rchand*, with the *bindî*, *ṅ*, omitted.

63 Mârmîrchand in the copy seems to be a slip of the pen for Amîrchand.

64 Ar.-Pers., *naql*, a copy.

65 For the reason for thus translating Gaurthî in the text, see *infra*, p. 187.

Plate I



Original document in Armenian signed by Ami Chand

Plate II

Rough copy of No I

For the rest, he says that you and he are of the same mind and asks you to act in your oint interests boldly, so that the management of the whole affair shall appear to be in your own hands until the end of the business. He says you are not to worry about your home because he is here, and you should delay the departure of the friend (Watts) for a few days, in any case, as the business is not yet settled. As a soon as it is settled he will write at once what it is necessary for you to do.

It is not expedient to go into details because you know them and you are both in the same position, and he leaves the whole affair to you to deal with as you think best.

Date and Address of the Letter.

It will be seen, then, from the general evidence available, that the date of Omichund's letter to Agha Petros is narrowed down to the week between the 30th May and 8th June 1757, and from the correspondence quoted in this discussion it can be actually fixed as during the night of the 30th-31st May, for the following reasons.

It was written by Omichund from a place apparently called Gaurthî, of which more anon, to Petros who was then at Murshidâbâd. It could not have been written at the latter place, nor after Omichund reached Calcutta, as he did not arrive until the 8th June,[66] and it was received before that date at Murshidâbâd. So it must have been written on the way down, and Petros thought that his brother Grigor was present when it was written.[67] On the 3rd June Watts complains to Clive,[68] that "Omichund's four hours visit to Roydullub [Râi Durlabh] at Plassy has been the cause" of the set-back in the negotiations with Mîr Ja'fir. From Orme we learn[69] that Omichund twice gave Scrafton the slip on the way to Calcutta, at Kâsimbâzâr and at Plassey, on the night of the 30th May, and that he did no see him again after his second absence until 3 p.m., on the 31st. In the interval Omichund had had his conference with Râi Durlabh, at which Grigor Arratoon must have been present and this was when he had the letter written to Petros. Râi Durlabh, Surâju'ddaula's *dîwân* was then in favour of Mîr Ja'fir's claims; Grigor, the brother of Petros, was, as Gorgîn Khân a general in the service of Mîr Ja'fir's son-in-law. At the conference Omichund heard a rumour of a treaty between Mîr Ja'fir and the English which deprived him of his claims,[70] and his only chance of defeating it was to get Watts to remain at Murshidâbâd and thus fall into the hands of Surâju'ddaula. Accordingly, he first persuaded Râi Durlabh, and apparently Grigor also, to waver in their allegiance to Mîr Ja'fir, and then induced them to let him dictate a letter to Petros, with the sole object of delaying the departure of Watts and so upsetting the scheme in favour of Mîr Ja'fir. This does not imply that either Râi Durlabh or Grigor was aware of his real motive.

Omichund's plan miscarried because Petros remained loyal to Mîr Ja'fir and the English, and on the further journey down to Calcutta, Scrafton managed to allay the suspicions which gave rise to the letter.[71]

The whole evidence thus shows that the letter was written in the early hours of the 31st May 1757.

66 Orme, *History of Indostan*, vol. II, p. 159.

67 See Watts's letter of the 8th June, quoted above. Petros must have told Watts that he thought his 'brother' wrote the letter or Watts would not have used the terms he employed in writing to Clive. It is quite likely in the whole circumstances that Grigor Arratoon was present and there is nothing in the history of the time to show that any other brother of Petros was of sufficient importance for Clive to employ him in a confidential capacity. The fairest assumption is that Grigor was the "brother" meant by Petros, and it is not likely from the language in which the letter is couched, that the term 'brother' merely meant some unnamed relative.

68 *Orme MSS., India*, vol. IX, p. 2313.

69 Orme, *History of Indostan*, vol. II, pp. 158-159.

70 Orme, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

71 *Ibid*, p. 159

The name Gaurthî, the place from which the letter is said to be written, is obscure. No such town or village in the neighbourhood of Plassey can be traced on any 18th century map, but it must have been close to Plassey and in the camp of Râi Durlabh. A contemporary plan of the battle of Plassey by Major Rennell, reproduced in Broome's *History of the Bengal Army* and also by Mr. Hill in his *Bengal in 1756-57*, vol. I, p. cxcv, gives "the Nawâb's Hunting House" on the river, close to Plassey Grove. As Râi Durlabh was the Nawâb's *diwân*, his headquarters were no doubt in that building. Assuming this to be the case, we may take it that Gaurthî is a corruption of *chauthrî*, through a metathesis *chaurthî*, such as is common in India, and it would then mean a pavilion in a garden (*chabûtra*), just the kind of place where such an interview as that between Râi Durlabh and Omichund would take place at night.[72]

All students of the period covering the career of Omichund are indebted for this additional light on his methods of dealing with the English to the discovery by Sir George Forrest of the Armenian letter and its copy. Both documents have been deciphered, translated and annotated by Mr. S. M. Gregory, formerly of the Federated Malay States Civil Service, and it was by the help of Mr. Gregory's accurate translation that I was able to identify it with the incomplete and free rendering supplied to Watts and handed over to Clive. My thanks are also due to two Armenian friends, Mr. John Apcar and Colonel G. M. Gregory, for assistance leading to the decipherment by Mr S M. Gregory of documents which proved a stumbling-block to many scholars.

The language of the letter is that of an inferior addressing a superior, which shows that Watts was not quite correct in saying that the letter to Petros had been written by his brother.[73] What Petros meant to convey was that his brother was present and was aware of its contents. There is, in fact, no indication of the scribe's name.

The original (Plate I) is written in a difficult cursive hand, full of contractions, even of foreign words, sometimes marked by a line (*pativ*) drawn above the contracted words in the familiar European manner, and sometimes without any signs to mark them. The copy is, however, clearly written in a fine legible hand, despite the contractions.

The language of the letter is a vulgar form of the Julfa dialect of Armenian, current in India in the 18th century, in which the use of foreign words was common. Indeed, as will be seen from the footnotes, the letter is full of Persian, Turki, and even Hindustani terms, adapted to Armenian colloquial forms.

Reviewing the conditions surrounding this remarkable letter, one cannot help considering what would have happened had Agha Petros acted as Omichund desired and kept Watts in Murshidâbâd until Surâju'ddaulla had him in his power. Clive's letter of 5th June 1757 to Watts (*supra*, pp. 182-3) shows that had Watts failed in his mission, as he would have done if Omichund had had his way, Clive, for some months at any rate, would have dropped his scheme of deposing Surâju'ddaula and setting up Mîr Ja'fir as Nawâb Nâzim under British suzerainty, and the world-famous battle of Plassey would not have been fought. No doubt so worthless a prince as Surâju'ddaula would not long have retained his power, and no doubt Clive would in time have found means to obtain supreme authority in Bengal, but it would have had to be achieved in some other way. There was nothing then but the loyalty of Agha Petros to prevent the success of Omichund's proposal and a complete change in the story of British supremacy in India as we know it. The letter we have been discussing therefore just missed being of the first importance to history.

[72] For the derivation, senses and uses of the *chauthrî*, see *Travels of Peter Mundy*, ed. Temple (Hak. Soc.), vol. II, pp. 26 (and *f.n.*), 44-45.

[73] See the letter of the 8th June 1757, quoted above, p. 183.

VÂṚTTÂ—THE ANCIENT HINDU ECONOMICS.

BY NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., B.L., P.R.S.; CALCUTTA.

(*Continued from p.* 263.)

(91) **Vâstu-Vichâra.**—" On architecture." B. 4, 276; NP. ix, 56. *Auf.*, Pt. I., p. 568

(92) **Vâstu-Vidhi** by Viśvâkarman.—" On architecture " Mack. 133. *Auf*, Pt. I, p. 568.

(93) **Vâstu-Śâstra-Samarâṅgana-Sûtradhâra,** by Bhojadeva.—Kh 75. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 568.

(94) **Vâstu-Śiromaṇi.**—" On architecture." Pheh. 9. *Auf*, Pt. I, p. 568.

(95) **Ditto,** by Mahârâja Śyâmasâh Śaṅkara.—NP. V, 92. *Auf.*, Pt I, p. 568.

(96) **Vâstu-Saṃgraha,** by Viśvâkarman.—" On architecture." Mack. 133. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 568.

(97) **Vâstu-Samuchchaya** by Visvâkarman —" On architecture." Kâsin. 6. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 568.

(98) **Vâstu-Sâra,** by Sûtradhâra-maṇḍana —" On architecture." NP. V., 92. *Auf.*, Pt I, p. 569.

(99) **Vimâna-Vidya.**—" On architecture." Burnell, 62b. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p 578.

(100) **Vaikhânasa.**—" On architecture " Quoted by Râmrâj. *Auf*, Pt I, p. 610.

(101) **Śâstra-Jaladhi-Ratna,** by Hariprasâda —" On Śilpa." Bik. 708. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 644.

(102) **Śilpa-Kalâ-Dîpikâ.**—" On Śilpa." Burnell, 62b. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 647.

(103) **Śilpa-Lekha.**—" On Śilpa." A work quoted according to Râya-mukuṭa by Sarvadhara. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p 647.

(104) **Śilpa-Sarvasva-Saṃgraha.**—" On Śilpa." Burnell, 62b *Auf.*, Pt. I., p. 647.

(105) **Sakalâdhikâra.**—" On architecture, attributed to Agastya." Taylor I, 72, quoted by Râmṛâj. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 683.

(106) **Sarva-Vihârîya-Yantra,** by Nârâyaṇa Dîkshita —" On architecture." Rice 46. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 702.

(107) **Sârasvatîya-Śilpa-Śâstra.**—" On architecture." Burnell, 62b. Quoted by Râmrâj. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 714.

(108) **Aparâjitaprichchhâ,** by Bhuvana-deva —" On architecture." IO. 1603 (two first chapters). The work is quoted by Hemâdri in *Pariśesha-khaṇḍa.* 2, 660-62-819. *Auf.*, Pt. II, p. 4.

(109) **Ratna-Dîpikâ,** by Chaṇḍeśvara.—" On Śilpa." Rgb. 1022. *Auf.*, Pt. II, pp. 36, 114.

(110) **Kshîrârṇava,** by Viśvakarman.—" On Śilpa." Peters 4, 32. *Auf.*, Pt. II, pp. 26, 138.

(111) **Viśvakarma-Mata.**—" On Śilpa." Quoted by Hemâdri in *Pariśesha-khaṇḍa* 2, 817, 825, 827, 828. *Auf.*, Pt. II, p. 138.

(112) **Visva-Vidyâbharaṇa.**—" On the duties of artisans by Basavâchârya." IO., 2680 (inc). *Auf.*, Pt. II, p. 139.

(113) **Ghaṭṭotsarga-Sûchanikâ.**—" On the erection of steps on the bank of a river." CS. 2, 298. *Auf.*, Pt. III, p. 37.

(114) **Pratishṭhâ-Tattva or Maya-Saṃgraha.**—" On architecture." Rep., p. 11. *Auf.*, Pt. III, p. 74.

(115) **Pratishṭha-Tantra.**—" On architecture in a dialogue between Śiva and Pârvatî." Rep. p. 6 (copied in 1147). *Auf.*, Pt. III, p. 74.

(116) **Kṛishi-Vishaya**, by an unknown author.]The first few ślokas quoted in the catalogue are identical with those of Parâśara's *Kṛishi-saṃgraha* printed at Calcutta (1322 B.S.), but the last śloka quoted in the same does not coincide with that of the latter.)—" A guide to agriculture." R. L. Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.* (Calcutta 1871), vol. I, p. 179, MS. No. cccxvii.

(117) **Ratnamâlâ**, by Paśupati.—" A treatise on precious stones." *Ibid*, vol. I p. 205, MS. No. ccclxiv.

(118) **Maya-Mata,** *alias* **Maya-Silpa,** *alias* **Pratishṭhâ-Tantra.**—" A treatise on architecture founded on the canons of Maya, a Dânava, who is reputed to have built a palace of Yudhishṭhira. . . . . . . It is remarkable in being less devoted to religious ceremonies and astrological disquisitions than the Mânasâra.

Contents :—1. Architecture defined. 2-3. Examination and purification of the ground intended to be built upon. 4. Measurement of land. 5. Ascertainment of the points of the compass. 6. Fixing of pegs to demarcate the spots for building. 7. Offerings to gods. 8. Measure of villages and the rules of laying them out. 9. Ditto for towns. 10. Directions for laying out squares, octagons, &c. 11. Laying the foundation and the ceremonies to be observed on the occasion. 12. Plinth. 13. Base. 14. Pillars. 15. Stone-work. 16. Joining or cementation. 17. Spires or tops of houses. 18. One-storied houses. 19 20 Two-storied houses. 21. Three, four, &c. storied houses. 22. Gopuras or gates. 23. Maṇḍapas. 24. Out-offices, barns, treasuries, &c. 25. Maṇḍapa sabhâs or open courts. 26. Linear measure,—of finger breadths, &c. " *Ibid*, vol. II, p. 306. MS. No. 912.

(119) **Visvakarmîya-Silpam.**—" A treatise on the manual arts attributed to Viśvakarmâ, the divine architect.

Contents :—Origin of Visvakarmâ, derivation of the word *takshaka* (carpenter), *vardhaki* (sculptor), &c. 2. Height of man in different ages of the world ; wood and stone for the formation of images. 3. Sacraments for sculptors and carpenters. 4. Halls for the consecration of Śiva and other gods. 5. Proportions of the images of the planets and liṅgams 6. Formations of cars. 7. Consecration of cars. 8. Forms of Brâhmî, Mâhesvarî and other goddesses. 9. Sacrificial or Brâhmanical thread. 10 Sacrificial threads of gold, silver, and *muñja* fibre ; the different sides where images of gods and goddesses are to be placed ; qualities of a kind of stone called ' Hemaśilâ ' or golden stone to be found to the south of the Meru mountain. 11. Images of Indra, Mâheśvarî and other gods and goddesses. 12-13. Crowns, crests and other head-ornaments. 14. Movable and fixed thrones for images ; crests and other ornaments for the

head; repairs of temples. 15. Proportions of doors of temples for liṅgams. 16. Proportion of doors for other temples. 17. Temples for Vighneśa. Most of these chapters appear imperfect and fragmentary, and the work is obviously incomplete." *Ibid*, vol. II, p. 142, MS. No. 731.

(120) **Mânasollâsa,** by the Chalukya king Someśvara.—" A treatise on architecture and allied subjects. The latter part is taken up with a description of royal pleasures. In two chapters." (Incomplete). *Ibid*, vol. III, p. 182, MS. No. 1215.

(121) **Mânasollâsa-Vṛittânta-Prakâśa.** P. D. Pandit Vâmana Âchârya, Benares.—In Weber's *Berlin Catalogue*, p. 179. *Ibid*, vol. III, p. 182.

(122) **Silpa-Sâstra.**—Palm leaves, Karnâṭa character, "On construction of temples and images." *A descriptive catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection* by H. H. Wilson, p. 170, No. 4.

(123) **Silpa-Sâstra.**—Palm leaves, Grandham character imperfect. "On architecture regarding construction of ornamented gateways." *Ibid*, p. 170, No. 5.

(124) **Silpa-Sâstra.**—Paper—Telugu character. "Direction for making images." *Ibid*, p. 170, No. 6.

(125) **Silpa-Sâstra,** by Peddanâchârya.—Telugu book. " On making images and ornamental work in gold and silver." *Ibid.*, p. 304, No. 5.

(126) **Pañcharâtra Dîpikâ,** by Peddanâchârya.—"A work on the manufacture of images, their dimensions and embellishment. *Ibid*, p. 170, No. 8.

(127) **Vâstu-Saṃgraha.**—Palm leaves.—Telugu character. " On architecture, erection of buildings, temples and fabrication of images." *Ibid*, p. 171, No. 12.

(128) **Gṛihanirmaṇa-Vidhi.** Author not mentioned.—Palm leaves. " On rules for the erection of houses, temples and other edifices." *Ibid*, p 304, No. 6.

(129) **Ratta-Mattam.**—" A book on agriculture. Translated from the Kanada of Ratta, by Bhâskara, son of Nagaya and dedicated to Venkatapati Palligar of Eravar. (Astrological predictions of the weather, rain, drought and similar topics, applicable to agriculture and the plenty or scarcity of grain.)" Telugu book. Palm leaves. *Ibid*, p. 303, No. 1.

(130) **Vâstu-Purusha-Lakshaṇa.**—" On architecture." Canarese letter, incomplete. *A Catalogue Raisonée of Oriental MSS. in the Library of the late College of Fort St. George* by the Rev. William Taylor, vol. I, Madras, 1857, p. 313, No. 1562.

(131) **Aṁśumat-Kâśyapiya.**—" On śilpa." *Ibid*, vol. I, p. 314.

(132) **Silpa-Sâstram,** by Kâśyapa.—" On the structure of a Śaiva temple in Canarese letter." *Ibid*, vol. I, p. 314, No. 1585.

(133) **Kshetra-Gaṇita-Śâstra.**—" On land-surveying." *Ibid*, vol. I, p. 347.

(134) **Abhilashitârtha-Chintâmaṇi,** by Malla Someśvara.—" Malayâlam letter. On architecture." *Ibid*, vol. I, p. 478.

(135) **Ratna-Sâstra.**—"On characteristics and examination of stones." *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 555.

(136) **Manavâla-Nârâyaṇa-Satakam.**—" (3) "*Vaiśiyar perumai*, the honour of merchants. The merchants must skilfully conduct their own business. They must not lay on too large profits. Whosoever comes to them, they must preserve an even and correct balance. If the dishonest come, offering to leave a pledge, they must give them no loan ; but if the honest come, and only ask a loan without pledge, they must give it. In writing their accounts, they must not allow of a mistake, even if no more than the eighth part of a mustard seed. They will assist a (public) measure, even to the extent of a crore (of money). Such is the just rule of a mercantile class."

(4) "*Vellarher perumai*, the honour of agriculturists. The Vellarher, by the effect of their ploughing (or cultivation) should maintain the prayers of Brâhmaṇas, the strength of kings, the profits of merchants, the welfare of all—charity, donations, the enjoyments of domestic life, and connubial happiness, homage to the gods, the *Śâstras*, the *Vedas*, the *Purâṇas*, and all other books ; truth, reputation, renown, the very being of the gods, things of good report or integrity, the good order of castes, and manual skill ; all these things come to pass by the merit (or efficacy) of the Vellarher's plough." *Ibid*, p 15, No. 2108.

(137) **Navâ-Sâstram.**—"On ship-building and navigation. But the work is chiefly astrological. Some directions are given respecting the materials and dimensions of vessels" *Ibid*, vol. III, p. 6, No. 2226. The same work is called *Kappal Śâstram* at p 444 of the above catalogue.

(138) MS. No 790, Sec. 30 (name not given) deals with miscellaneous arts, mechanics, building, &c.—"On the art of constructing forts, houses, fanes, of settling a village ; navigation and variety of other similar things enumerated as taught in 36 works, the names of which are given (in the MS.)." *Ibid*, vol. III, p. 350.

(139) **Silpa-Nighaṇṭu,** by Aghora Sâstrî —"In Grantha character" *A classified catalogue of Sanskrit works in the Sarasuatî Bhâṇḍâram Library of His Highness the Mahârâjâ of Mysore.* Class XIX, No. 533.

(140) **Silpa-Sâstra-Bhûshalya.**—"In Grantha character." *Ibid*, class XIX, No. 534.

(141) **Devatâ-Silpa.**—"With Telugu translation in Canarese character." *Ibid*, class XIX, No. 535.

(142) **Go-Sutra.**—Oxf. 398ᵃ. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 169.

(143) **Go Sânti.**—Burnell, 149ᵃ. *Ibid*, Pt. I, p. 169.

(144) **Go-Sânti.**—66th parisishta of the AV.—W.P. 94. *Ibid*, Pt. I, p. 169.

(145) **Govaidya-Sâstra.** Author not mentioned.—"Subject—*Vaidya*." Oppert, vol. I, p. 533. MS. No. 7298.

(146) **Go-Sâstra.**—"Subject—Golakshaṇa." *Ibid*, vol. I, MS. No. 6576.

(147) **Kalâśâstra.**—" Name of a work by Viśâkhila." Mentioned in Monier Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* under the word ' Kalâ.'

(148) **Chitra-Bhârata.**—Mentioned in Monier Williams' *op cit.* under the word 'chitra'. It seems to be a work on painting.

(149) **Vâstu-Śâstram**—(1) Râjavallabha maṇḍanam (see List II), (2) Rûpamaṇḍanam, (3) Prâsâda-maṇḍanam, (4) Devatâ-mûrtti-prakaraṇam.—" On Śilpa." *Catalogue of Printed Books and Manuscripts in Sanskrit belonging to the Oriental Library of the A. S. B*, p. 173, No. I. G. 89.

(150) **Śilpa-Śâstra.**—A treatise in Tamil, said to have been originally composed in Sanskrit by Myen *Indian Antiquary*, vol. V (1876), pp 230-237, 293-297.

LIST II.

Printed works on **Vârtta** *or its Sub-Topics.*

(1) **Râjavallabhamaṇḍanam**, by Maṇḍana, son of Śrîkshetra —"A metrical treatise on architecture in 14 *adhyâyas*; edited with Gujrati translation and over 100 plates and diagrams by Nârâyaṇa Bhâratî Yaśavanta Bhâratî (Baroda, 1891)." Stated to have been composed at Udaipur in Samvat 1480. *A supplementary catalogue of Sanskrit, Pâli and Prâkrit books in the Library of the British Museum* (acquired during the years 1892-1906) by Dr L. D. Barnett, p. 715.

(2) **Viśvakarmaprakâśaḥ.**—" A work on architecture attributed to the god, Viśvakarmâ. With a Hindi translation by Śaktidhara Sukula for Munshi Pâlârâm and hence conjointly with the text styled Pâlârâm-Vilâsa, pp. IV, 304 (Lucknow, 1896) The preface states that the work, first communicated by Brahmâ to Śiva was thence transmitted successively to Garga, Parâśara, Bṛihadratha and Viśvakarmâ." *Ibid*, p. 715

(3) **Śilpaśâstrasârasaṃgraha.**—" A manual of architecture by Kalyâṇa Śivanârâyaṇa of Surat. 12 plates. (Râjanagar, 1898). With a Gujarati translation by Kalyâṇadâsa Bhâṇâbhâî Gujjar" *Ibid*, p. 375

(4) **Laghu-Śilpa-Jyotisha-Sâra.**

(5) **Viśvakarma-Vidyâ-Prakâśa.**

(6) **Śilpa-Dîpikâ.**

(7) **Vâstu-Ratnâvalî.**

(8) **Vâstava-Vichitra-Praśna.**

(9) **Vâstava-Chandra-Sṛiṅgonnati-Sadhanam.**

(10) **Śilpadhi-Vṛiddhi.**

(11) **Yukti-Kalpa-Taru**, edited by Pandit Îśvarchandra Śâstri with a Foreword by the present writer.

(12) **Krishi-Saṁgraha**, by Parâśara.

(13) **Kshetra-Prakâśa.**

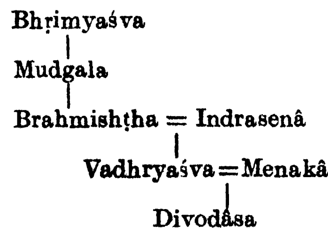
(14) **Upavanavinoda**, edited by Kavirâja Gaṇanâth Sen.

INDRASENÂ.

BY A. VENKATASUBBIAH, M.A., PH.D.; MYSORE.

IN stanza 2 of the *Rigveda-Saṃhitâ*, X. 102 occurs the word *Indrasenâ* which is taken by Geldner (*Vedische Studien*; 2, p. 1) as denoting Mudgalânî (or the wife of Mudgala) mentioned in stanzas 2 and 6 of the same hymn. This hymn is obscure and the most diverse views have been held about its import. Bergaigne (*Religion Vedique*; 2, p. 280ff.) thinks that the hymn depicts liturgical symbolism; Henry, (*Journal Asiatique*; 1895, II, p. 516 ff) that it refers to the methods employed in primitive divination, and Bloomfield (*ZDMG*., 48, p. 547), that the hymn refers to heavenly, *i.e.*, mythological events and not to human events. Similarly, Profs. Macdonell (*Vedic Index*, II, p. 167) and Keith [1] (*JRAS*., 1911, p. 1005 n). Profs. Geldner and Oldenberg, on the other hand, consider that it is an *âkhyâna* or *itihâsa* hymn and that it describes a chariot-race in which Mudgala's wife took prominent part. For literature connected therewith, see Oldenberg, *Ṛigveda-Noten*, II, p. 318.

In p. 1328 ff. of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1910, Mr. Pargiter has attempted to throw some light on this hymn with the help of certain details contained in the *Purâṇas* about Mudgala, who is, according to the *Nirukta* (9. 3. 2. 3.) and the *Sarvânukramaṇî*, the son of Bhṛimyaśva and the author of this hymn. With the help of these details, Mr Pargiter has constructed the following genealogy:—



And, from this genealogy, he has arrived at the following conclusions respecting the persons named in the hymn:

1° Mudgala was a *râjâ* of the North Pañchâla dynasty and yet might also be regarded as a *rishi*.

2° Mudgalânî, whose name is not mentioned, was obviously Mudgala's wife, as is generally agreed.

3° Indrasenâ was the daughter-in-law of Mudgala, being the wife or rather the queen of his son Brahmishṭha.

4° *Vadhri*, in stanza 12, seems to refer to Indrasenâ's son and Mudgala's grandson Vadhryaśva.

5° *Keśî*, mentioned in stanza 6, was the *sârathi* or charioteer who drove Mudgalânî in the race.

Mr. Pargiter is therefore disposed to interpret the hymn in accordance with the above conclusions.

In the note referred to above, Mr. Pargiter has collected the information given by the *Purâṇas* about Mudgala only and has not brought out anything new about Indrasenâ,

[1] In the opinion of these scholars (and of Sâyaṇa also), *Indrasenâ* is not a proper name at all, but a common name meaning 'Indra's bolt.' This word therefore has not been accorded an entry in the *Vedic Index*.

although Geldner had long ago pointed out that her name occurred in the *Mahâbhârata* (Calcutta ed., 3. 113. 22 ; 4. 21. 11) where she is described as Nârâyaṇî and as the wife of Mudgala. It is therefore my object to give here some details about this Indrasenâ which I have been able to gather from the South Indian text of the *Mahâbhârata* as it is printed in the Kumbhakonam edition.

The stanzas referred to by Geldner in his *Vedische Studien* are found in this edition on p. 186 of the *Vanaparvan* (Ch 114 ; 23, 24) and p 47 of the *Virâṭaparvan* (Ch. 24 ; 19-22). In both these places, this text reads *Nâlâyanî* instead of its doublet form *Nârâyanî* ; and it thus indicates that Indrasenâ, the wife of Mudgala, was the daughter of Nala. She must therefore be identified with the Indrasenâ, who, we read in the *Nalopâkhyâna*,[2] was born to Nala of Damayantî.

This inference is confirmed by the following story found in chapters 212 and 213 of the *Âdiparvan* (p. 359ff), where it is related by Vyâsa to king Drupada with the object of overcoming his repugnance to the marriage of his daughter with five men (the five Pâṇdava brothers):

"Krishṇâ, the daughter of Drupada, was, in her former birth known as Indrasenâ. She was then the daughter of Nala and was married to the *rishi* Maudgalya[3] who was old and mere skin and bones, who was reeking with a smell which was other than pleasant, whose hair had become white and the skin furrowed with wrinkles, who was afflicted with leprosy, whose skin and nails were peeling off, who was repulsive to look at and who was extremely irritable, harsh, jealous and fanciful [4] The blameless Indrasenâ used to serve her husband faithfully and to eat what was left of his food (*uch-chhishṭa*) after he had eaten. One day, the thumb of Maudgalya came off when he was eating his food , and, Indrasenâ, when she sat down to the remnants, unconcernedly threw it away and consumed the food left without any feeling of disgust. Her husband was much pleased at this act of wifely devotion, said that he would grant her a boon, and asked her often what she desired Indrasenâ, being thus frequently urged, begged of the *rishi* that he should sport with her, first dividing himself into five persons, and later becoming one person again

"The *rishi*, owing to the power of his austerities and his *yoga*, accordingly sported with Indrasenâ for many years, now making himself into five men, and again, as one man, in Indraloka, Meru and other places Indrasenâ thus came to the fore-front of *pativratâs* in the same way as Arundhatî and Sîtâ , and she attained a greater distinction in this respect than even *her mother Damayantî*.[5]

[2] Damayantyâ saha Nalo vijahâr 'âmaropamaḥ ||
janâyâmâsa cha tato Damayantyâm mahâmanâḥ |
Indrasenam sutañ châpi Indrasenâñ cha kanyakâm ||
Mahâbhârata, III 54. 48 9.

[3] The husband of Indrasenâ is represented in the *Mahâbhârata*, 4. 24 21 as being aged more than one thousand years.

[4] eshâ Nâlâyanî pûrvam Maudgalyam sthaviram patim |
ârâdhayâmâsa tadâ kushṭhinam tam aninditâ ||
tvag-asthi-bhûtaṁ kaṭukam lolam îrshyam sukopanam |
sugandhetara-gandhâḍhyam valî-palita-mûrdhajam ||
sthaviram vikṛitâkâram śîryamâṇa-nakha-tvacham ||
Uchchhishṭam upabhuñjânâ paryupâste mahâ-munim |
Âdiparvan, Ch. 212 ; 4-6.

[5] eka-patnî tathâ bhûtvâ sadaivâgre yaśasvinî ||
Arundhatîva Sîteva babhûvâti-pativratâ |
Damayantyâś cha mâtus sâ viśesham adhikam yayau ||
Ibid, 212 ; 25.

" While the *ṛishi* Maudgalya thus played with Indrasenâ, many years elapsed and the *ṛishi* became weary (*vyarajyata*) of sensual pleasures. He therefore resolved to abandon this luxurious course of life and to practise austerities (*tapas*) in a retired place. On this resolve being announced to Indrasenâ, she fell down on the earth and earnestly besought the *ṛishi* not to leave her as her desire for sensual pleasures (*kâma-sevana*) was still unsatisfied. The *ṛishi* grew wroth at this bold and impudent request and uttered a curse that she should be born as the daughter of Drupada, the king of the Pañchâlas, and have five husbands.

" Grieving at this curse, and with her craving for sensual pleasure unsatisfied, Indrasenâ, too, repaired to a forest and practised austerities in order to please Śiva. That god, being pleased at the austerities, showed himself to Indrasenâ and conferred a boon on her that she would in her next birth, have five husbands."

The story, I may observe, is not peculiar to the South Indian text, but is found in some of the editions of the Northern text also, though not in all. Here, too these editions have the form *Nârâyaṇî* instead of *Nâlâyanî*. It should be noted that the wording of the text—*Damayantyâś cha mâtuś sâ viśesham adhikaṃ yayau*—informs us in an unmistakable way that Indrasenâ,[6] who is described as Nâlâyanî and as the wife of Maudgalya, was the daughter of Damayantî.

This story is very interesting and confirms the correctness of Geldner's interpretation of *RV.* X. 102 in several respects :

1. Thus, it is clear from the above story that Indrasenâ, mentioned in stanza 2, is the same as the Mudgalânî mentioned in st. 2 and 6, and that she is the wife of the Mudgala mentioned in st. 5 and 9 and not his daughter-in-law as Mr. Pargiter would believe.

Mr. Pargiter seems to have been misled here by the use of the word *Mudgala* instead of the more correct form *Maudgalya*. Such negligence however, in the matter of adding patronymic suffixes is fairly common not only in the epics and *Purâṇas*, but in the *Ṛigveda* also. See, for example, *ZDMG.*, 42, p. 204ff. where Oldenberg has shown that the word *Vasishṭha* is used in the *Ṛigveda* to denote not only the original Vasishṭha but his descendant as well.

As regards the word *Mudgala* itself, we have already seen above that the *Mahâbhârata* in one place (III.114. 24) uses that word to denote Mudgala's son (who, in I. 212. 213 is called Maudgalya). Similarly, it relates in the *Vanaparvan* (Ch. 261) the story of a Mudgala (whether the same as Indrasenâ's husband or a different person, there is no means of saying) who was offered, because of his zeal in giving gifts, the privilege of going to heaven in his mortal body (*saśarîra-svarga*) but refused to avail himself of it. In this story, the hero is called Mudgala (in III. 260. 38 ; III, 261. 3, 11, 14, etc.) and Maudgalya (in III. 261. 6, 14, 25, 33, etc.) indifferently. And in the *Bhâgavata*, X. 21. 34 the word *Mudgala* is used of the father of Divodâsa, *i.e.*, to denote Vadhryaśva, the grandson of the original Mudgala.

There is thus no doubt that the Mudgala mentioned in st. 5 and 9 of *RV.* X. 102 is identical with the Mudgala of the *Mahâbhârata*, III. 114.24, with the Maudgalya of the

[6] The text, I may here note, calls Maudgalya's wife as *Mahendrasenâ* in one place—I. 212. 17.

Mahâbhârata, I. Ch. 212, 213 and with the Brahmishha [7] (son of Mudgala) of Mr. Pargiter's genealogical table.

2. The story also supports the opinion of Geldner (p. 1) and Oldenberg (p. 318, n. 2) that Mudgala was a Brahmin against those of Henry and Pargiter who believe that he was a king.

3. The story gives, as can be seen above, a graphic description of the decrepitude (*abgelebtheit*) of Mudgala, a point about which Bloomfield and Oldenberg seem to be sceptical.

Mudgala's decrepitude is thus well-attested and can be taken as a certain fact. It is not, however, quite so certain that it was this decrepitude, which, as Geldner believes, prevented him from riding the chariot himself in the race and led him to substitute his wife Indrasenâ in his stead. A passage [8] of the *Kâṭhaka-Saṃhitâ* (X. 5 ; Vol. I, p. 130) which relates the story of a chariot-race between Vâmadeva and Kusidâyî shows that it was not unusual for women to take part in such races. Indrasenâ, too, who was the daughter of Nala, a noted charioteer, [9] must naturally have known more of chariots and their driving and of races than her husband the Brahmin *ṛishi*. These facts offer, in my opinion, sufficient explanation as to why Mudgala did not himself ride in the race but sent his wife Indrasenâ instead as rider.

4. In interpreting st. 6 of the hymn, Geldner has followed Sâyaṇa in thinking that Mudgalânî (*i.e.*, the wife of Mudgala) was both the rider (*rathîḥ*) as well as the charioteer (*sârathiḥ*) in the race. He has therefore accepted (p. 8) Sâyaṇa's dictum [10] that the word *keśî* in that stanza stands really for the feminine form *keśinî*. Further on, however, Sâyaṇa has given another explanation [11] according to which Keśinî was the charioteer. I am disposed to think that this last explanation is correct and that this Keśinî is, perhaps, identical with the Keśinî that was employed by Damayantî to observe the actions of, and to carry messages to, Bâhuka (*i.e.*, Nala) in the *Nalopâkhyâna*. [12]

5. Regarding Geldner's interpretation of st. 11 of the hymn—an interpretation which is not acceptable to Bloomfield, Oldenberg, and Pargiter—, the story related above shows that the sense which Geldner attaches to the first half of that stanza is quite correct—so correct

7 I am, however, very doubtful that Mudgala's son was named Brahmishṭha. From the footnotes given by Mr. Pargiter on p. 1329 (*loc. cit.*) it can be seen that, out of eight *Purâṇas* which he has used to construct the genealogy in question, only two contain the word *Brahmishṭha*. In both these places, it is preferable to regard this term as a common noun (= the best of Brahmins ; a *brahmarshi*) rather than as a proper name. The corrupt text of the *Harivaṃśa*, too, which uses the word *brahmarshi* in this context, favours this view.

Ludwig has, in his *Ṛigveda* (III. 171), set down a table where he has shown Vadhryaśva, the father of Divodâsa, as the son of Devavân—a view accepted by Macdonell (*Vedic Index*, I. 376). Though there is not much evidence in favour of this view too, I have here provisionally adopted it for lack of a better attested genealogy.

8 Vâmadevaś cha vai Kusidâyî châtmanor âjim ayâtâm | tasya Kusidâyî pûrvasyâtidrutasya kûbaraṃ nyamṛiṇât | sâ dvitîyam upa paryâvartata | îshâm vâ . . . kshaṃ vâ chhetsyâmîti | sa Vâmadeva ukhyam agnim abibhaḥ . . . ||

9 *Mahâbhârata, Vanaparvan*, 64. 2 ; 69. 28-31 ; 70. 18, etc.

10 keśîti sârathyabhiprâyeṇa pulliṅgatâ.

11 atha vâ keśî keśinî sârathir asya.

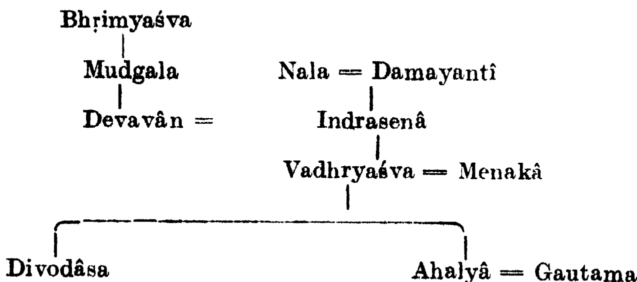
12 *Mahâbhârata*, III. Ch. 72, 73.

as to be surprising when one bears in mind that Geldner did not know of the story related above by the *Mahâbhârata*. He has there rightly interpreted the sentence *parivṛikteva patividyam ânaṭ* and has remarked that after winning the race and thus pleasing the old Mudgala, the net advantage gained by Indrasenâ was not much to speak of, and that, on the whole, she was rather disappointed than otherwise. The correctness of this opinion is fully borne out by the above story, which relates, as we have already seen, how Maudgalya was pleased with his wife, offered her a boon, sported with her as she desired, but left her before her desires were satisfied and thereby disappointed her.

6 In the light of what has gone above, Mr. Pargiter's opinion that *vadhri* in st. 12 refers to Indrasenâ's son seems to me to be quite untenable.

In the course of the above discussion, we have met with the names of two women, **Damayantî** and **Indrasenâ**, that were regarded as patterns of *pativratâs*. These two were related to each other as mother and daughter It is therefore interesting to find further that **Ahalyâ** (wife of **Gautama** and mother of Śatânanda, *etc*) who is also regarded as a pattern of chastity, was the daughter of **Vadhryaśva**, the son of Indrasenâ (*Bhâgavata*, IX. 21. 34).

We can now rewrite Mr. Pargiter's genealogical table as follows .—



Of these names, all except Bhṛimyaśva, Nala, Damayantî, and Menakâ are found in the *Ṛigveda*.

NOTES AND QUERIES

" A FAQUIR'S CURE FOR THE CHOLERA."

(Selected from the Native Newspapers).

Prince of Wales Island Gazette, 9th October 1822.

The wife of a barber at Etabauzee Mobarazepoor, which lies to the north of Kristn-nugur [1], aged about 24, was seized with the Cholera Morbus, in the month of Ausur.[2] A Fakeer. who came to the house to ask alms, hearing of this, said to the Barbar (*sic*) that if he would permit him, he could make a cure for his wife. As no doctor was to be had in the village they, according to the advice of the Fakeer, made her take some green leaves of Siddhy [3] and Opium with the juice of siddhy leave, and bound her hands an legs 8 inches asunder with a piece of rope. This stayed the symptoms of the disease, and after an hour they unloosed the knots However, she was quite intoxicated by the draft she had taken and slept in the night soundly. The next morning she found herself quite recovered. The Barbar wanted to make some present to the Fakeer, who sojourned there that day; but the latter declined the offer. He said that any one might be cured of the Cholera Morbus by that draft, and therefore we have given publicity to it for the good of the Public.

R. C. T.

[1] Referring apparently to some place in India and not to a place in Prince of Wales Island (Penang). It looks as if the paragraph had been translated direct from some Indian native paper.

[2] A misprint for Ausin (*Aswin*), (October).

[3] *Sidhi* = *bhang*, Indian hemp (*Cannabis sativa*).

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE WESTERN CHÂLUKYAS OF KALYÂṆI.[1]

BY A. VENKATASUBBIAH, M.A., PH.D.; MYSORE.

THE chronology of the Western Châlukyas of Kalyâṇi was originally determined by Dr. Fleet in his *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (revised edition published in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, 1896, Vol. I, Part 2, pp. 277-584) by the help of dates recorded in the inscriptions of these kings. And this account was, later, confirmed by Kielhorn who has included most of these dates in his *List of Inscriptions of Southern India* (*EI.*, Vol. 7, App.), and has given a synchronistic table for Southern India in *EI.*, Vol. 8, App., based on the results of these dates. I subjoin here from that table the names of the Western Châlukyan kings with their (initial) dates :

Taila II	973
Satyâśraya	998
Vikramâditya V	1009
Jayasimha II	1018?
Sômêśvara I	1044
Sômêśvara II	1068
Vikramâditya VI	1076
Sômêśvara III	1128
Jagadêkamalla II	1139
Taila III	1154
Sômêśvara IV	1184-1189

The *List of Inscriptions* referred to above contains 83 verifiable dates of the Châlukyas, of which, however, 18 have been characterised by Kielhorn as slightly irregular and therefore needing emendation and 35 as wholly irregular. Thus the number of verifiable dates used by him and Dr Fleet for purposes of chronology as they stand is less than half of those that are at hand.

I have shown in my book, *Some Śaka Dates in Inscriptions*, that the great majority of these 'irregular' dates are regular enough to indicate to us with certainty the days on which the events recorded happened. I have also shown on p. XII of the Introduction of that book that the correct equivalents of some of these dates make untenable the acceptance of the dates proposed by Drs Fleet and Kielhorn for the commencement and the end of the reigns of some W. Châlukyan kings. I therefore propose to give here a revised chronology of these kings, utilising for this purpose not only the 45 dates (of *KLISI.*) that have been rejected as irregular, but also the verifiable dates contained in the several volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*[2] and the Reports of the Madras Epigraphists.

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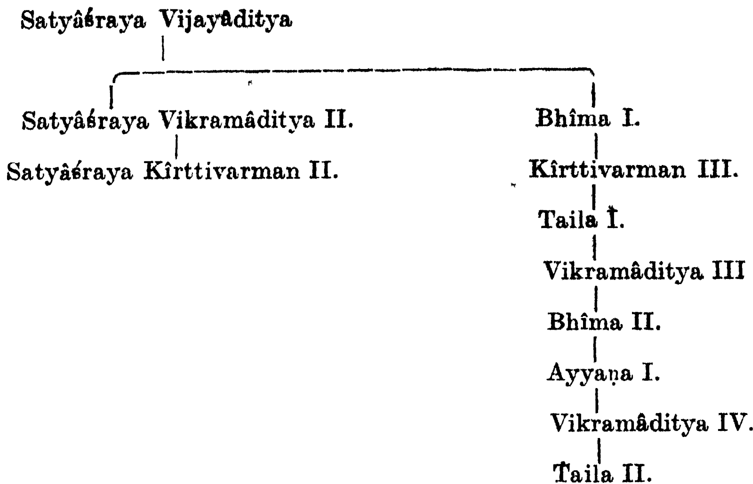
[1] The following abbreviations have been used in the course of this paper :—

IA.	for Indian Antiquary.
EC.	,, Epigraphia Carnatica
EI.	,, Epigraphia Indica
(*F.*) *DKD*	,, (Fleet's) Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts in the Bombay Gazetteer, 1896, Vol I, Part 2.
(*K.*) *LISI.*	,, (Kielhorn's) List of Inscriptions of Southern India, App. to *EI.*, Vol. 7.
(*V.*) *SSDI.*	,, (Venkatasubbiah's) Some Śaka Dates in Inscriptions.

The English equivalents of the dates of the inscriptions cited below, have been, for the most part, calculated by me for the first time in accordance with the principles indicated in my book, *SSDI.* Of such equivalents, those which are certain (through their being calculated on the strength of more than one verifiable detail) are here printed in thick type.

[2] I may observe here that I have, by reference to ink-impressions, verified the text published in these volumes of the more important inscriptions that I have made use of in writing this paper.

The connection between the later Châlukyas of Kalyâṇi and the earlier Châlukyas of Bâdâmi is traditionally given as follows :—



Of these, nothing is known, beyond the mere mention of their names, of Bhîma I, Kîrttivarman III, Taila I, Vikramâditya III, and Bhîma II.

Ayyaṇa I is said to have married a daughter of Kṛishṇa and to have begot on her a son named Vikramâditya IV. This Kṛishṇa has been, with great probability, identified with the Râshṭrakûṭa king Kṛishṇa II (884-913), which places Ayyaṇa somewhere about A.D. 930.

His son was Vikramâditya IV, who, it is related, married Bonthâdêvî, daughter of the Kaḷachuri Lakshmaṇa-dêva. No inscriptions[3] seem to have been found of his time ; and it thus seems that he did not reign as king.

[3] In *EC.*, Vol. XI, Mr. Rice has published an inscription (*CD.* 25 ; p. 13) which at first sight seems to belong to his reign. This epigraph records that, in the year Śaka 892, on Sunday which was the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of Pausha, and the day of the *uttarâyaṇa-Saṅkrânti* when the *Mahârâjâdhirâja Paramêśvara Paramabhaṭṭâraka* [*Vikra*]*mâditya-dêva*, beloved of the goddess of wealth and of the Earth, was reigning ; and the *Mahâsâmanta* Pandarasa of the Châlukya family was in charge of the *nidhi, nidhâna, nikshêpa* and *daṇḍa* of the Kadambaḷige one-thousand, Pandayya, (the same as above ?) made a grant of 12 *gadyâṇas* on behalf of a tank and of the Tribhuvana [malla]-dêvâlaya of Piṭṭagere. Although the record does not specify the reigning king as being a Châlukya, the mention of the word *Tribhuvana*[*malla*] in connection with the temple may be taken as indicating that the reigning king Vikramâditya was a Châlukya. And as the date cited corresponds quite regularly to **23rd January, 970**, one is tempted to identify this Vikramâditya with Vikramâditya IV, father of Taila II, and to infer that he, too, had perhaps the cognomen of Tribhuvanamalla like his namesakes Vikramâditya V and Vikramâditya VI.

And in favour of such a supposition can also be construed the fact that the provinces of Nolambavâḍi and Kadambaḷige were always the strongholds of the Châlukyas. Thus, after the overthrow of the Western Châlukyas of Bâdâmi by the Râshṭrakûṭas, we find governors of the Châlukya family ruling in these provinces, namely, the *Mahâsâmanta* Śûdrakayya, father of the Pandarasa mentioned above who was the governor of Kadambaḷige in 967, followed, later, in this office by his son Pandarasa. And similarly, after the overthrow of the Châlukyas by the Kaḷachuryas, we again find that the authority of the Châlukyan emperors Jagadêkamalla III and Sômêśvara IV Tribhuvanamalla was acknowledged, if not really, at least nominally, in these provinces.

Although there is thus nothing inherently improbable in the above supposition that Vikramâditya IV was ruling with supreme titles in A.D. 970, there are three things that tend to cast a doubt on its correctness. These are—(1) the fact that the reading of [Vikra]mâditya-dêva in the inscription, seems, so far as can be judged by an ink-impression of it, to be doubtful ; (2) the further fact that, according to an Adarguñchi inscription (*KLISI.* No. 104), the reigning king at that time was the Râshṭrakûṭa Nityavarsha-Khoṭṭiga who was followed in 972 by Kakka II ; and (3) the evidence of numerous Châlukyan inscriptions that it was Taila II (son of Vikramâditya IV) who dispossessed the Râshṭrakûṭas of their sovereignty.

These facts, however, are not conclusive and can all be otherwise explained. I nevertheless think it better that one should wait until some more evidence is forthcoming before one gives a place to Vikramâditya IV among the Châlukyan emperors.

His son was Taila II Âhavâmalla, who completely overthrew the Râshrakûṭas and became ruler in their stead. The date of his coming to power is given in a Gadag inscription (*KLISI.* No. 140) as the year Srîmukha, which must be taken as the southern luni-solar Srîmukha which corresponded to Saka 895 (=A.D. 973).

The earliest verifiable date we have for him is recorded in a Sogal inscription (*KLISI.* No. 141) and corresponds to **7th July, 978**; the latest is recorded in a Tâlgund inscription (*KLISI.* No. 145) and corresponds to 20th September, 996.[4]

Among his feudatories and officers (see *F. DKD.*, p. 428) must be mentioned the *Mahâsâmantâdhipati* Sântivarman of the Mâṭûra[5] family who was ruling the Sântaḷige one-thousand, the Eḍenâḍ seventy, and other divisions in A.D. 991 (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 477; p. 158); the *Mahâsâmanta* Jâtarasa who was ruling the Kadambaḷige one-thousand in 992 (*EC.* XI, Dg. 114; p. 129); and the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Chaṭṭu or Chaṭṭayya who was ruling the Banavâse twelve-thousand in A.D. 986 (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 413; p. 148).

An inscription at Hunavaḷḷi (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 529; p. 169) seems to indicate that Taila was reigning from Banavâse as headquarters in 985; and another inscription[6] at Ânĕgondi (in the Nizam's dominions), that he was reigning from Pampe[7] or Hampe on the southern bank of the Tuṅgabhadrâ as headquarter in 988.

He was succeeded in 998 by his son Irivabeḍaṅga Satyâśraya, who is said in an inscription at Hirî-Chavuṭi (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 234; p 76) to have been reigning in Saka 921, Vikârin or A.D. 999. The earliest verifiable date for him is 22nd March, 1002 given in an inscription at Gadag (*KLISI.* No. 146); the latest, 26th July, 1008 given in an inscription at Manawaḷḷi (*KLISI.* No. 148).

He was succeeded in about 1009 by Vikramâditya V Tribhuvanamalla, eldest son of his brother Daśavarman or Yaśôvarman. The earliest verifiable date for this Vikramâditya is 10th October, 1010 given in an inscription at Nellûru (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 471; p. 156); the latest, 29th December, 1012 given in an inscription at Karaḍihaḷḷi (*EC.* VII, Sk. 287; p. 259).

Among his feudatories and officers (see *F. DKD.* p. 434) must be included the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Chaṭṭayya mentioned above and the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Kundamarasa, who were the governors of the Banavâse twelve-thousand province in 1010 and 1012.

Vikramâditya V seems to have been succeeded in A.D. 1014 or a little earlier by his younger brother Ayyaṇa II. His name appears in the list of Châlukyan kings given by eight inscriptions[8]—three at Belgâme (*EC.* VII, Sk. 110; p. 149, Sk. 130; p. 177; with

[4] *VSSDI.*, p. 125, No. 193.

[5] For a brief account of some chiefs of this line, see Dr. Fleet in *EI.* XI, p. 5. Dr. Fleet has, however, there made use of some only out of the many inscriptions in *EC.* VIII that mention the chiefs of this family.

[6] A brief notice of this and other inscriptions at Ânĕgondi is given by Mr. Shama Shastry in the *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. VII, p. 285 ff. It is much to be desired that these inscriptions be properly edited.

[7] This was, later, the capital of the Vijayanagar Empire.

[8] There are four other inscriptions—*EC.* VII, Sk. 100; 137; 185 and *EC.* VIII, Sb. 277—which also seem to point to the succession and reign of Ayyana II. They all relate that there were two kings who reigned after Irivabeḍaṅga Satyâśraya and before Jayasiṁha II. The name of the earlier of these two kings is given by all as Vikramâditya, while the name of his successor is given as Ayyaṇa by Sk. 185 and as Daśavarman by the other three. All these four inscriptions commit a curious mistake in the genealogy by making Jayasiṁha II stand in the relation of a nephew to Vikramâditya V.

a date corresponding to 23rd January, 1072; Sk. 123; p. 164, of about 1158); one at Chikka-Mâgadi (*EC.* VII, Sk. 197; p. 213) of about 1181; one at Vucri (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 233; p. 74) with a date corresponding to 12th January, 1139; one at Bhâraṅgi (*ibid.*, Sb. 328; p. 116) of about A.D. 1158; and two at Harihara (*EC.* XI, Dg 41, p. 82; Dg. 35, p. 69) the former with a date corresponding to 26th October, 1147. He seems to have reigned for a short time only, which fact perhaps explains why no inscriptions of his reign have been so far discovered and why his name has been left out in the genealogies contained in many inscriptions

He was succeeded by his younger brother Jayasiṁha II who had the cognomen of Jagadêkamalla. He is represented by an inscription at Koḍakaṇi (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 16; p. 5) as reigning in Saka 937, Râkshasa or in A.D. 1015, and by another inscription at Sanda (*EC* VII, Sk. 125; p. 265) as reigning in Saka 938, Nala, or in A.D. 1016.

The earliest verifiable dates for him are **13th May, 1017** given in an inscription at Sâlûr (*EC.* VII, Sk. 285; p. 258) and **22nd December, 1017** [9] given in an inscription at Belgâme (*EC.* VII, Sk. 125; p. 173 = *KLISI.* No 152); the latest date is **25th April, 1042** given by two inscriptions at Âchâpura (*EC* VIII, Sa. 108 bis and 109 bis; p. 211ff.).

Among his feudatories and officers (see *F. DKD.*, pp. 436, 437) must be mentioned the *Mahâsâmantâdhipati* Sântayya or Sântivarman (*EC.* VIII., Sb. 60–64), the *Mahâsâmantâdhipati* Âlayya [10] and the *Mahâsâmantâdhipati* Jayasiṁha or Siṅgaṇa-dêva, son of above (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 184, p. 64)—all of the Mâṭûra family, and governors of the Edenâd seventy and other divisions in 1032, 1036 and 1037, Jagadêkamalla Nonamba-Pallava-Permmânadi of the Pallava lineage, who had the titles of *Samadhigata-pañcha-mahâśabda* and *Śrîpṛithvîvallabha* and was ruling the Kadambaḷige one-thousand, the Kogali five-hundred, the Ballukunde three-hundred, etc., in 1022 (*EC* XI, Mk 10; p. 161); Udayâditya-dêva and Jagadêkamalla Immadi-Nonamba-Pallava-Permmânadi, successors of the above, who were ruling the same provinces with the same *birudas* in 1033 (*EC.* XI, Dg 71, p 111) and 1037 (*EC.* XI, Dg. 126; p. 131); Mûkarasa, brother of the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Kuṇdamarasa and ruler of the Sântaḷige one-thousand in 1025 (*EC.* VIII, Sa. 7, p. 178); the *Mahâsâmanta* Satyâśraya, son of the above Kundamarasa and ruler of the Sântaḷige province in 1030 (*EC.* VII, Sk. 30; p 92); Brahmadêva[11] who was ruling the Banavâse twelve-thousand in 1032 (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 191; p. 66); the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Bijjarasa or Bijjaṇa of the Châlukya lineage and his brother the *Mahâsâmanta* Gôṇarasa who was ruling the Sântaḷige province in 1042 (*EC.* VIII, Sa. 108 bis, p. 211); the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Madhumarmadêva mentioned in a Kaṭṭe-Bennûr inscription of 1025 (No. 490 of 1914), [12] and the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Rêvarasa mentioned in a Yêwûr inscription of c. A.D. 1040 (*EI.* XII., p 269).

His capital or headquarter was at Tagarila in 1032 (*EC.* VII, Sk. 20a; p. 98) and at Ghaṭṭada-kere in 1038 (*EC.* VII, Sk. 153; p. 194).

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9 *VSSDI.*, p. 128; No. 203.

10 The *Mahâsâmantâdhipati* Âlayya is represented by the inscription as having been the governor of the Banavâse twelve-thousand and the Sântaḷige one-thousand provinces. He was killed at some time before 24th December, 1037 in a fight at Kuppagaḍḍe with the *Maṇḍalika* Kundama.

11 This Brahmadêva was the ruler of the Nâgarakhaṇḍa seventy in 1029 (*EC.* VII, Sk. 81; p. 108).

12 That is, No. 490 of the Madras Epigraphist's collection for 1914; and similarly in other such references.

Jayasimha was succeeded by his son Sômêśvara I, who had the double *biruda* of Trailôkyamalla-Âhavamalla. The earliest date for him is **23rd January, 1048** given by an inscription at Belgâme (*EC*. VII, Sk. 323; p. 273 = *KLISI*. No. 160)[13] and another at Hâli (*KLISI*. No. 159).[14] He died on the 29th or 30th of March, 1068 by entering the waters of the Tungabhadrâ as is related in another Belgâme inscription (*EC*. VII, Sk. 136; p. 181).

Among his queens (see *F. DKD*. p. 438) must be included Hoysala-dêvî who was his *piriy-arasi* or senior queen and was ruling from Kalyâṇi as capital[15] on **24th December, 1053** (*EC*. VII, Hl. 1; p. 275). And among his feudatories and officers (see *F. DKD*. p. 439) must be mentioned the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Lakshmarasa who was the governor of the Banavâse twelve-thousand in 1067 (*EC*. VII, Sk. 19, p. 88); Trailôkyamalla Nanni-Noḷamba-Pallava-Permmânaḍi, who, with the *birudas* of *Samadhigata-pañcha-mahâśabda* and *Śrîpṛithvîvallabha*, was ruling the Kadambaḷige one-thousand, Kogali five-hundred, and Ballukunde three-hundred in 1047 (*EC*. XI, Dg. 20; p. 49), his successor Narasiṅghadêva, who, with the same *birudas*, was ruling the above provinces in 1049 (*EC*. XI, Jl. 10; p. 151); Chôrayadeva, son of the above (*EC*. XI, Jl. 10, p 151), the *Mahâsâmantas* Eragarasa and Siriyamarasa of the Ahihaya family (*EI*. XII, p, 292), the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Satyâśrayadêva of the Mâṭûra family who was ruling the Eḍenâḍ seventy and other divisions in 1057 (*EC*. VIII, Sb. 500; p. 163); the *Mahâpradhâna Daṇḍanâyaka* Rûpabhaṭṭayya who was governing the 18 *agrahâras* and the *vaḍḍarâvula* in 1065 (*EC*. VII, Sk. 110; p. 197); the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Udayâditya who was ruling the Banavâse and Sântaḷige provinces in 1065 (*EC*. VIII, Sb. 249; p. 78); the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Trailôkyamalla Vîra-Sântara who was ruling the Sântaḷige one-thousand in 1062 (*EC*. VIII, Nr. 58; p. 278); and the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Trailôkyamalla Bhujabala-Sântara who was ruling the same province in 1067 (*EC*. VIII, Nr. 59, p. 279).

We learn from a Belgâme inscription (*EC*. VII, Sk. 169; p. 197) that his capital or headquarter in 1067 was Kâdaravaḷḷi or Kâdarôḷi.

He was succeeded by his eldest son, Sômêśvara II, surnamed Bhuvanaikamalla, who was anointed on the throne on **11th April, 1068** (*EC*. VII, Sk. 136; p. 181) about 13 days after the death of his father. The latest date for him is **24th January, 1076** given by an inscription at Kâdarôḷi (*KLISI*. No. 178).[16]

An inscription at Torevanda (*EC*. VIII, Sb. 299; p. 108) dated, seemingly, in 1069 shows that his capital (*nelevîdu*) at that time was Baṅkâpura; and another at Nîralgi (*F. DKD*., p. 444) dated in 1074 also relates that the king was then at Baṅkâpura. It would thus seem that Sômêśvara II lived more at Baṅkâpura than at Kalyâṇi. To the list of his feudatories given by Dr. Fleet (*DKD*. p. 443), we must add the name of the Kâdamba *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Kîrttivarman II who was ruling the Banavâse province in 1071 (*EC*. VIII, Sb. 387; p. 112).

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[13] *VSSDI*., p. 134; No. 216.

[14] *VSSDI*., p. 129; No. 204.

[15] Dr. Fleet has pointed out (*DKD*., p. 440, n. 8) that the earliest mention of Kalyâṇi as capital is in an inscription at Kembhâvi of 1053. To this we have now to add the Honnâḷi inscription likewise dated in 1053. As an inscription at Muttagadûr (*EC*. XI, Hk. 65, p. 205) mentions that Trailôkyamalla was ruling from Bandaṇikeya-ghaṭṭa in 1051, it seems likely that the capital was removed to Kalyâṇi at some time in 1052 or 1053.

[16] *VSSDI*., p. 114; No. 160.

Sômêśvara II was succeeded by his brother Vikramâditya VI who forcibly deposed Sômêśvara and had himself anointed on the throne. It is difficult to determine in which year this event took place. For, on the one hand, we have seen from the Kâdarôḷi inscription that Sômêśvara II was the reigning king on 24th January, 1076. On the other hand, an inscription at Hulêgundi (*EC.* XI, Cd. 82; p. 32) records that, when the reign of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja Paramêśvara Paramabhaṭṭâraka* Tribhuvanamalla-dêva was ever increasing in prosperity, the *Mahâsâmanta* Maṅgiy-Êchayya who was a dweller at the lotus-feet of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja Paramêśvara* Trailôkyamalla-Noḷamba-Pallava-Permmânadi Jayasiṁha-dêva (*i.e.* of prince Jayasiṁha III), and who was ruling the Sûḷgallu seventy, made a grant of lands to some temples on the occasion of *uttarâyaṇa-saṅkrânti* on Monday, the eighth day of the dark fortnight of Pushya in the year Saka 995, Pramâdîcha. And, similarly, an inscription at Hûvinahaḍagalli (No. 127 of 1913) records that the king Tribhuvanamalla, while he was encamped at Gôvindavâḍi, made the grant of a village to a temple on the occasion of *vyatîpâta* on Friday, the eighth day of the dark fortnight of Phâlguna in the year Saka 993, Sâdhâraṇa. The dates of these two inscriptions correspond quite regularly to **Monday, 23rd December, A.D. 1073** and **Friday, 25th February, A.D. 1071**; and they show that in 1071 and 1073 it was Vikramâditya VI and not his brother Sômêśvara Bhuvanaikamalla who was recognised as sovereign ruler in the Kogali five-hundred and the Kadambalige one-thousand province (of which the Sûḷgallu seventy was a subdivision).

The overlapping dates of these epigraphs go to show that Vikramâditya VI made himself independent of Sômêśvara II and assumed sovereign titles at some time before December, 1073 or February, 1071, that he and Sômêśvara were both ruling as emperors for some time, and that ultimately Sômêśvara was dispossessed of his sovereignty at some time after **25th December, 1074** (*KLISI.* No. 177) or **23rd January, 1076** (*KLISI.* No. 178). The inscriptions thus confirm the account given by Bilhaṇa in his *Vikramâṅkadêvacharita* (cantos IV, V, VI) that Sômêśvara II was a weak and tyrannical ruler who oppressed, and alienated the affections of, his subjects, that he meditated evil towards his brother Vikramâditya, and that Vikramâditya, learning of this, left the capital with his brother Jayasiṁha and a large force, defeated the army sent against him by Sômêśvara, and eventually deposed him and had himself crowned as emperor.

On p. 83ff. of my book (*SSDI*), I have discussed the question of the starting-point of the Châlukya-Vikrama era which was founded by Vikramâditya after he had himself anointed as emperor. I have there shown that the majority of the dates recorded in that era favour the view that the era began in the year A.D. 1076.[17] And I am accordingly disposed to think that the correct equivalent of the date recorded in the Waḍagêri[18] inscription is *Thursday, 11th February, 1076*, and that Vikramâditya was anointed as emperor on that day or shortly before that day. As he had assumed imperial titles at some time before December, 1073 (or February, 1071), as we saw above, there is thus an interval of two (four) years and some months between that event and his anointment on the throne.

(*To be continued*)

[17] I may here add that since I wrote those pages I have examined nearly a hundred more dates recorded in that era and that the great majority of these dates, too, have confirmed me in the view expressed above.

[18] For a discussion of the equivalents of this date, see *VSSDI.*, p. 84.

MAURYANA.

BY ARUN SEN, B.A. (CANTAB.); CALCUTTA.

In connection with my lectures to the Post-Graduate Students of the Calcutta University I have had occasion to study Mauryan Sculpture. I find I am unable to agree with the various theories archæologists have hitherto promulgated. The reasons which lead me to this conclusion are set forth in this paper with the hope that they will receive an impartial consideration from scholars interested in the subject.

The theories referred to resolve themselves into the following :—

(1) Mauryan Sculpture was executed by a Persian.

(2) Ditto imitated from Persian.

(3) It may have been done by an Asiatic Greek.

(*Vide* Vincent Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 60; Sir John Marshall's *A Guide to Sanchi*, pp. 9 and 10, Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. I, pp. 58–60.)

The theories are based upon the following :—

(1) Some Aśokan pillars which unfortunately want both abacus and capital, *e.g.*, Delhi Topra, Delhi, Meerut, Allahabad, Lauria Araraj, Sanchi, Rummindei, Nigliva.

(2) Columns more or less complete, *e.g.*—

(i) Sârnâth.

(ii) Saṅkisa.

(iii) Lauria Nandangarh,—(*a*) Lion.

(iv) Ditto —(*b*) Bull.

(v) Bakhira.

(3) Certain other sculptures in the round which we shall deal with later.

To take the columns first,—

(i) They all apparently lack a base. I have nowhere found any reference to one. At any rate in the only column which appears to have successfully resisted the ravages of time, the Barbarian and the Archæologist, there is no base.

(ii) Then comes the shaft, which is round and highly polished—extremely elongated, and in most cases slightly tapering. The Bakhira column, however, is short, very thick and not tapering. From the slight attenuation towards the top, archæologists have concluded a wooden origin,—why, I fail to see. I did not kno wthat the trunk of a tree tapered towards one end. And even if it did, it would not prove anything. If the tree stumps used in modern huts be taken as a clue (they do not taper in the least bit); of this later.

(iii) Then comes the capital—which contains the following decorations :—

(*a*) 4 wheels alternating with the 4 animals, the lion, bull, horse and the elephant in Sârnâth.

(*b*) In Saṅkisa—the lotus followed by the so-called honey-suckle, then the rush ornament carved all round. This is placed above the "cable ornament" and "the bead and reel." I apologise for the terminology, which I here adopt to save confusion.

(*c*) In both the Lauria Nandangarh Columns—the row of geese with heads downwards apparently pecking at something. This according to Vincent Smith is in basrelief. Ideas of basso, mezzo and alto do not appear to be a constant quantity.

(*d*) In Bakhira—it is a rectangle above the cable.

(*e*) In Allahabad—there is the so-called honey-suckle, etc. In most it is circular—except at Bakhira where it is rectangular.

(*N.B.*—What is called a honey-suckle ornament by some is called a palmette by Vincent Smith. Apparently they are not sure which plant it is supposed to represent).

In each case these decorations surmount "a bell capital"—'so-called' because firstly it is not a capital, and secnodly it is not a bell. The eye which does not trace in it a representation of a lotus—an inverted lotus must be singularly blind.

(iv) The Abacus, which is invariably zoophorous.

(*a*) In Sârnâth the animals are four lions.

(*b*) Saṅkisa—1 elephant.

(*c*) Lauria Nandangarh—1 lion.

(*d*) Ditto —1 bull.

(*e*) Bakhira —1 lion.

We must discuss the general characters of these columns before we begin to ascertain whether there is any resemblance with Persian which the Pèrsomaniacs fancy they have detected.

(*a*) These columns do not support any wall, or any cornice—there is not the faintest trace of any building anywhere. They are simply landmarks of the progress of the piety of the monarch. (*b*) They are all in grey sandstone. (*c*) They are highly polished and hence there is no scope for the addition of any kind of plaster, stucco or clay. (*d*) The high polish also negatives the superimposition of any colour. (*e*) Nor is there any reason to believe that they were encased in metal or enamel plate. (*f*) The technical quality of the whole is of a highly developed kind. It bears the stamp of the uttermost decadence, thus presupposing the existence of the two previous periods of art of this type—the classical and the primitive. The extraordinary realism of each detail cannot fail to attract notice, nor the infinite care which has been devoted to the delineation of each detail. The rapid and easy transition in any sculptured piece, from relief of one kind to another, from basso to mezzo, from mezzo to alto, without any abruptness, (vulgarly without chipping off a bit of a brittle material like sandstone), also the delicate modelling, *e.g.* of the legs and the body of the elephant, the geese, the tendrils (?) of the lotus—all are indications of an advanced stage of sculpture. The proportions which would make them classical sculpture are there, only the Promethean spark is absent. It is not primitive—because it is not in the least degree stiff. We must now come to details:

(1) *Material.*—Aśokan columns are invariably made of monolithic grey sandstone. In Persia various materials are used—a limestone of good quality—some varieties are so hard as to deserve the name of marble—so fine, so hard and so close-grained. These rocks vary in colour—from light to deep-grey, with here and there yellowish and dark brown tones. Other materials—artificial stones, burnt brick, crude brick, also a kind of plaster—white and as hard as stone—are used (Perrot and Chipiez, pp. 47-48). It is clear that the materials used in Persia were different and there is no evidence that they were familiar with grey sandstone. It would have taken them some time to adapt themselves to the exigencies of the strange material. Their first attempt with a new material could hardly have yielded such "precious" products. It is one of the axioms of Art that a new material baffles the artist for ages, before it ultimately yields to him.

(2) *Base.*—I have observed above that Maurya columns have no base—in Persia they invariably have that appendage. And the reason is not far to seek—if Persian structures are inspired by the huts of peasants, such as those that we see now and which doubtless existed in profusion in those times, the reason becomes apparent. The truth is that Persian structures are built from wooden models—and some stone was necessary to prevent the access of damp to the wooden columns. See Perrot and Chipiez, p. 98. The Persian base presents an infinite variety—a rectangular piece and above it, a series of concentric circles bulging in the middle ; a bell highly decorated with rosettes, &c., and above a round superstructure, &c. (Observe that this bell does not present any point of similarity with the lotus or even a conventionalised lotus—there is not the faintest indication of a leaf, a petal or tendril). Also a highly conventional ornament of a highly decorative type which is utterly divergent from any decoration found in India. See Perrot and Chipiez, pp. 88, 89, 91 and 93 ; for other bases, Dieulafoy II, pp. 82-85.

(3) *Shaft.*—In India it is plain, round, highly polished. In Persia there is no mention of any polish. That would not be necessary, because of the coating of paint, plaster or metal which would usually be added. Secondly, it is almost invariably fluted. The only coincidence is that they sometimes taper in Persia (Dieulafoy), in India almost invariably. The base would naturally have to be heavier and therefore thicker to counteract the law of gravitation with the increase of length. This would be eminently necessary. The respective height cannot be compared from photos—which are at best misleading. In Persia columns are never monolithic, in the Mauryan period, always. It is very strange that Indian art which merely imitated Persian should have made that experiment at the very outset.

The vast majority of Persian shafts are fluted, three given in Dieulafoy are plain—II, p. 83, figs. 59, 60 and 61. But evidently the plaster (which would be fluted) has peeled off. All these three are very rough in appearance which is opposed to the spirit and grain of Persian art. Lastly Perrot and Chipiez assert—(p. 87)—"It is fluted in all instances save in the façades of the Necropolis at Persepolis (Pl. 1) and the single column that still remains of the Palace of Cyrus in the upland valley of the Polvar (fig. 11). In the latter case the building dates from a time when Persian art had not constituted itself and was as yet groping to strike out a path of its own. On the contrary the rock-cut tombs which are coeval with the Palaces of Darius and Xerxes, and if in them the shaft is plain it was because the vaults stood a considerable height above ground. To have them fluted would have reduced the column still further and divested it from a frank clear aspect."

(4) *Capital.*—The lower element of all capitals in India is a lotus—represented with extraordinary realism—with even the veins, and the slight curves found at the tip of the leaves. (*N.B.*—Mauryan Art is always realistic—Persian Art never.) The inverted lotus bulges at the bottom, narrows down in the middle and again bulges at the top—exactly as a full-blown lotus would do. Below this, there is the "cable" as well as above it, together with the "bead and reel." The prototype of the cable is the rope, (as well as of the reel) and the bead must also have been found in profusion in India (if it is really a bead). As Aśokan art was eminently realistic, they transferred these common objects to stone (unless it be the contention of the European archæologist that Indians borrowed the rope from the West). What is called a bead and reel may also be a different variety of rope. Nothing similar is found in Persia—to judge from the plates in Perrot and Chipiez,

pp. 91—97. Above this is a round (or rectangular) piece with a bas-relief of various plants. Fergusson failing to find an analogy in Persia has to rush to Assyria for a prototype. What he calls the honey-suckle is dubbed a palmette by Vincent Smith as has been stated above. At any rate one discerns a lotus on the flat, an ornament which must have been meant to represent a plant of the screw-piece variety, (or even a fading lotus), the last must have been leaves swaying with the wind and curled up in various manners—treated of course as decoration. Figure 5 in Fergusson, page 57, is misleading—it is essentially different from that in the Indian Museum, also from the plates in Vincent Smith—(probably another case of a theory based on an incorrect illustration).

The Sârnâth column presents a different type. The four animals alternating with wheels are represented with great fidelity. The modelling is delicate, the bull is typically Indian and the transition from basso to alto (which is the insignia of an extremely advanced art) is very clear; some of the spokes of the wheel appear to be in deeper relief than others. (Wiekoff observes that it was to the credit of Roman art to have discovered "Illusionism" which is utterly absent in Greek art. To explain the term in a crude manner :—illusionism is the gradation of a relief—where the artist begins with a few scratches on his medium and gradually intensifies his depth. After attaining his maximum depth he allows it to die down again). The four animals represent the four points of the compass—North, South, East, West. In Persian art, we strive in vain to discover any similarity to any of these features. The lowest point is a decorative bell—without any bulging—without any delineation of any of the veins of the lotus—with the lines pointing strictly downwards. This is connected with the next element by a pyramidal decoration.

The next is a bulging cylinder supporting egg-shaped ovolo—engraved with a pattern. Above the egg-shaped ovolo, we find a plaque with the same pattern; and lastly, above this and just below the abacus is a unique and typical ornament with five cylinders separated by straight lines and terminating on both sides with brackets ending in rosettes —there being four rosettes on each side, two above and two below separated by blank spaces. I shall not comment on the perspicacity of those who detect any resemblance between an abacus of this type and an Indian abacus.

(*N.B.*—There is no gradual transition in relief in any of these decorations judging from plates.) The vast majority of Persian capitals conforms to this type, while in one or two the abacus is made to rest on the shaft. See Perrot and Chipiez, pp. 91-95, 326, 328, 336, Dieulafoy, Vol. II.

(5) *Abacus.*—The Aśokan entablature is zoophorus. In Sârnâth, four lions are placed in close juxta-position Regarding it from the front we see two lions only with the backs to each other (exactly contrary to the Persian design). In the others single animals are depicted—the bull, the elephant and the horse (apparently in Rummindei). They are all extremely realistic (which is antagonistic to Persian sculpture). The curves of the body, of the face, and the hair are executed with extreme precision, the mane falls in ringlets, (congealed ringlets), the protuberance of the cheek muscles and the deep shading beneath; the nostrils, the pucker of the flesh around the curve of the tongue, the sweep of the eye, the straight pose of the leg, with the slightly perceptible muscle—all these differ from the Persian art. which treats the animals as conventionalised designs. These lions indicate a sense of form which, however, has deteriorated immensely. It is the art of an æsthete—a sense of form without rhythm.

In the elephant we find the broad generalisation which is so characteristic of Indian sculpture. There too the same characteristics are evident. The bull recalls even a medieval painting or scuplture, the curves are sweeping, the hump, the well-rounded body, the slack ears (which are even marked inside), the easy fall of the legs—do not certainly recall Persia.

We shall now describe the differences with Persian animals.

The animals represented in Persia are also the lion and the bull—but the lion is a conventional design with horns. The animal is thick set and the curve of the neck is exaggerated, the mane is scanty and brushed, being engraved with straight cuts with the chisel, the ear is straight and stiff, the lobe is a curve (ogee), the eye is wider, the nose is aquiline, terminating in a stump, there are horses, the legs stick out at right angles, three cheek muscles are represented (not one as in India).

What is called the bull is a unicorn. The proportions of the animal are not as well-rounded or delicate. The horn is of an ogee shape, the neck is an absolute arch, four lines are drawn over the eyes. Fillettes (with rosettes) are attached wherever possible. The legs protrude in a characteristic manner. It is a design, not an animal, not of the same world as the Indian bull. There is just one representation of an Indian bull in Persepolis—Perrot and Chipiez, p. 407; but the sculptor betrays his want of skill, it is the crude attempt of an artist who is endeavouring to create something entirely novel. It is a bas-relief not a sculpture in the round, it is not as slack as the Indian prototype, the mouth is of a different shape, the udder is not wholly shewn—it is a more elongated specimen. (From indications like these we can argue that Persia borrowed *motifs* and styles from India.)

These animals on the Persian entablature are placed in their characteristic position to support the wooden beams on top, which are made to rest on the horns, and on the backs surmounted by a stone, and that is the invariable rule.

Now that we have dealt with the animals, we shall pass on.

(1) If a Persian artist had executed Aśokan sculpture, he would have carved an essentially Persian thing or at least would have betrayed his nationality by the representation of some feature characteristically Persian. No adaptation would seem to be necessary and the Persian column would have served Aśoka's purpose just as well.

(2) If an Indian had merely imitated from Persia,—

(i) there would be some Persian characteristic in his art;

(ii) the art would not have been realistic, but conventional;

(iii) if Flinders Petrie is correct that a design is borrowed from a natural form then very many of the Persian designs must have been borrowed from that primitive art, of which Maurya is the decadence—*e.g.*, the Persian palmette must have been derived from the Indian lotus;

(iv) the spirit of Mauryan art would not have been so essentially divergent—there would have been more colour and less sombreness. Mauryan art never stoops to those subterfuges, with which artists of every age have tried to conceal their lack of thought;

(v) the numerous decorations of Persia (or at least some of them) would have been represented. It is useless to multiply arguments to refute an absurdity.

Lastly, we come to sculpture in the round:

(3) *Sculpture in the round*: of which we found three of the Maurya period:

(1) Colossal female statue from Besenagar,

(2) Ditto Mathurâ Museum.

(3) Ditto Victoria and Albert Museum

(which is in red sandstone, a material never employed in Persia).

From (1) we irrefutably conclude the existence of a very old art before it. Mark how well the plaited hair is represented, how clear are the incisions for the eye, how careful and how æsthetic the execution of the jewellery, *e.g.*, in the rings of the *Mekhalâ*, each one is smaller than the one which follows (*cf.* Wiekoff). The same remark may be applied to the folds of the cloth in front. The drapery presents unique features.

In (2) the same characteristics are seen—the eyes are straight-cut (typical of Indian art), the ears are long, the arms are well-rounded and smooth, there is also the typical protuberance of the belly, the folds of the garments hanging down in front are marked with clear outlines. The cords bound round the body are very definite, the pose is typical, the chest broad, the waist thin, the belly treated like the figure 8, the support of the body on one leg, the other leg being slightly bent forward—he has no beard. In vain we look for the stylisée figures of Persia, for winged monsters, and long processions of sycophants bowing down before the King of kings. In Persia there is practically no sculpture in the round, the monsters guarding the entrances are direct importation from Assyria where the number of legs indicate the absence of development of sculpture. The bas-reliefs are confined to a few themes—king with heavy beards, and before him a long train of courtiers, one standing behind the other, all in the same position. There is no generalisation of form—other figures are all alike—the dress is different, the pose is different—in short there is no feature in common. Even an outsider who compares the combat of the lion and the bull in Perrot and Chipiez, p. 434, might draw an illuminating conclusion The wheel depicted in Perrot and Chipiez, p. 404, is totally divergent from the Aśokan wheel. Some of the figures are covered over with enamel—which is the last degradation of sculpture.

In Persia, art is full of all that is banal and vulgar—features which are absent in India.

And a person who still persists in saying that Indian art is derived from Persia must be blind, dull and perverse.

Sir John Marshall seems to think that the style is Perso-Greek and the figures were carved by a Bactrian. It is hard to realise the full import of this statement. If he means that the style is Persian, the technique Greek, the handiwork Bactrian and the soil Indian, the onus of proving this apotheosis of internationalism is on him. From the standpoint of the Philosophy of Æsthetics, this combination would be unjustifiable. If the style is Persian the other incidents would tend to be Persian, and so on.

Greek Art.—The contention of some critics who discern a similarity between Mauryan and Greek art does not call for any comment. As Gardner points out, Mauryan art is more mature than Greek art of the same period,—*a fortiori* from colonial Greek art. I quote Vincent Smith (p. 58)—"But—as Professor Percy Gardner observes—there can be no doubt that Indian art had an earlier history. The art of Aśoka is a mature art, in some respects more mature than the Greek art of the time, though of course, far inferior to it at least in our eyes." It is unfortunate that we have to quote Gardner to prove what is apparent even to the untrained observer.

NOTES ON AŚOKA INSCRIPTIONS.

BY K. P. JAYASWAL, M.A. (OXON.), BAR.-AT-LAW; BANKIPORE.

THE TERM ASHASHU IN ROCK SERIES XIII.

The passage

> "iha cha sa[vre]shu cha aṁteshu ashashu pi yojanaśa[te]shu yatra Aṁtiyoko nama Yonaraja . . . . . ava Taṁbapaṁniya"
>
> —*Shahbâzgaḍhi* (ls. 8-9).

has been translated by Bühler as follows—" both here . . . and over all his neighbours, even as far as six hundred *yojanas*, where the King of the Yonas, called Aṁtiyoka *dwells* . . . . as far as Taṁbapaṁni"—*Ep. Ind.*, II, 471.

This is the accepted translation.

The expression under consideration is *Ashashu*. European scholars have taken it as equivalent of *Á-shaṭsu*, 'up to six'. This interpretation is objectionable. *Sha* for six is nowhere met with in Pâli. In Aśoka's inscriptions themselves we have for six *saḍu*, as in "Pillar Edict" IV (*saḍuvîsati*). The chief emphasis is on *ashashu*, because *pi* is after that and not after *yojanaśateshu*. This is a further indication that the word has got nothing to do with six. For, why should six be emphasised? Six by itself is in no way extraordinary. The value of the *yojana* is now known: 4·54 miles (Fleet, *Translation of Kauṭilya's Arthaśâstra*, p. 541). If the old interpretation is accepted the distance between Syria (where Antiochus was living) and Pâṭaliputra would be roughly 2,800 miles. But this is far too short of the overland route from Patna to Syria. It is also noteworthy that for 'as far as' in the same inscription *ava* (as in 'ava Taṁbapaṁniya') is used.[1]

I am inclined to interpret *ashashu* as a country-name: 'Here and all over the neighbouring countries, even in (that part of) Asia where Antiochus (dwells), which is 100 *yojanas* (in length).' This was the place where Aśoka had achieved his *dharmavijaya* or conquest by religion. In other words, not throughout the whole of the Empire of Antiochus but in Syria only he succeeded in propagating Buddhism, and this portion of Syria, according to the information received by the Emperor (evidently from his missionaries) was 100 *yojanas* in length. Hundred *yojanas* will be above 450 miles, a measurement which tallies very well with the actual measurement of Syria under Antiochus. *Yojanaśateshu* qualifies the preceding *Ashashu*.[2]

The Greeks associated the name Asia with the country east of Greece. The limit was not definite to the east, but it was more closely connected with the immediate east (Asia Minor and the neighbourhood). Aśoka is using the expression as the Greeks at the time, or rather the court of Antiochus, used it. Asia originally was an eastern term and Aśoka is employing not the Greek feminine form but the base with the Indian inflexion to denote a country. It is noticeable that the pronunciation is preserved in all the recensions, the *sh* is not allowed to become dental. Probably in the time of Aśoka Persia was distinguished by its name from the rest of Western Asia, Asia Minor and Syria, which alone were called Asia in the narrow sense.

[1] The use of *â* is, however, not unknown, for instance, see Rock II (Girnâr—*â Taṁbapaṁni*).

[2] Another possible interpretation is "*Even in Asia, over hundreds of yojanas.*"

MISCELLANEA.

IDENTIFICATION OF SOME OF THE POST-ANDHRABHṚITYA RULERS OF THE PURANIC LIST.

(1) Satrap Vanaspara.

The *Vâyu-Purâṇa*,[1] after it closes the so-called Andhra Dynasty, gives a brief notice of the dynasties which sprang up [2] while the Andhras were still reigning (अन्ध्राणां संस्थिता:[3] पञ्च तेषां वंश: समा: पुन: ; 37, 352), whom the other Puraṇas imply to have been once subordinate to the Andhras (sâtavâhanas) by their term *bhṛityânvaya*. After them there are described mushroom, contemporaneous dynasties and communities (उदितोदितवंशास्ते उदितास्तमितास्तथा. 37, 384). Amongst the latter there is one name which we can probably identify with the **Vanaspara** of the Sâranâtha inscription of Bala.

It is **Viśvaphâni** (37, 271). It is spelt as Viśvaphatika in the *Vishṇu*, as Viśvaphati in the *Brahmâṇḍa*, as Viśvasphâni in Hall's MS. of the *Vâyu*, and as Viśvasphârji and Viśvasphûrji in the *Bhâgavata*.[4] Out of these we may assume **Viśvasphari** as the nearest form of the original word. As in the case of Kusâla=Kunâla,[5] we may assume a confusion between Viśvasphari and Vinvasphari or rather between Vinasphari[6] and Viśaspâari, the latter in its turn becoming Sanskritised as Visvasphari.

Now **Vinasphari**[7] can be easily recognised as the **Vanaspara** of the Sâranâtha statue inscription.

The history which we get of Vinasphari is noteworthy for two points.

(*a*) it gives us the extent of the empire of Kâṇishka (if my identification be correct) ;

(*b*) it gives us also the administrative policy of Vinasphara, and therefore probably of his race, in India.

The *Vâyu* gives 10 *Ślokârdhas* to this man, which is the longest account of an individual ruler in the post-*Mahâ-Bhârata* list. Vanasphara's was recent history in the authority from which the *Vâyu* borrowed it, as it is stated there ' he is called क्लीबाकृति: ' (374). No doubt his contemporaries were very much impressed by him ; he was " in battle as powerful as Vishṇu."

The complete passage is as follows :—

मागधानां महावीर्यो विश्वस्फानिर्भविष्यति ॥ ३७१
उत्साद्य पार्थिवान् सर्व्वान् सोऽन्यान् वर्णान् करिष्यति
कैवर्त्तान् पञ्चकांश्चैव पुलिन्दान् ब्राह्मणांस्तथा ॥ ३७२
विश्वस्फाणिर्महासत्वो युद्धे विष्णुसमोबली ॥ ३७३
स्थापयिष्यन्ति (sic.) राजानो नानादेशेषु तेजसा ।
विश्वस्फानिर्नरपति: क्लीबाकृतिरिवोच्यते ।
उत्सादयति क्षत्रन्तु क्षत्रमन्यत् करिष्यति ॥ ३७४
देवान् पितृंश्च विप्रांश्च तर्पयित्वा सकृत्पुन: ।
जाह्नवीतीरमासाद्य शरीरं यस्यति बली ॥ ३७५

The purport of the last two lines in the copy of the *Brahmâṇḍa* which was before Hall is expressed differently, viz., " the king committed suicide by throwing himself into the Ganges."[8] Here the *Brahmâṇḍa* as I have noticed in several other instances seems to give a more faithful account.

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[1] *Bibliotheca Indica* edition by Rajendra Lala Mitra, 1888. In many particulars it contains valuable information which the other editions and also the MSS. which I have seen in Calcutta do not contain. [This note was written in September, 1913.]

[2] These rivals were five (संस्थिता: पञ्च), *viz.*, the Âbhîras, the Gardabhins, the Śakas, the Yavanas, the Tusharas (= Tokharis). The Maruṇḍas or Muruṇḍas the Maunas, and the Andhras [acc. to the *Matsya*, the *Śri-Parvata Andhras*, 273 ; 17, 18. 23] evidently followed the five contemporaries of the Andhra Sâtavâhanas. Their periods are given in the *Vâyu* 37, 352 to 358.

[3] Wilson takes the संस्थिता *viz.*, " on their close," but the *Purâṇas* never use this term to denote the close of a dynasty. They use *uchchhinna*, *anta*, *pariyâya*. The periods given to them also prove, in the light of verified facts, that the specified five dynasties did spring up under the Sâtavâhana régime.

[4] W. and H., *Vishṇu*, IV., 217. Cf. *Brahmâṇḍa* (Bombay ed.), *Bhâgavata* (Vanga-Vâsî ed.), XII. I.

[5] W. and H., IV., 189 ; *Vâyu*, 37, (*Bibl. Ind.*).

[6] Cf. *Svâtikarṇi* (*M.*, 273, 6) = *Sâtikarṇi*.

[7] The form Vanasphara (with *ph* instead of *p* only as in the Sâranâtha inscription) seems to be more correct. A 'râjapût' clan called " Banâphara " were living in the days of King Prithvirâja Chauhâna. Âlhâ and Ûdala, whose heroism is sung in ballads in Hindustan, were Banâpharas who were regarded as a low race, as none would give girls to them in marriage. These Banâphara Râjpûts may be still living near Mahoba, the centre of Âlhâ and Ûdala. They are found at present in the district of Mirzapur, U.P.

[8] I do not find it in the Bombay edition.

The *Vishṇu* has मद्रकाः in place of मागधकाः. It is significant that he is not called 'king' in the *Bhâgavata*, nor in the first five lines of the *Vâyu*, that is, the passage quoted by the *Vâyu* from its first authority, for these alone are known to the *Bhâgavata* and *Vishṇu*. Verse 373 which stands in the air and implies a mere repetition is introduced only for the information क्लीबाकृतिरिवोच्यते. This as well as the succeeding verses might have been newly composed by one of the last authors of the *Vâyu*, who was trying to give an abstract of another authority. Thus it is very probably in his own version that Vinasphari is called नरपति and related to have established a new *kshattra* and to have been orthodox.

Vinasphari seems to have suppressed little rulers of Magadha (पार्थिवान् सर्वान्) who had sprung up there when the Sâtavâhana empire became weak (according to the *Vâyu* after Hâla, *i.e.*, after c 55 A D.). It also appears that to the exclusion of the Kshatriyas he employed other castes as district rulers. They were the Kaivartas (= one of the aboriginal tribes of lower Magadha), Pâñchakas (Pañchamas ?), Pulindas and Brahmans. In the *Bhâgavata* instead of Brahmans we have प्रजाश्चा ब्रह्मभूयिष्ठाः स्थापयिष्यति दुर्मतिः "That wicked (fellow) will establish (in authority) subjects mainly non-Brahmanical." I think the *Vâyu* and the *Vishṇu* have mistaken *a-brahma* for Brâhma. Instead of *Pañchakas* the *Bhâgavata* has *Yadrus* and *Madrakas* (?) and the *Vishṇu*, *Yadus or Padus*. He thus generally established in Magadha non-Brahmanic and distant races in authority. On the whole his rule and policy were regarded as abnormal.

His eunuch-like appearance probably refers to his Mongolian features, sparse of moustaches and beard. He was of a gigantic frame (महासत्त्व), and a great warrior He seems to have been a capable lieutenant of Kanishka, extending his dominions up to Magadha. It was probably he who dug up Buddhist relics and sent them to his master on the North Western frontier.

(2) **Yama.**

The abovementioned "king of the Mâhishis" is called Śakyamâ in the Vâyu. This we can analyse as *Śaka* + *yamâ*. He must have been one of the **Yamas** whose coins have been grouped under Mâlava by Mr. V. Smith in his *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum* (pp. 174, 176), and very probably the one mentioned at p. 176 whose coin is found "in characters of about A.D. 100."

K. P. JAYASWAL.

BOOK-NOTICE.

A HISTORY OF THE MARATHA PEOPLE, by C. A. KINCAID, C.V.O., I.C.S. and RAO BAHADUR D. B. PARASNIS. Vol. I. — From the Earliest Times to the Death of Shivaji. Pp. 294.

ALMOST a century ago, Captain James Grant Duff published his monumental work. Since then many new manuscripts illuminating many dark corners of Maratha history have been brought to light. The labours of scholars like Rajwade and Parasnis have been mainly devoted to the sifting and editing of these documents, but very little has been done for making the results of their researches available in a handy form to the public in general. Mr. Sardesai's *Marathi Riasat*, written in Marathi, is a closed book to the ordinary student who does not know that language. The late Mr. Ranade's little volume gives much food for thought and points out an altogether new angle of vision, but the great scholar died too early to finish his work, and many of the new documents now available, were still undiscovered in his time. The necessity of a work as has been now undertaken by Messrs Kincaid and Parasnis is therefore undeniable.

In dealing with Maratha history, we are confronted with the double danger of being either led astray by the prejudice and bias of earlier European writers, or of being hopelessly entangled in the thickets of legends in which the Maratha chroniclers revelled. For the first hundred pages, the path before our authors lay clear and straight

Mr Kincaid has nicely summarized the work of one of the greatest Indian scholars, Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, and for the Muhammadan period he has depended mainly on Ferishta. His charming style makes the volume extremely readable, and we have no doubt that Messrs. Kincaid and Parasnis will have a hearty reception from those who have no leisure to enter into the intricacies of the history of the Marathas.

For the materials of Shivaji's biography, our authors have depended on four *Bakhars*. The earliest of these is the *Sabhâsad*, and written only a few years after Shivaji's death, it is to our estimate, the most trustworthy. It is to be noted that Shivaji had been deified even in his life-time, and although Sabhâsad's credulity was not much above the average, his *Bakhar* wants many of the wonderful anecdotes to be found in the later chronicles. The next important *Bakhar* is that of Chitnis and it is twice as large as the *Sabhâsad*. Captain Grant Duff mainly relied on Chitnis. The *Shivadigvijaya Bakhar* is the biggest of the three and abounds in many improbable stories. It is on this *Bakhar* that our authors have mainly relied. Yet its authorship and date of composition are very uncertain, and for all we know it may be a spurious work. In spite of all that Messrs. Nândurbârkar and Dândekar, the joint editors of the *Shivadigvijaya*, have to say, it is very difficult to believe that Khando Ballal Chitnis could have been its author. The question, however, has been already discussed by Mr. Rajwade, and, for further discussion we should refer the reader to a volume of selections from the *Bakhars* to be shortly published by the Calcutta University. Yet it may be incidentally mentioned here, that a few years ago Prof. Jadu Nath Sarkar obtained from the India Office Library a copy of a dated Persian manuscript work—*Tarikh-i-Shivaji*. Its style leads Prof. Sarkar to think, that it is not an original work but a translation of some Marathi *Bakhar*, and its curious agreement with the *Shivadigvijaya*, both in subject matter and in general arrangement, further leads him to believe that the latter work is nothing but a new edition of the original *Bakhar* of which *Tarikh-i-Shivaji* is a translation. The *Shivadigvijaya* therefore, in its present form could not have been written earlier than the last decade of the 18th century, and it is extremely unsafe to rely on the traditions and legends compiled by the unknown chronicler. Without any comment, our authors mention that incident of the Bijapur butcher, although Sabhasad, who as a contemporary ought to have known better, is silent about it. Mr. Kincaid says that Bhawani of Tuljapur was hidden and saved from sacrileges of Afzal Khan, although Sabhâsad clearly states that she was pounded in a mill श्रीभवानी कुल-देवता महाराजांची, तीस फोडून, (जातियांत घालून भरडून पीठ केलें.

We do not know whence the authors gather that Tanaji Malsure and other companions of the great hero were introduced to him by his guardian Dadaji. Messrs. Kincaid and Parasnis simply quote letters after letters from the *Shivadigvijaya*. But in case Rao Bahadur Parasnis has not discovered them in original, they should be rejected as altogether untrustworthy. Credulous as our authors seem to be, the extravagance of the *Bakhar* of their preference is at times too much for them. For instance, they have not been able to accept the *Shivadigvijaya* version of the Shaista Khan incident, although shorn of its exaggeration it has the support of Sabhâsad and Chitnis

Again, in this history of the Maratha people, we look in vain for a good description of Shivaji's administrative system or any account of his navy. The chapter devoted to the Pandharpur movement might have been much enlarged and the fabricated geneology of Shivaji discarded on the strength of the temple inscription of Math (see Rajwade). The transliteration of some Persian names is incorrect, as in the case of Fulad Khan Kotwal. Mr. Kincaid misled by the error of the *Bakhars*, calls him Polad Khan. He is, however, to be congratulated for his appreciation of the national aims of Shivaji. And inspite of its few defects this volume will be an excellent guide for the uninitiated readers of the *Bakhars*, who lack the necessary geographical knowledge. Here they will find an excellent compilation of the anecdotes of Shivaji and the story of his life chronologically arranged. Messrs. Kincaid and Parasnis's work will enable them to master these initial difficulties that beset the study of the *Bakhars*.

S. N. Sen.